SCRIBNER'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

SCRIBNER'S

POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

U. S. Grant

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SCRIBNER'S
POPULAR HISTORY OF
THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
SYDNEY HOWARD GAY
NOAH BROOKS

WITH MORE THAN SIXTEEN HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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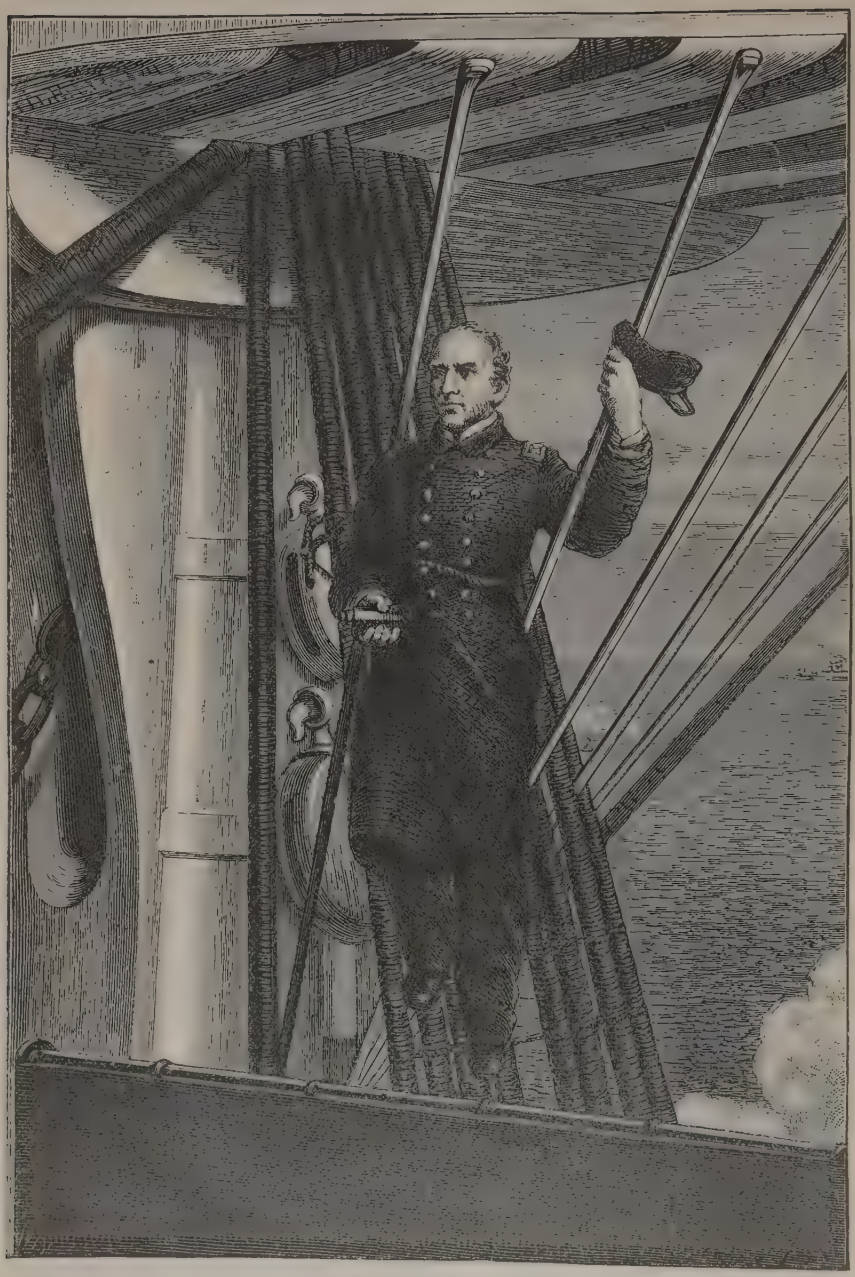
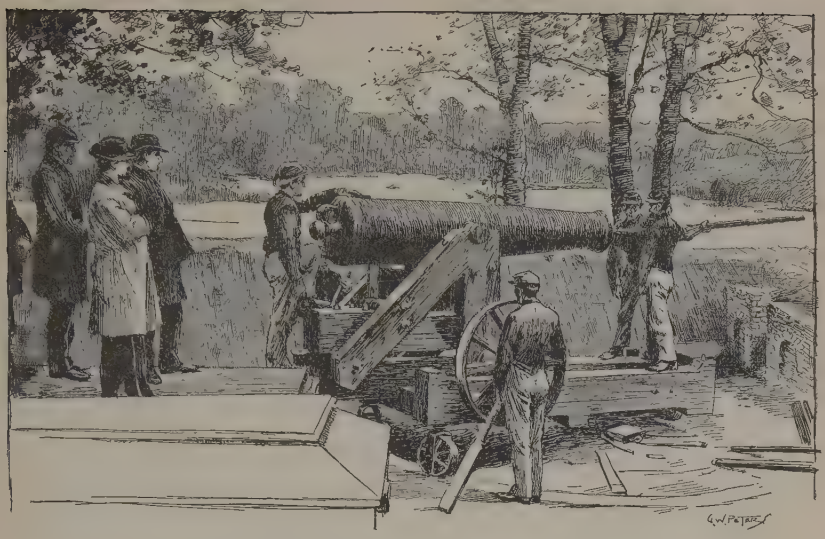


FARRAGUT IN THE MAIN RIGGING OF THE *HARTFORD* DURING THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY.

From the Painting by William Page.



A Confederate Battery facing the River at Vicksburg.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

CHAPTER I.

OPERATIONS IN THE WEST, 1862.

POSITION IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. — CAPTURE OF FORT HENRY. — CAPTURE OF FORT DONELSON. — NASHVILLE ABANDONED. — NEW MADRID AND ISLAND NUMBER TEN. — POPE'S CANAL. — FORT PILLOW AND MEMPHIS. — HALLECK AND GRANT. — BATTLE OF SHILOH, OR PITTSBURG LANDING. — CAPTURE OF CORINTH. — CAPTURE OF NEW ORLEANS. — BRAGG'S MOVEMENT INTO KENTUCKY. — BATTLE OF PERRYVILLE. — BATTLES OF IUKA AND CORINTH. — BATTLE OF STONE RIVER. — VICKSBURG. — GRANT'S PLANS. — HOLLY SPRINGS. — BEGINNING OF THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

IF the military history of 1862 were limited to the events narrated in the last two chapters of the preceding volume, the friends of the Republic might well have despaired. Its enemies made the most of the reverses that had been endured by the forces operating around Washington and Richmond. As these events were more directly under the eyes of the people of the then great centres of the population of the country, — the large seaboard cities of the North, — it was natural that they should have great influence upon the temper of that great public which critically scrutinized battle-fields, strategic movements, and the conduct of generals. The Northern and Western opponents of the war made political capital out of the adversities of their country. Pretending to be devoted to the best interests of the Republic, they deprecated the war for its mainte-

nance as being unconstitutional; and they pointed to each disaster to the National arms as new proof of the futility of continuing the conflict. Their course was likened to that of an exceedingly venomous American snake, the copperhead, which gives no warning of its approach, and strikes its victim from its concealment in the grass. Political opponents of the war were sometimes called Peace Democrats; but in the West, where that reptile was well known, they were given its title. These advocates of a peaceful compromise accepted the title of "Copperheads," and, cutting the head of the effigy of Liberty stamped on the copper coin in circulation, they wore it bravely on their coats, proclaiming themselves Copperheads. In course of time, this derisive name was generally adopted in the United States. There were several actively treasonable organizations in the border States at work fomenting disloyalty and disaffection towards the Government; of these the "Knights of the Golden Circle" and the "Knights of the Camellia" were the most numerous; but the so-called Copperhead usually disclaimed all connection with any such treasonable clans.

The Copperheads.

While depressing and disheartening reverses were occurring in the States nearest the National capital, much progress in the general scheme for the breaking up of the western section of the Confederacy was being made. To understand these movements, it is necessary to return to the conditions existing in the West early in 1862, and to repeat some of the observations already made thereon.

President Lincoln's peremptory war order of January 27th, 1862, directed that, on or before February 22d, there should be a general movement of the land and naval forces against the enemy. Among those particularly specified were the Army of the Potomac, the army and flotilla near Cairo in Illinois, and the naval force in the Gulf of Mexico. How the execution of this order was delayed by the Army of the Potomac has already been told. Some time before this General Halleck (not yet ordered eastward) had been placed in command of what was styled the Department of the Missouri, including Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, and that part of Kentucky west of the Cumberland Mountains, his headquarters being at St. Louis. This department was divided into several

Affairs in the West.

Rear-Admiral Andrew H. Foote.

Fort Donelson.

districts, that of Cairo, at the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, being placed under General U. S. Grant. General Buell was in command of the Department of the Ohio, including Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Tennessee, and a part of Kentucky. General W. S. Rosecrans was left in command of the Department of West Virginia. For a time all these armies, including that of the Potomac, were under the control of McClellan. The insurgents claimed that Kentucky naturally belonged to them, and they had taken armed possession of a part of it, and held a strong line across the southern portion. The eastern end of this line was the fortified camp at Bowling Green, near the Tennessee border; thence it ran westward to Columbus. The Cumberland and Tennessee rivers afford easy access into the heart of Tennessee, and to prevent the passage of them by the National forces, works had been erected a score of miles above their mouths — Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and the stronger Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. These formed the centre of the Confederate line. If they were taken, the whole line from Bowling Green to Columbus would be untenable.

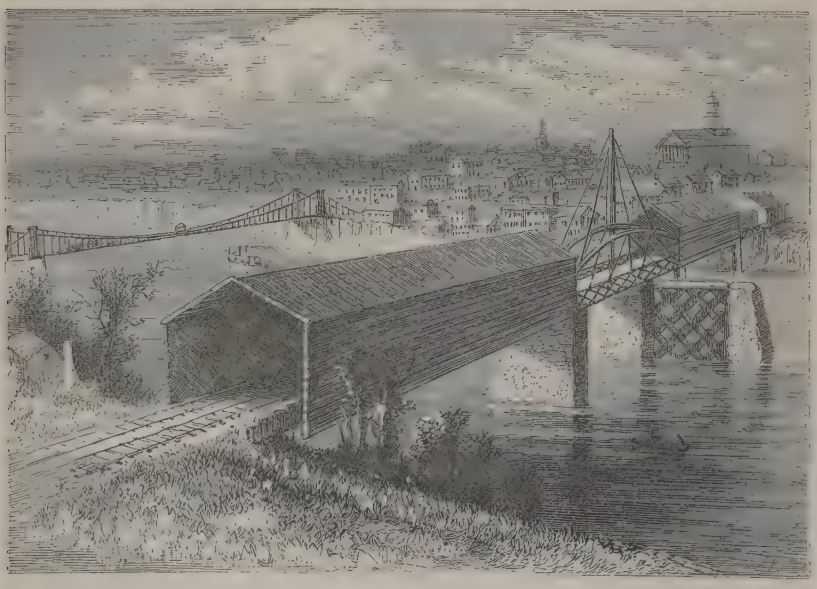
This enterprise was committed to Grant, aided by the flotilla of gunboats under Commodore Foote. The army was ready to move three weeks before the time set for the general advance. On the 30th of January Grant moved from Cairo, with a force of 17,000 men; on the 6th of February he appeared in the rear

Fort Henry.

of Fort Henry, the actual reduction of which was committed to the gunboats, with the expectation that the land force would be able to cut off the retreat of the garrison. After a sharp cannonade of an hour, the guns of the fort were silenced. General Tilghman, who commanded Fort Henry, saw from the first that he could not hold it. "My object," he says, "was to save the main body by delaying matters as long as possible." He sent off the bulk of the garrison before the firing actually began, and kept up the defence with less than a hundred men, of whom he lost twenty-one. The Federal loss was twenty-nine men, scalded on board the gunboat *Essex*, whose boiler was struck by a shot. The garrison, about 3,000 in number, got safely off to Fort Donelson, about twelve miles distant.

Fort Donelson.

The gunboats at once moved down the Tennessee and up the Cumberland to that fort. Grant had at this time barely 15,000 men. But when operations fairly began he had received about as many more. The garrison of the fort, when at its highest point, numbered a little more than 20,000. On the water side this work was very strong, mounting sixty-five guns. On the land side, from which no attack had been anticipated, the works were weak, but the country was difficult for an attacking army. The fort itself stood on a bluff about one hundred feet high, and occupied an area of one hundred acres. On the right and left were two swampy creeks, now flooded. In the rear the country was rugged and heavily tim-



Bridge over the Cumberland River at Nashville.

bered. The trees had been felled so as to make a formidable abatis. The commander of the fort was General John B. Floyd, not long before Secretary of War under Buchanan. On the evening of the 12th, Grant, having marched most of his men across the peninsula between the two rivers, made an unsuccessful attack upon a battery commanding a road by which he was trying to move. Up to this time the weather had been warm for the month of February, but during this night a fierce storm of sleet and snow set in, and the thermometer fell to 12° above zero. The men on both sides, without fires or tents, bivouacked upon the battle-field. The next day, six gunboats came up the river, and at three o'clock in the afternoon opened upon the water-front of the fort. The advantage was wholly on the side of the fort, whose plunging fire told heavily upon the boats. Two were disabled, and drifted helplessly down the river, and the others soon followed. They had lost fifty-four men.

But on the land side the assailants were slowly gaining positions that would soon render the fort untenable. It only remained for the garrison to endeavor to cut its way out. The attempt was bravely made before daybreak on the 14th, and for a time promised success. Grant had gone down the river to consult with Foote, who had been wounded. Coming upon the field at nine o'clock, he says, "I found that either side was ready to give way if the other showed a bold front. I took the opportunity, and ordered an advance of the whole line," the gunboats being at the same time requested to make a vigorous demonstration. The attack was successful at every point. During the night a council of war was held at the Confederate headquarters. All the commanders agreed that there was nothing left but to surrender. "But," said Floyd, "I cannot surrender: you know the position in which I stand." He dreaded the anticipated punishment of his treason, and so he turned the command over to Pillow, making it a condition that he should be allowed to take his own brigade across the river, there being barely boats enough for that purpose. Pillow turned the command over to Buckner, and then crossed the river in a scow and escaped. At daylight Grant was ready for the assault. He was anticipated by a message from Buckner, proposing the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation, and requesting an armistice for that purpose. Grant replied, "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." Buckner replied, "The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday,

The surrender.

to accept the ungenerous and unchivalric terms which you propose." When, however, Grant came to name his precise terms, they were far from being ungenerous. All prisoners were allowed to keep their personal baggage, and officers were to retain their side arms. The prisoners numbered about 15,000. So many men had never before laid down their arms at any one time upon this continent. The entire Federal loss was 2,886, of whom 510 were killed. The Confederate loss, according to Pillow, was about 2,000, but it was probably somewhat larger.

The importance of this victory was hardly appreciated in its fulness at once, although the people hailed it as a brilliant triumph for the Union arms. It really pierced the line of the insurgent defences in the Southwest, opening a gap that never was closed afterwards. On the 16th of February, Grant telegraphed to Halleck, then in command of his department: "We have taken Fort Donelson and from 12,000 to 15,000 prisoners, including Generals Buckner and Bushrod R. Johnson; also about 20,000 stands of arms, forty-eight pieces of artillery, seventeen heavy guns, from 2,000 to 4,000 horses, and large quantities of commissary stores." Great was the rejoicing through the loyal North when the details of this grand success became known and understood. It was a burst of light in the midst of darkness. It was the first substantial victory achieved by any of the armies of the National Government. General Grant, who had heretofore secured but a small place in the popular estimate of military men in the field, suddenly became famous. The soldierly and succinct report which he sent announcing his victory, and the curt terms of "unconditional surrender" which he had dictated to Buckner, were seized upon with delight by the people, ever ready to turn a fortunate phrase into current speech; and a fanciful use was made of Grant's initials, "Unconditional Surrender" Grant being substituted for Ulysses S. Grant in the congratulatory talk of the time; for it was a time when there were very few occasions for congratulations among friends of the National cause. Grant was a brigadier-general when he took Fort Donelson. He was speedily promoted to the rank of major-general of volunteers, his commission dating from the day of the surrender of Fort Donelson, February 16th, 1862.

Beginning of Grant's fame.

While the fate of Fort Donelson was pending, General Albert Sidney Johnston withdrew from Bowling Green to Nashville, where he awaited the issue; for Nashville was looked upon as a place of great importance, and came near being chosen, instead of Richmond, as the capital of the Confederacy. On the 15th, he received a despatch from Pillow, in Fort Donelson, announcing a victory. "On the

honor of a soldier," said Pillow, "the day is ours." On Sunday morning the people of Nashville were gathered in the churches, offering thanks for success. But before the morning service was over the news came that Fort Donelson had surrendered, and the National forces were approaching. Johnston forthwith evacuated the defenceless city, which in a few days was taken possession of by Buell.

Memphis.

Columbus, Kentucky, on the Mississippi, was almost simultaneously abandoned by the Confederates, who spiked their guns, and flung them into the river, falling back to Island Number Ten, thirty miles below, where strong works had been erected. These it was hoped would command the passage of the river.

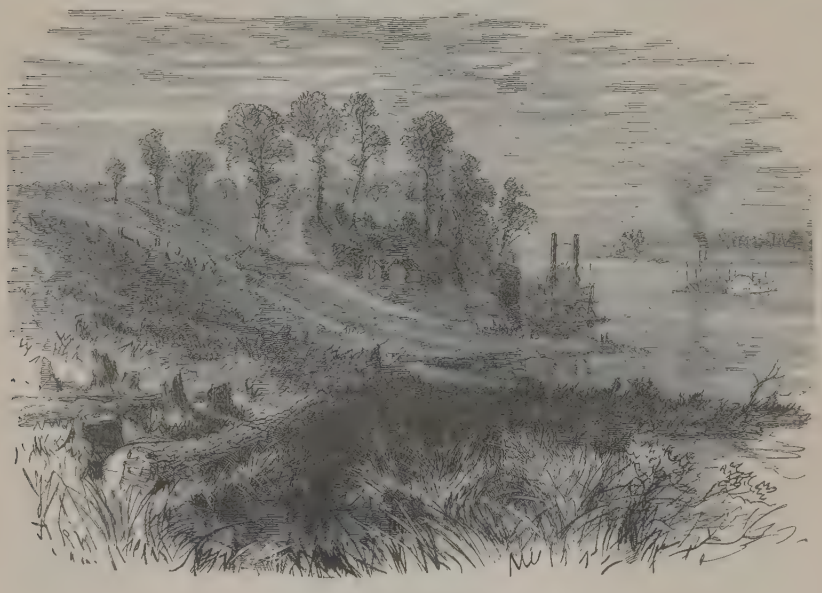
Island Number Ten.

The Mississippi here makes a sharp bend to the northwest, running in that reverse direction for about a dozen miles, when it turns again to the south, thus making an ox-bow. The island, near the Tennessee shore, is at the southern extremity of this bend. New Madrid, on the Missouri side, is at the northern extremity, where considerable works had been erected by the Confederates. They had here also several gunboats, which commanded the adjacent low country. General Pope was sent by Halleck from St. Louis with 20,000 men to dislodge them. This he did early in March, the troops at New Madrid fleeing so hastily to Island Number Ten that they left behind them thirty-three guns, much ammunition, and tents sufficient

for 10,000 men. Meanwhile Foote, with seventeen gunboats, came down the river, and, on the 15th of March a vigorous but ineffectual bombardment was begun. This was kept up with little intermission for three weeks. Beauregard, who was now in general supervision of operations in this region, says that during this bombardment the Federals threw into the works 3,000 shells, and burned fifty tons of gunpowder, without doing any damage to the batteries, and killing only one man. Commodore Foote speaks much to the same purport. "Island Number Ten," he says, "is harder to conquer than Columbus, its shores being lined with forts, each fort commanding the one above it."

Pope's canal.

So long as Pope was on the Missouri side of the river he could do nothing to aid in the capture of the island, whose works could be attacked only upon the reverse or land side. To cross to Tennessee it was necessary to bring transports to convey his men over, and gunboats to sweep the opposite shore, which was crowned with batteries. For this purpose he undertook to cut a canal across the head of the peninsula formed by the bend of the river. This canal was twelve miles long, half of the way running through a swampy forest, where hundreds of fallen trees, some of them three feet in diameter, had to be sawn off four feet under water before they could be removed. The work was completed in nineteen days. The transports passed through this canal; and on the 6th of April the



Pittsburg Landing.

Major-General Samuel R. Curtis.

whole force was taken over. Two days after, they were upon the undefended rear of the island, which was at once surrendered. Nearly 7,000 prisoners were taken, besides a floating battery which had been brought up from New Orleans, one hundred heavy siege guns, twenty-four pieces of light artillery, several thousand small arms, and a great amount of ammunition and supplies. This brilliant exploit was accomplished without the loss of a single man. To it Pope undoubtedly owed his subsequent appointment to the command of the Army of Virginia.

The capture of Island Number Ten opened the passage of the Mississippi down to Fort Pillow, one hundred miles below, and forty miles above the important position of Memphis, at the junction of two great systems of railways. No attempt had been made by the insurgents to fortify Memphis itself, for it was believed that no hostile fleet could reach it from below, and Fort Pillow was thought sufficient to guard it from above. But hardly had Island Number Ten been surrendered when Pope began to descend the river, and on the 13th of April he was close upon Fort Pillow, which mounted forty heavy guns, was garrisoned by 6,000 men, and protected on the river by nine armored gunboats. On the 17th Pope was just ready to make the assault, when he was suddenly recalled to take part in a general movement for which Halleck was preparing near Corinth, Mississippi. The Federal gunboats, however, remained behind, and on the 10th of May the Confederate gunboats came out from the shelter of Fort Pillow, and opened fire. In a brief time half of them were disabled or destroyed. The fort was retained by the insurgents until June 4th, when it was abandoned.

Fort Pillow.

The next day, Commodore C. H. Davis, who had succeeded Foote, steamed down to Memphis, his fleet increased by four rams, constructed under the supervision of Colonel Charles Ellet. On the 6th eight Confederate gunboats and rams came out to meet them. The contest was by ramming rather than by firing. The *Queen of the West* ran down the Confederate *General Lovell*, and sank her; a few minutes later the *Queen* was struck by a Confederate ram, and disabled. This ram was in a few minutes run into by the *Monarch*, and sank. The result of the fight was, that of the Confederate flotilla, six vessels were destroyed, one was captured, and one

Capture of Memphis.

escaped by superior speed. This strange combat was watched by thousands of spectators, who lined the bluffs, and had come out in the confident expectation of seeing the entire destruction of the National flotilla. The next day Memphis was surrendered by the civil authorities.

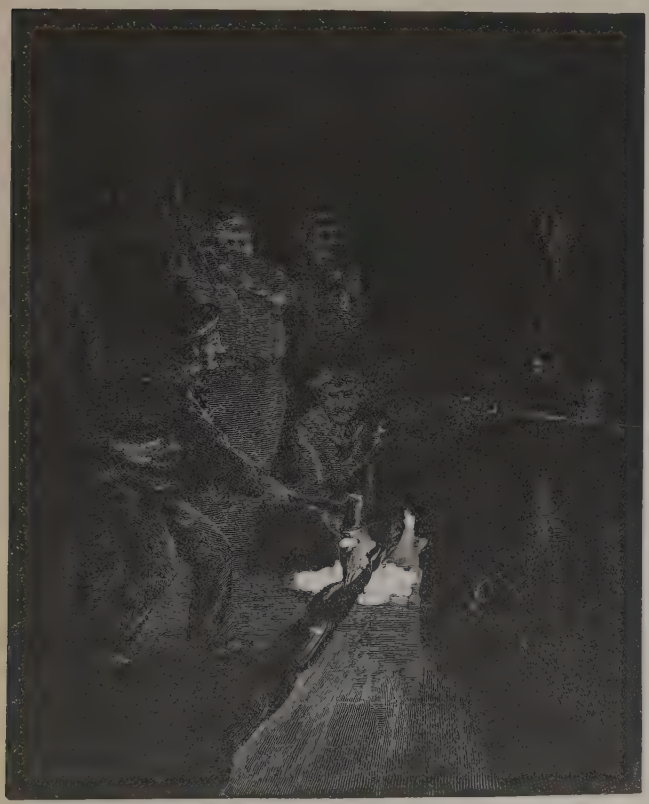
Halleck's command was greatly enlarged by general orders dated March 13th. Previous to that date he had been in command of the Department of Missouri, whose eastern boundary in Kentucky was the Cumberland River. He had repeatedly importuned General McClellan, then in command of all the armies of the United States, to consolidate the western departments, and give him command of this new military division of the West. When Fort Donelson fell, Halleck, whose headquarters were at St. Louis, asked of the Administration that Grant, Pope, and Buell should be made major-generals; and he added on his own account, "and give me command in the West." But February wore away without giving Halleck his coveted command, although he telegraphed repeatedly and importunately for full military control in the West. Buell was a warm personal friend of McClellan, who was general-in-chief; and McClellan, always loyal to his friends, might well hesitate before he could consent to giving another a high command which might raise up for himself a formidable rival in the West. Meanwhile, Halleck was developing some portion of his plans for the carrying of the war into Northern Mississippi by the way of the Tennessee. After some hesitation as to which of two routes he would choose, the Cumberland or the Tennessee, he ordered Grant (March 1st) to take command of an expedition up the last-named stream, to destroy the railroad and telegraph lines at Corinth, Jackson, and Humboldt. The movement was designed to be auxiliary to the operations then being directed against New Madrid and Island Number Ten. A heavy freshet had made telegraphic communication difficult and slow; orders and reports were transmitted fitfully, and in the confusion that was thus produced a misunderstanding arose between Grant and Halleck, the latter accusing Grant of disobedience of orders. Halleck appealed and complained to Washington, alleging that Grant's troops were demoralized by the victory at Donelson. McClellan instructed Halleck to enforce military discipline; and, referring to Grant, he said: "Do not hesitate to arrest him at once, if the good of the service requires it, and place C. F. Smith in command." The laurels so lately won at Henry and Donelson were likely soon to fade. Halleck placed Smith in command, and ordered Grant to remain in Fort Henry. Not long after, however, finding that he had been too hasty in his accusations against Grant, Halleck ordered him to return to

Halleck and Grant.

his former general command, at the same time refusing to accede to Grant's demand to be relieved from further duty.

Events now hastened another military crisis. By the battle of Pea Ridge, Missouri, when General Curtis not only repelled a Confederate invasion aimed at St. Louis, but permanently crippled a larger force than his own, Halleck's fears of a disaster in that direction were allayed, and a considerable number of troops held in reserve were released for other operations outside of Missouri. The battle between the iron-clads *Monitor* and *Merrimac*, and the evacuation of Manassas Junction by the Confederates, with other indications in various directions, suggested to the authorities in Washington a breaking-up of the enemy, and a recasting of the military command was inevitable. On the 11th of March, President Lincoln issued an order relieving McClellan from the duty of general-in-chief of the armies of the United States and sending him into the field charged with the object of carrying the campaign against Richmond to a successful conclusion. In the West the three departments heretofore under the commands of Halleck, Buell, and Hunter were now consolidated in one, with its eastern boundary at Knoxville, Tennessee, under the title of the Department of the West, with General Halleck in command.

Battle of Pea Ridge.



Lieutenant Caldwell breaking the Chain on the Night of April 20, 1862.

Drawn by M. J. Burns.

The U. S. Mint in New Orleans where Mumford was hanged by General Butler's Order.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph by Mugnier.

Smith and Sherman in Tennessee.

The expedition up the Tennessee remained under the command of General C. F. Smith, and got off in due time, making a landing at Savannah, Tennessee, on the east bank of the river. From this point Smith sent General W. T. Sherman up the river towards Eastport, charged with the duty of destroying the railway and telegraphic communications, whose interruption was the prime object of the expedition. Sherman had a division of troops on nineteen steamboats, and he was preceded by an escort of gunboats. The high water impeded his operations, and, after making a reconnaissance which showed that the enemy were now in considerable force at Iuka and Corinth, Mississippi, he was compelled to return to Pittsburg Landing, on the west bank of the Tennessee, nine miles above Savannah. This point had been selected by Smith as a good base for future operations against the enemy, the destruction of his lines of communication still being the object in view. To make this base more secure, General S. A. Hurlbut had been sent thither at Sherman's request; and he was lying at Pittsburg Landing with his force on several steamboats when Sherman returned from his reconnaissance up the river. In the process of time, however, unexpected events developed from this tentative expedition an important strategic campaign; the base of offensive operations at Pittsburg Landing became one of the most important and deadly battle-fields of the war.

The Confederates, retreating from Nashville, after the loss of Forts Henry and Donelson, first fell back upon Murfreesboro', Tennessee, twenty-five miles below, on the line of the railway to Chattanooga. From that point they moved across the country in a southwesterly direction to form at Corinth a junction with the Army of the Mississippi, to the command of which General Beauregard had lately been assigned. That movement was effected, and the two armies under Beauregard and Johnston were consolidated April 1st, Johnston (Albert Sidney of that name) being chief, and Beauregard second in command. At that time Johnston was under a cloud in consequence of the succession of disasters that had rapidly overtaken the Confederate cause, one after another, and for which the alarmed and angry people of the insurgent States unjustly held him responsible. Beauregard did not manifest a very high respect for Johnston's abilities; and the Confederate army, like that of the Federals, was disturbed by the ambitions and jealousies of some of its general officers. On that side of the battle-field there never was an agreement as to the precise conditions which preceded the battle of Pittsburg Landing; and their authorities were never able to agree among themselves as to who was responsible for their plan, or for its elaboration and execution.

The Confederate armies in Tennessee and Mississippi.

Corinth, near the northern boundary line of Mississippi, is at the crossing of the Mobile and Ohio and the Memphis and Charleston railroads. Before the end of March, the Confederates had assembled at that point about 45,000 men. This army held the Mobile and Ohio railroad line from Corinth southward to Bethel, and the Memphis and Charleston line from Corinth eastward to Iuka. Here the army was reinforced by the arrival of several Louisiana regiments, two divisions under "Fighting Bishop Polk," and a fresh body of troops from Mobile and Pensacola under Bragg. Whatever may be the merits of the various claims for the organization of this imposing force, it was, to use the language of one of the Confederate writers, "the most magnificent army ever assembled by the South on a single battle-field."[1] To add to its effectiveness, Price and Van Dorn were on the way from Arkansas with 30,000 more men.

On the Federal side, the movement of troops was made without much display, the ultimate object being to assemble an army for the purpose of an aggressive campaign later on. General C. F. Smith's army, 30,000 strong, was sent on transports to Pittsburg Landing. Buell was sent forward from Nashville to coöperate with the general movement, his forces numbering about 40,000 men. Pittsburg Landing, two hundred and twenty miles above the

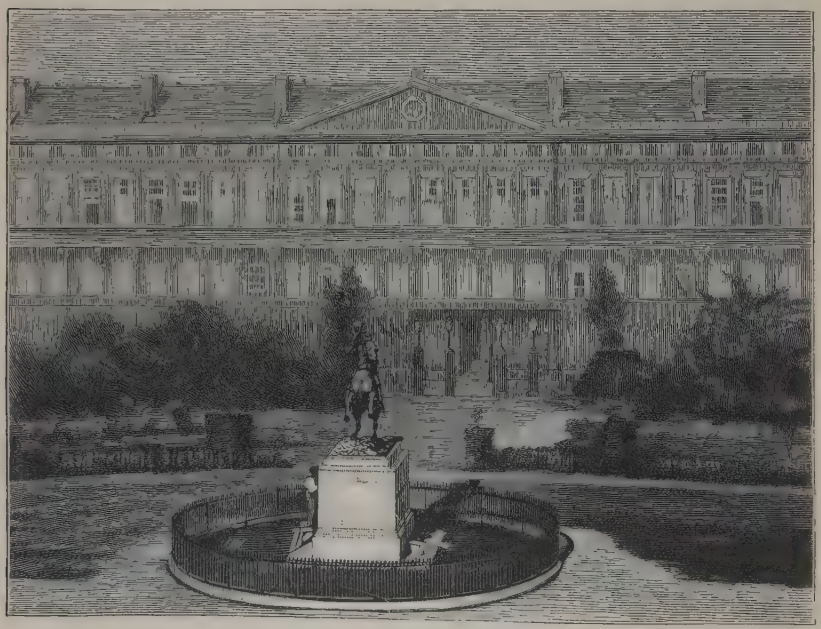
Pittsburg Landing.

[1] Pollard's *First Year of the War.*

mouth of the Tennessee River, occupies a bluff, stretching back to a plateau four miles long and eighty feet above the level of the stream, with creeks falling into the Tennessee above and below the bluff. Sherman's observation of the strategic advantages of the place had induced him to select this point as the best for the base of offensive operations that were to be begun here. Smith's orders to him were to take up a position on this plateau, far enough from the river to leave room for an army of 100,000 men behind him. This was the last order that General Smith ever issued. About the middle of March, illness caused by a wound on his foot compelled him to retire from the field. He relinquished his command to Grant, and he died at Savannah, Tennessee, April 25th. Grant, succeeding to the command, fought the battle of Pittsburg Landing, and there secured that National renown to which previous marked successes had pointed.

Shiloh.

On the plateau, two miles from the Landing, stood a log meeting-house, known as Shiloh Church, which has given a name to the battle fought near it. That the Federal army was surprised by the Confederate attack is certain. The manner in which the divisions were posted on the borders of the plateau shows that there was no fear of an assault from the Confederate forces, then at



The Jackson Statue at New Orleans.

(Showing the workmen engraving on it, by General Butler's order, "The Union must and shall be preserved.")

Corinth, nearly thirty miles distant, where the enemy were not supposed to be in any great force. Grant, who had now on the west bank of the Tennessee River not less than 38,000 men, was himself on the eastern side of the stream, waiting for an interview with the approaching Buell, when the attack finally came. Buell, with some 40,000 men, was marching for Savannah, nine miles below, on the east bank of the river. It was Johnston's intention to crush Grant's army before he could be joined by Buell. Accordingly, the Confederate forces, numbering about 40,000 effective men, moved from Corinth on the 3d of April. On the 5th a severe storm broke over the country, and the attack was delayed until the 6th, and the troops encamped on the wet and marshy ground within three quarters of a mile from the unsuspecting pickets of the Federals.

The battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing.

The Confederate attack was made in an array of battle formed on three very nearly parallel lines; the first was commanded by Hardee, the second by Bragg, and the third, or reserves, by John C. Breckinridge. It was afterwards a subject of controversy among those who participated in the fight under the insurgent flag whether this order was the best that could have been provided, and whether it was adhered to unto the end. The Federal army occupied a quadrilateral flanked by a creek on either side (Owl and Lick creeks), with a marshy valley in its front and the river with gunboats in the rear. If the position was not the best for defensive purposes, it was to be remembered that Grant was there to attack, not to defend. The ground within the quadrilateral was made up of woody heights interspersed with open farm-fields, and to some extent cut up with wet ravines; there was also considerable underbrush covering the country. When the battle opened, General Lew Wallace was posted with three brigades at Crump's Landing, five miles below (or north of) Pittsburg Landing. He was unavoidably delayed in his execution of orders to go into the fight at Shiloh, and did not arrive on the field in time to participate in the first day's fighting.

The first day.

At dawn on Sunday morning, Hardee's corps fell upon the outlying divisions of the Federal army, who were at once driven in. Grant, who was at that time across the river, whither he had gone to have a consultation with Buell, recrossed, and at eight o'clock came upon what looked like a lost battle. Sherman, to whom the honors of the day's fighting belong, barely succeeded in preventing an absolute rout. By noon the entire army had been driven from their camps, and were crowded into a space of not more than four hundred acres upon the very verge of the bluff overlooking the Landing, towards which they were rushing in confusion. At two o'clock success seemed within the enemy's grasp. About this time

Johnston was shot through the leg by a rifle ball, which severed an artery. Nobody was at hand who knew how to stop the flow of blood, and he died in a few minutes. Beauregard, nominally second in command, was in feeble health, and two hours passed before he was found; and before he could get his force well in hand it was too late. Grant, at this moment, manifested that indomitable will which was his military characteristic. There was still one hope, and so long as everything was not lost, he never believed that anything was so absolutely lost that it might not be regained. Before the Confederates could reach that part of the plateau where their enemy stood at bay, they had to cross a deep ravine with slippery sides and a bottom full of water. Grant had hastily improvised some slight earthworks upon its opposite brink, and had got together a few light guns, mere fragments of his batteries, of which most had been captured. Two gunboats had also been posted so that their fire swept this ravine. The Confederates dashed down the bank, and tried vainly to climb the slope on the other side. They were swept away by the hot fire in their front, and by the shells from the gunboats. The utmost human strength and courage were of no avail here, and as night was falling the enemy gave up the assault, and Grant was left master of this last part of the field. Still the Confederates held the entire ground over which there had been much contest, and Beauregard was not altogether unwarranted in reporting that, "At six o'clock in the afternoon we were in possession of all the enemy's encampments but one. Nearly all his field artillery, about thirty flags, colors, and standards, and over 3,000 prisoners — all the substantial fruits of a complete victory, such as have rarely followed the most successful battles. The remnant of his army had been driven in utter disorder to the immediate vicinity of Pittsburg Landing, under the shelter of the heavy guns of his iron-clad gunboats, and we remained undisputed masters of his well-selected, admirably provided cantonments."

But during the night changes had been made. General Lew Wallace, with 5,000 men, who had been prevented from joining in the action, had come upon the ground. Three divisions of Buell's army, 22,000 strong, had crossed the river, so that, after all his losses, Grant had nearly 50,000 men. The Confederates had been greatly disorganized by their apparent victory. Bragg says, "In a dark, stormy night, the commanders found it impossible to find and assemble their troops, each body or fragment bivouacking where the night overtook them." In the morning they had got together fewer than 30,000 men.

Grant was prepared to take the offensive early on Monday morn-

General Butler's Headquarters in New Orleans.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph by Mugnier.

ing. The attack was made under a cold, drizzling rain. The enemy were soon forced back from all the ground they had gained on the preceding day. Their last stand was made in their centre, where Beauregard was fiercely pressed by Sherman and Wallace. Sherman says the musketry fire here was the hottest he had ever known. It was a great bush-fight, rather than a battle. Wallace says: "Step by step, from tree to tree, position to position, the rebel lines went back, never stopping again. The firing was grand and terrific. To and fro, now in my front, then in Sherman's, rode General Beauregard, inciting his troops, and fighting for his fading prestige of invincibility. Far along the lines to the left the contest was raging with equal obstinacy. As indicated by the sounds, the enemy were retiring everywhere. Cheer after cheer rang through the woods, and every man felt that the day was ours." At last Beauregard ordered a retreat. "Don't let this be converted into a rout," he said to Breckinridge, who commanded the rear-guard.

The battle renewed.

Commenting on this desperate battle, long after the war was over, General Grant said:[1] "Shiloh was the severest battle fought in the West during the war, and but few in the East equalled it for hard, determined fighting. I saw an open field, in our possession on the second day, over which the Confederates had made repeated charges the day before, so covered with dead that it

Grant on the battle of Shiloh.

[1] *Battles and Leaders*, vol. i. p. 479.

General Braxton Bragg, C. S. A.

would have been possible to walk across the clearing, in any direction, stepping on dead bodies, without a foot touching the ground. On our side National and Confederate were mingled together in about equal proportions; but on the remainder of the field nearly all were Confederates. On one part, which had evidently not been plowed for years, probably because the land was poor, bushes had grown up, some to the height of eight or ten feet. There was not one of these left standing unpierced by bullets. The smaller ones were all cut down. Contrary to all my experience up to that time, and to the experience of the army I was then commanding, we were on the defensive. We were without intrenchments or defensive advantages of any sort, and more than half the army engaged the first day was without experience or even drill as soldiers. The officers with them, except the division commanders, were equally inexperienced in war. The result was a Union victory that gave the men who achieved it great confidence in themselves ever after. The enemy fought bravely, but they started out to defeat and destroy an army and capture a position. They failed in both, with very heavy loss in killed and wounded, and must have gone back discouraged and convinced that the 'Yankee' was not an enemy to be despised."

Mitchel's expedition.

When the main portion of Buell's army moved from Nashville to join Grant, his third division, commanded by General O. M. Mitchel, was sent to destroy Beauregard's railroad communications eastward from Corinth. Mitchel, marching with great rapidity, surprised Huntsville, Alabama, on the 11th of April, severed the telegraph wires, and sent out parties on trains both east and west, to destroy important bridges. He next proceeded to repair bridges on the road from Nashville. A force sent against him from Chattanooga struck the left of his position, at Bridgeport on the Tennessee. In an engagement on the 23d, the enemy were driven off, and Bridgeport remained in Mitchel's possession. He afterwards occupied Florence, Decatur, and Tuscumbia, which compelled Beauregard to move southward instead of eastward.

Results of the battle.

Only slight attempts were made to harass the Confederate retreat, and Beauregard regained his position at Corinth, whence he sent a magniloquent despatch to the government at Richmond. He had won, he said, "a great and glorious victory," had

Major-General Don Carlos Buell.

"taken from 8,000 to 10,000 prisoners, and thirty-six guns, but Buell having reënforced Grant, the Confederate army had retired to Corinth." The alleged number of prisoners is purely mythical. They were mainly four regiments of Prentiss's division, cut off and captured in the first day's fight, General Prentiss being taken prisoner at that time. The official figures showed the Federal losses to be: 1,754 killed, 8,408 wounded, and 2,885 captured or missing, — total, 13,047; the Confederate losses, according to their own reports, were: 1,728 killed, 8,012 wounded, and 959 captured or missing, — total, 10,699. Few battles have been more destructive in proportion to the numbers involved. There were not far from 100,000 men engaged on both sides, and the returns indicate that almost every fifth man was killed or wounded.

Two days after the battle of Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing, Grant notified Halleck, whose headquarters were still at St. Louis, that there were indications of a new concentration of Confederate forces at Corinth. Halleck at once took the alarm, and hastened in person to the relief of Grant, whose army remained in position on the west bank of the Tennessee. In the mean time a considerable Federal force on the Mississippi River had been released for other operations by Pope's successful campaign against the Confederate position at Island No. Ten. Pope's army was now transferred to the Tennessee, the debarkation being made April 22d, at Hamburg, four miles from Pittsburg Landing. This brought to the assembled army fully 20,000 well-equipped and well-drilled men, flushed with a recent victory and confident in their own prowess.

Reënforcement of the army.

Halleck now took command of the three united armies. By an order dated April 28th, he gave to the Army of the Tennessee, commanded by Grant, a position as the right wing, naming it the First Corps; the army of the Ohio, commanded by Buell, constituted the centre, and the newly arrived Army of the Mississippi, under Pope, was to be the left wing of the organization. Two days later, however, another change was made; an order from Halleck added to the right wing the division of troops commanded by General George H. Thomas, and heretofore belonging to the Army of the Ohio. An anomalous provision of that order assigned Thomas to the command

of the right wing, making no disposition of Grant, except that he was to "act as second in command" to Halleck, thus practically depriving him of active duty. Subsequently, after he had repeatedly asked to be relieved, Halleck removed Grant's headquarters from the army, and put him into retirement of a somewhat equivocal character.

General Halleck was greatly impressed with the necessity for elaborate preparations for defence. He had an army of 100,000 men; but his advance upon Corinth was "with the pick and shovel," as Sherman complained. He supposed that a vast army was being concentrated at Corinth, and he occupied himself and his armies with the construction of the most approved defensive works; roads, bridges, and other means for a future advance were provided, and although Halleck telegraphed to Washington that his armies were now "at the enemy's throat," no forward progress was made. Halleck waited for the arrival of Curtis's army from Missouri; but when he intimated to President Lincoln that a fifth army would be another desirable addition to his enormous force, that good man's patience showed signs of breaking, and he telegraphed to Halleck a mild remonstrance against his eagerness for reënforcements which could not possibly be found anywhere. The President said, among other things: "I mean to cast no blame when I tell you each of our commanders along the line from Richmond to Corinth supposes himself to be confronted by numbers superior to his own." As a matter of fact, the Confederate forces at Corinth were then outnumbered by the Federals, two to one.

The advance on Corinth.

Halleck's advance on Corinth was snail-like. Pope's army reached him on the 22d of April; it was the 29th of May when the Federal armies were within striking distance of the enemy. The campaign had been conducted with great skill and with close attention to strategic science. Beauregard, who remained in command of the Confederate forces, disputed every step of the way; but he had no intention of attempting to cope with the overpowering numbers so elaborately marshalled against him. On the 8th of May, he had issued to his army a bombastic address in which he informed his soldiers that they were to meet once more the "invaders," "despoilers," and "disturbers of family ties," "face to face, hand to hand." And he manfully adjured his men: "Shall we not drive back to Tennessee the presumptuous mercenaries collected for our subjugation!" On the night of the 29th, he hurriedly evacuated his position, sending his sick and wounded towards Mobile, and then collected his own scattered forces at Tupelo, a small town on one of the affluents of the Tombigbee River, in Alabama, where he estab-

lished his headquarters, and sent word to Richmond that he was "doing all practicable to organize for defensive operations." He subsequently turned over his command to Bragg, and betook himself to a health resort in Alabama. Davis, the Confederate chieftain, who was supreme in military affairs, ordered Bragg to take permanent command of the army which Beauregard had given to him temporarily; and the last-named general was for a time out of favor at court.

Beauregard's flight.

Halleck was much astonished by the stealthy flight of Beauregard. He had expected a great battle on the morning of May 30th; but when skirmishers were thrown out at daybreak "to feel the enemy," no enemy was to be found. The earth was shaken by terrific explosions in Corinth; and when the Federal troops pressed into the town, they found the magazines blown up, and the houses and railway station on fire. The fleeing enemy who had been manœuvred out of position, was not pursued with ardor, although Halleck telegraphed to the War Department: "General Pope, with 40,000 men, is thirty miles south of Corinth, pushing the enemy hard. He already reports 10,000 prisoners and deserters from the enemy and 15,000 stands of arms captured." This despatch, with the already exaggerated reports of the Corinth incident, threw the entire North into a frenzy of delight. The movement upon Corinth, it is true, resulted fortunately to the National arms; it turned the insurgent positions on the Missis-

Cumberland Gap.

sippi, secured an important railroad centre for future operations, and delivered Western and Middle Tennessee from Confederate occupation. But the real magnitude of the affair was enormously distorted. When the whole truth came out, as it did only when the public attention had been diverted to other directions, there were not lacking those who were ready to declare that Grant would have "bagged" the whole Confederate army if Halleck had stayed away from the field.

David Glasgow Farragut.

Farther south, during this month of April, the heaviest blow that had yet overtaken the insurgents fell upon them at New Orleans. That city, the chief commercial metropolis of the South, was captured by the skill and heroism of Farragut. The name of this brave sailor had not heretofore been widely known to the American people. David Glasgow Farragut was a midshipman at the opening of the English and American War of 1812; he was commissioned a lieutenant in 1821; and he was an officer on board the man-of-war sent to Charleston, South Carolina, during the nullification troubles of 1833, with President Andrew Jackson's message that "The Union must and shall be preserved." After seeing the usual variety of sea and shore duty, he was commissioned a captain in 1858, and was ordered to the sloop-of-war *Brooklyn;* and at the breaking out of the rebellion he was in Norfolk, Virginia, his associates and companions fully expecting him to join his fortunes to those of the Southern Confederacy. With great emphasis, Farragut refused to desert his flag, warned his comrades of the fate that would overtake them in the rebellion, and soon left Virginia, having been notified that it would not be well for him to stay there any longer. Farragut's patriotic refusal to desert the flag of his country at that critical juncture, when so many men considered it their duty to "go with their State," was an enormous gain to the cause of the Federal Union, as events subsequently showed.

Plans against New Orleans.

The mouths of the Mississippi had been blockaded with considerable closeness since the proclamation of the President declaring a blockade of the Gulf ports. Now an expedition, the most formidable that had ever put to sea under the flag of the United States, was organized under the direction of Gustavus V. Fox, assistant secretary of the Navy, General McClellan, who was then in command of all the armies of the United States, having charge of the military contingent to be sent out with the fleet. Farragut was given command of the Western Gulf blockading squadron, and on the 3d of February he sailed from Fortress Monroe with confidential orders to attempt the capture of New Orleans from below the city. His fleet consisted of seventeen men-of-war carrying 177 guns; to

ADMIRAL DAVID G. FARRAGUT.

this was added a fleet of mortar-carrying craft consisting of nineteen schooners and six armed steamers in command of Commander David D. Porter. The military contingent, under General Benjamin F. Butler, 15,000 strong, followed the departure of the fleet, and effected a rendezvous on Ship Island, off the coast of Mississippi, about midway between New Orleans and Mobile.

Defences of New Orleans.

New Orleans lies about one hundred miles above the mouths of the Mississippi. Approach from below was guarded by a fleet of gunboats and by Forts St. Philip and Jackson, very nearly opposite each other on the banks of the river, and mounting 126 guns, some of them of great power. Below these forts a line of defence was stretched across the river, consisting of rafts of logs and dismasted hulks anchored at intervals across the stream, and connected with each other by a heavy iron chain. The guns of Fort Jackson bore directly upon this barrier. The Confederate gunboats were sixteen in number; some of them were armed with steel rams; and the iron-clad *Manassas*, from which great things were expected, with the partly finished iron-clad *Louisiana*, added to the formidable naval array above the two forts; this fleet carried 166 guns. In the construction of the two iron-clads, which were converted from more peaceful craft, the Confederates had exhibited their usual skill and ingenious adaptation of slender means to an end.

The attack.

Porter's flotilla of mortar schooners opened fire on Fort Jackson on the west bank of the river, April 18th. These vessels, each carrying two mortars, were anchored in a bend of the river below the fort, shielded from sight by the trees; and they were disguised by tying branches of trees to their mastheads which appeared above the tops of the thickets. The schooners were about from 2,500 to 4,000 yards below the forts, and their terrific fire wrought great havoc in Fort Jackson, burning the wooden structures, dismounting the barbette guns, and so demoralizing the garrison that at one time during the bombardment the men mutinied and refused to serve their guns. But as the commander of this branch of the expedition could not know what was happening in the fort, which was concealed from his view, advantage could not be taken of the panic which prevailed. Porter did not realize the destructiveness of his fire.

On the fifth day of the fight, the bombardment of the forts not showing any evidence of their being crippled, Farragut decided to run the gauntlet with his ships. Much difficulty had been experienced in getting over the bar at the entrance of the river some of the larger vessels; one of them, the frigate *Colorado*, could not be brought over at all. Every device that ingenuity could suggest, for diminishing the risks of the passage past the forts, was resorted to. The crews of

some of the vessels rubbed them over with mud, to render them less clearly visible; some whitewashed the decks; some lined the bulwarks with hammocks and splinter nettings; and at the suggestion of John W. Moore, engineer of the *Richmond*, the sheet cables were hung over the sides of the vessels, in line with the engines.

Lieutenant C. H. B. Caldwell, in the gunboat *Itasca*, had gone up in the night of the 20th, boarded and cut loose one of the hulks of the boom, that an opening might be made for the passage of the fleet. In the night of the 23d he went again, to see that the passage was still open, and on his signal it was that an hour before midnight every ship was cleared for action, but it was half past two in the morning before the fleet was fairly under way. It had been intended to take advantage of the moonless night, but blazing rafts on the water and bonfires on the shore soon made it as light as day.

The battle with the forts and gunboats.

Captain Theodorus Bailey, in the *Cayuga*, led the first division of the fleet — eight vessels, which passed through the opening, steamed close to Fort St. Philip, and poured in grape and canister as they went by. A few minutes later the *Cayuga* found herself in the midst of eleven Confederate gunboats. One of them was set on fire and went ashore, and another was driven off crippled. The *Varuna* and *Oneida* followed the *Cayuga*. The *Oneida* ran down one of the enemy's vessels, cutting her nearly in two. The *Varuna* was run into by two Confederate gunboats and was sunk, but not till she had crippled one of them, and thrown a shell into the boiler of another, which exploded. The other vessels of this division came up more slowly, sweeping the bastions of St. Philip with a steady fire, and receiving a heavy fire in return. The wooden frigate *Mississippi* encountered the insurgent ram *Manassas*, and after a severe fight drove her ashore, set her on fire, and left her to drift down stream and blow up.

The second division, led by Farragut's flagship *Hartford*, sailed close to Fort Jackson, poured in their fire, and then crossed to St. Philip, where the *Hartford* grounded on a shoal. At the same time a blazing raft was pushed against her, and set her on fire. While a portion of the crew put out the flames, another portion kept her guns steadily at work, and she was backed off into deep water. She soon after encountered a steamer loaded with men, apparently a boarding-party, which was bearing down upon her; but a single well-directed shell exploded in the strange craft, and she went to the bottom. The remainder of this division, and the third division, led by Captain H. H. Bell in the *Scioto*, followed. Two of the gunboats became entangled in the hulks, and one was disabled by a shot in her boiler. Each, as she came up, joined in the fight with the insurgent fleet,

every vessel of which was either captured or destroyed. This victory cost the National fleet thirty-seven men killed, and a hundred and forty-seven wounded. The forts had lost fifty-two men. The loss in the Confederate fleet is unknown.

Capture of the city.

Captain Bailey, still leading the fleet up stream, captured a Confederate regiment on the bank; and when several vessels had come up, the Chalmette batteries, three miles below the city, were reduced, and New Orleans was at the mercy of Farragut's

Dancing on the Flag at Murfreesboro.

guns. At noon of the 25th he sent Captain Bailey ashore, to demand the surrender of the city. General Lovell had withdrawn the troops intended for its defence, and left it to its fate. The Mayor attempted to avoid the formality of a surrender, and refused to haul down the State flag. But Farragut took possession, raised the Union flag upon the Mint, and soon turned over the city to General Butler. The Governor of Louisiana fled before the National forces, and issued a proclamation to the planters, asking them to burn their cotton. This was so far complied with that 250,000 bales were destroyed.

The occupation of the city of New Orleans was complete before the capitulation of the forts below. Butler's land forces flanked Fort St. Philip, after the passage of the forts by the naval contingent, taking that work in the rear from Sable Island, twelve miles to the eastward. By dint of hard work he was able to bring three regiments within six miles of the fort. Meanwhile Porter had sent some of his mortar-boats around to the westward in the rear of Fort Jackson; and Butler, having landed more troops, threw a detachment across the river, thus holding the line of communication below, as Farragut held it above. In answer to demands for a surrender of the forts, the Confederate commanders demurred, arguing that they had no official knowledge of the capitulation of New Orleans, and that they required further time for deliberation. But the garrison of Fort Jackson took the matter into their own hands, while their commander was quibbling over terms of surrender. On the night of April 27th they mutinied, seized and disarmed the guards, turned their arms upon the officers sent to subdue them, and began to spike the guns. At the same time, a large number of the men, taking their arms with them, deserted in a body to Butler's lines, then stretched across the river below the fort.

Surrender of the forts.

The surrender of the forts now became inevitable. The Confederate commanders went on board Porter's flagship, and signed articles of capitulation. They disclaimed all authority over the naval contingent of the Confederate force, and while they were engaged in the final acts of surrender, the iron-clad *Louisiana* came drifting down the stream all in flames. The vessel blew up without doing any damage; the Confederate fleet was soon a thing of the past. The river was clear from its mouths to a point at some distance above New Orleans. General B. F. Butler, commanding the Department of the Gulf, was now in supreme charge at New Orleans.

Butler's governorship.

General Butler's governorship of New Orleans was chiefly notable for three things: the hanging of a secessionist, the cleaning of the city, and the issue of what is known as his "woman order." After Captain Bailey and his guard of marines had raised the United States flag, a party of ruffians, headed by a gambler, ascended to the roof, tore down the flag, and dragged it through the mud of the streets. General Butler brought the leader to trial for the offence, and, on his conviction, ordered him to be hanged upon a gallows erected in front of the Mint. Strong efforts were made to induce the general to pardon him; but he had gathered admiring crowds about him in the streets while relating his exploit, had boasted that the National authorities would not dare to molest him, and defied the commanding general to arrest him. He was the hero of the

Major-General Earl Van Dorn, C. S. A.

populace, and the question whether the sentence should be carried out was simply the question whether the captors of the city should rule it, or be overriden by the mob. At the same time, General Butler pardoned six insurgent prisoners who had been convicted of violating their parole.

The city cleaned.

While the yellow fever was raging at Havana, Nassau, and other places in the West Indies, General Butler ordered the city of New Orleans to be thoroughly cleaned, which was done by 2,000 laborers. The result was that — though there were nearly 20,000 unacclimated persons in the city — but one case of the pestilence appeared, and that was brought on a vessel from Havana.

The woman order.

General Order No. 28 — known as "the woman order," issued May 15th [1] — subjected General Butler to the severest criticism, not only throughout the South, and in Northern Democratic journals, but even from the friends of the rebellion in the British Parliament. He was described as a "beast," letting loose his brutal soldiery upon the innocent ladies of New Orleans. A proclamation issued by Jefferson Davis denounced him as an outlaw, and set a price upon his head. Whatever may be said of the terms in which General Butler chose to convey his order, the conduct of the women at whom it was aimed had been so grossly indecent as, among many other insults, to spit upon Union soldiers when passing through the streets. It is quite possible that his own brief experience had taught General Butler the necessity of resorting to extraordinary measures to govern a turbulent populace, who only a year before had seized a Mrs. Sarah Sanford, a native of New Haven, Connecticut, — but for some time a teacher in a New Orleans public school, — and because she was accused of openly condemning slavery, had taken her to a public square, stripped her naked, and tarred and feathered her in the presence and with the approbation of a large crowd, including many of the leading people of the town.

After the capture of New Orleans, Farragut's fleet passed up the

[1] "As the officers and soldiers of the United States have been subject to repeated insults from the women (calling themselves ladies) of New Orleans, in return for the most scrupulous non-interference and courtesy on our part, it is ordered that hereafter when any female shall by word, gesture, or movement, insult or show contempt for any officer or soldier of the United States, she shall be regarded and held liable to be treated as a woman of the town plying her avocation."

Mississippi, where for some months he patrolled the stream in order to prevent the transport of supplies for the use of the enemy. The northern limit of his patrol was Vicksburg. During the months of May and June the fleet slowly worked its way up stream, receiving the surrender of cities along the banks of the river, and having an occasional brush with Confederate batteries on shore. Gradually these were all silenced, and a demand was made for the surrender of Vicksburg. This was refused, and Farragut, returning to New Orleans, received pressing instructions from the Navy Department to attack the city, which had now become the sole remaining obstacle to the free navigation of the Father of Waters. The clamor of the West for the opening of the river to trade and commerce, which had never been abated since the outbreak of the war, was now more than ever importunate.

Confederate Dead in Front of Fort Robinette, Corinth.
Drawn by Victor S. Perard from a photograph made October 5, 1862 (the morning after the attack).

Progress on the Mississippi.

In consequence of his instructions, Farragut returned to Vicksburg with his squadron, Porter's mortar-boats, and 3,000 of Butler's troops, under the command of General Thomas Williams. Fire was opened upon the Confederate batteries at Vicksburg June 27th. On the 28th Farragut ran the batteries with all the vessels of his fleet except three, — the *Brooklyn*, *Katahdin*, and *Kennebec*, — which dropped back owing to a misunderstanding of orders. Here Farragut established communication with Flag-officer Davis, in command of the Federal naval fleet above Vicksburg, and the two officers joined their forces July 1st, Davis's force consisting of four gunboats and six mortar-boats. While Halleck was making his scientific advance on the Confederate position at Corinth, Beauregard was urging the more complete fortification of Vicksburg, plans for which he sent forward at that time. That place was now reënforced with

Vicksburg.

the troops released by the surrender of New Orleans; and the military force under control of the Federal commanders was inadequate to the requirements of the occasion. The army was occupied with an attempt to cut a canal across the neck of land opposite Vicksburg. Porter's mortar-boats kept up a daily bombardment of the batteries around the city. But beyond this, nothing was then undertaken by the besiegers. On his part, Farragut reported to the Navy Department, July 2d, thus summing up the situation: "The forts can be passed, and we have done it, and can do it again as often as may be required of us. It will not, however, be an easy matter for us to do more than silence the batteries for a time, as long as the enemy has a large force behind the hill to prevent our landing and holding the place."

Halleck General-in-chief.

By an order of the President, dated July 11th, 1862, Halleck was assigned "to command the whole land forces of the United States as General-in-chief," with headquarters in Washington. As had been already stated, this assignment was partly due to the division of commands made in the East between McClellan and Pope. It was thought necessary to have in Washington a military man who should have the right to command both of these generals. It was also desirable that the President should have near him a military adviser, one skilled in the art of war, to assist in the formation of new plans and the execution of details of a general campaign which should cover the operations of all the troops in the entire field. Halleck, by his administrative skill and ability, had shown himself the most available man for the position of Chief-of-staff to the President; and this is precisely what he became. He was the officer through whom the President's orders to the generals in the field were issued. It should be borne in mind that during this summer (that of 1862) the Confederate forces all along the line from Richmond to Vicksburg were stronger than they ever again appeared to be; and the activity of their forces was greater than ever before. During this summer, stimulated by the fear of still further disasters, replenished by a searching conscription, the Confederate armies were at their best.

Bragg's invasion of Kentucky.

Coincident with the invasion of Maryland, was another invasion of Kentucky by Bragg, whose force was now largely increased by conscription. At the beginning of September he had some 68,000 men, of whom the corps of Hardee and Polk were with him at Chattanooga, and that of Kirby Smith at Knoxville. They were directed to march through Kentucky, threatening Cincinnati, although their real aim was Louisville. Smith traversed nearly the whole breadth of Kentucky, until he reached Cynthiana, only a

few score miles from Cincinnati. A detachment from Smith's command — six thousand men under General Heth — actually went so far north as to be only a few miles from Covington, the Kentucky suburb of Cincinnati. The near approach of so considerable a force of the enemy created a panic in Cincinnati, and for a time the North was agitated by alarm lest that rich and important city should fall into the hands of the Confederates. But Heth's orders from his commander were imperative, and although he was confident of his ability to capture the city, he contented himself with a demonstration against Cincinnati; and, in a few days, he turned southward and rejoined Smith, who with his entire command reported to Bragg at Frankfort, Kentucky, October 4th.

Buell, who had been near Nashville, marched in the same direction, also heading for Louisville. It was an even chance which should first reach the goal. The burning of a bridge over Salt River at Bardstown checked Bragg, and, on the 25th of September, Buell was before him in Louisville, where he soon received reënforcements, increasing his army to 100,000 men. At this moment Bragg hoped that Kentucky would come over to the Confederacy, or at least would take a neutral position. He issued a proclamation very like that of Lee to the people of Maryland. "Kentuckians," said he, "we have come with joyful hopes. Let us not depart in sorrow, as we shall if we find you wedded to your present lot. If you prefer Federal rule, show it by your frowns, and we shall return whence we came. If you choose rather to come within the folds of our brotherhood, then cheer us with the smiles of your women, and lend your willing hands to secure yourselves in your heritage of liberty." But he went further than Lee had ventured to do in Maryland, for on the 4th of October he named one Thomas Hawes as provisional Governor of Kentucky. The so-called provisional Governor Thompson, who had been appointed by the Confederates during their previous invasion, had been killed in the battle of Shiloh. If Thompson's "election" had been irregular, that of Hawes was farcical. He was apparently the choice of Bragg's staff; but he was installed in office, now that the Confederates were in possession of the State capital at Frankfort, with a much more imposing civic and military array than his predecessor had been when the fleeting insurgent capital of Kentucky had been encamped at Bowling Green, then the "provisional" capital. The inauguration exercises were interrupted by war's alarms, and the administration of "Governor" Hawes was cut short by military movements which resulted in the battle of Perryville, a few days later. But Bragg's programme included the assumption that Kentucky was a part of the Confederacy; and he proceeded to

"Governor" Hawes.

carry out the provisions of the conscription law enacted by the Richmond Congress. He met with opposition. Few recruits came willingly to the standard of "the liberating army;" and the conscription was resisted, or the conscripts fled to the mountains to elude their persecutors. Bragg secured not men enough to take up the arms of those whom he lost by desertions and the casualties of war and sickness.

The real object of Bragg's invasion had been frustrated by Buell's forestalling him in the march upon Louisville. But in a secondary purpose he had succeeded almost to his heart's desire. Northern Kentucky was rich in what the Confederacy most lacked, — food and the materials for clothing. For these Bragg plundered right and left. Shops, stores, and farmhouses were broken open, and every article wanted was seized, nominal payment being made in almost worthless Confederate money. When he found he was likely to be overmatched by Buell, he retreated southward. The Confederate newspapers exultingly said — perhaps with some exaggeration — that "the wagon-train of supplies brought out of Kentucky was forty miles long. It brought a million yards of jeans, with a large amount of clothing, and boots and shoes; and 200 wagon-loads of bacon, 6,000 barrels of pork, 1,500 mules and horses, 8,000 beeves, and a large lot of swine."

Bragg's plunder.

Early in October Bragg slowly began his retrograde movement, fol-

Corinth.

Lieutenant-General John C. Pemberton, C. S. A.

lowed by Buell not quite so slowly. On the 7th a part of Buell's advance was close upon the Confederate rear. Bragg turned back upon the pursuers, and on the 8th was fought the battle of Perryville, lasting from noon until nightfall. The action was sharp, and well managed on the part of Bragg, and as badly managed on Buell's part. Bragg reported his loss at about 2,500, killed and wounded. It was 3,396. The Federal loss was 4,211, of whom 845 were killed, 2,851 wounded, and 515 missing. Bragg had brought into battle hardly a third of the number of men Buell might have used against him; but he had gained his immediate object. His long train was well on its way back to Chattanooga. Buell had not shown himself anywhere an efficient commander. A fortnight before an order had been issued relieving him from his command, and appointing General Thomas in his place.

Battle of Perryville.

George H. Thomas was a graduate of the United States Military Academy, of the class of 1840. He had served with credit in the Seminole war, and in the war with Mexico; he was with his command in Texas until the breaking out of the rebellion, when he was promoted to be a colonel; and he served under General Patterson for a short time. In the latter part of 1861 he was made a brigadier, and was transferred to the Department of the Cumberland. He distinguished himself in the battle of Mill Springs, Kentucky, in January, 1862, when the Confederate General Zollicoffer was killed. By that victory Thomas gained considerable fame; and among the trophies of his army were eleven pieces of artillery, quantities of ammunition and wagons, intrenching tools, commissary stores, muskets, five stands of colors, camp equipage, and the haversacks of the flying enemy. An incident of this fight was the remark of one of the prisoners, a sprightly young fellow, who, when rallied by the Federal soldiers on the haste with which his comrades had thrown away their haversacks, replied: "Well, we were doing pretty good fighting till old man Thomas rose up in his stirrups, and we heard him holler out: 'Attention, Creation! By kingdoms right wheel!' and then we knew you had us, and it was no time to carry weight."[1] When, in the midst of this later campaign (September,

George H. Thomas.

[1] *Battles and Leaders*, vol. i. p. 391.

1862), the order came to relieve Buell from command and place Thomas at the head of the Army of the Cumberland, Thomas protested with great warmth against the change. He was a capable and loyal soldier, and he was convinced that Buell had done his whole duty; he was most unwilling to take the command from his superior officer, in whose skill and ability he had implicit confidence. The order was accordingly recalled. Now, however, the patience of the National authorities was again severely tried, and by an order dated October 24th Buell was removed from his command and General W. S. Rosecrans was put in his place.

W. S. Rosecrans.

Rosecrans was a graduate of the United States Military Academy, of the class of 1842; after a brief term of service in the regular army, he had resigned his commission, and again entered the service at the breaking out of the civil war, volunteering on the staff of General McClellan when that officer was at the head of the Army of the Ohio. A popular notion that the success of McClellan in Western Virginia was largely due to Rosecrans (and the battle of Corinth, which occurred simultaneously with that of Perryville) probably served to inflate Rosecrans's military reputation; and he was hailed as the coming man of the war. His immediate reward was the command of the magnificent Army of the Cumberland. Buell retired and was heard of no more; his undoubted talents were thenceforward lost to the country. Rosecrans took command at Louisville, on the 30th of October, and moved to Bowling Green, where he divided his army into three wings, the right being commanded by Alexander McD. McCook, the centre by George H. Thomas, and the left by Thomas L. Crittenden. One of the grievances against Buell had been that he paid very little attention to the ardent desire of the Administration at Washington to free the loyalists of East Tennessee from the galling tyranny of the Confederates, who harried the people, persecuted those who were suspected of being true to the National government, and perpetually raided the country to sweep it of supplies for the sustenance of the army. Halleck, too, had paid very little attention to the often expressed wish of the Administration in this respect, his plans being rather in the direction of West Tennessee, where he hoped to accomplish great things. And now Rosecrans, following in the footsteps of others before him, instead of marching into East Tennessee, concentrated his army at Nashville, and began to accumulate stores and supplies.

But it is time to return to the armies operating further to the westward; consideration of which has been anticipated by this rapid review of the situation in Kentucky during the first part of Bragg's invasion. When Halleck was summoned to Washington, Grant was

left in command of the army at Shiloh. This had been greatly depleted to reënforce Buell. Van Dorn and Price, who had a large force near Corinth, undertook to recapture that place. Their first attempt led to an affair on the 19th of September at Iuka, a few miles from Corinth, in which Rosecrans bore a prominent part. It resulted in a check to the Confederates, who lost 1,500 men, the National loss being about half as many. The insurgent forces, meanwhile, were active in Tennessee. On the 28th of September General Anderson demanded the surrender of Nashville, where Buell had left only a small garrison. General Negley, firmly sustained by the provisional Governor, Andrew Johnson, peremptorily refused, and the citizens prepared to defend themselves with such means as they had at their command. Anderson, however, delayed the attack till his ranks were recruited by forced conscriptions among the people of Tennessee. On the 6th of October, Negley sent General Palmer and Colonel Morris against him at Lavergne, fifteen miles from Nashville, and by them he was completely routed. The arrival of Breckinridge's column at Murfreesboro, the latter part of the month, again put Nashville in peril, but the coming of General McCook's corps, early in November, again relieved it. The Sixteenth Illinois regiment foiled an attempt, by a column under General John H. Morgan, to destroy the bridge over the Cumberland, and this defeated a movement made at the same time to take the town.

Battle of Iuka.

Bragg's army had passed through Cumberland Gap into East Tennessee on his retreat, but that important point was soon ofter reoccupied by a National force under General George W. Morgan. His position now became a perilous one, as Kirby Smith, in the hope of capturing the division, threw a force in his front, and took possession of the roads north of him, the only direction in which he could retreat. Morgan was cut off from his source of supplies, and, with only a few days' rations remaining, he and his men must either starve or surrender, if they could find no means of escape. The Confederate line was nearly a semicircle, the opposite points resting on the base of the mountains on the right and left of the Gap. The evident policy of the Confederate commander, General Stevenson, was to starve out the Federals, who were in greatly inferior numbers, and were cut off from their base of supplies. The only practical line of retreat to the Ohio River was by the way of Manchester, Booneville, and West Liberty to Greenup, on the river, across Kentucky, a distance of more than two hundred miles, through a rough and hilly country beset with enemies. Morgan was determined to save his command. He exploded his magazine, destroyed his stores, tents, wagons, gun-carriages, all the ammunition and arms that the men could

Morgan's retreat.

Painted by Carlton T. Chapman.

THE UNION FLEET RUNNING THE BATTERIES OF FORTS ST. PHILIP AND JACKSON.

not carry in light marching order, and started for the Ohio. In sixteen days they reached the banks of that river, living on green corn, gathered as they marched, rather harassing than harassed by the enemy, who were all around them more than two to one, and to whom they gave no opportunity to take up the offensive. "Although on the retreat," said Morgan to his troops when the brilliant feat was finished, "you constantly acted on the offensive; so hotly did you press the enemy sent to retard your march, that on three successive days you surprised the hungry rebels at their supper, and fed upon the hurried meals which they had prepared." The bold Confederate trooper, John H. Morgan, harassed the retreating column as much as possible; but the energy and skill of G. W. Morgan's engineers and pioneers enabled the Federal troops to evade the enemy on their line of march. It often happened, said the Federal general, "that while the one Morgan was clearing out the obstructions at the entrance to a defile, the other Morgan was blocking the exit from the same defile with enormous rocks and felled trees." This retreat was one of the most masterly of the war. It not only saved an important command, without the loss of a gun or a wagon, but it detained the Confederate force under Kirby Smith long enough to prevent the junction of the Confederate armies in Kentucky, and thus averted danger from Louisville.

Grant's operations in the autumn of 1862 led him down the Mississippi toward Vicksburg, Rosecrans, with 20,000 men, being left in command at Corinth, where the fortifications had been greatly strengthened since its abandonment by Beauregard. Van Dorn and Price, who had about 40,000, undertook to take Corinth by direct assault on the 4th of October. The attack, injudiciously planned, was vigorously made. For a time it promised to be successful, several outworks being carried. But when the Confederates came to the inner works, they were met by a storm of grape, canister, and musketry which no human endurance could withstand, and the assaulting columns were driven back in utter confusion. The National loss here was 2,520, of whom 355 were killed, 1,841 wounded, and 324 missing. The Confederate loss is thus given by Rosecrans in a general order to his troops: "Upon the issue of the fight depended the possession of West Tennessee, and perhaps even the fate of operations in Kentucky. The entire available force of the rebels in Mississippi attacked you. They numbered, according to their own authorities, nearly 40,000 men, almost double your own numbers. You killed and buried 1,420 officers and men. Their wounded, at the usual rate, must exceed 5,000. You took 2,268 prisoners." The entire loss of the enemy was therefore more than 8,600, nearly four

Battle of Corinth.

times that of the Federal army. But the official records of the Confederates showed a much smaller loss. They were willing to acknowledge a total loss of only 4,838. The exact figures probably lie somewhere between those given by Rosecrans and those of General Van Dorn, now found in the Confederate records.

General Grant was disappointed by the failure of Rosecrans to pursue the retreating Confederates with the vigor which he thought possible. It appeared to be a repetition of a mistake he had made at Iuka when he had not followed up his advantage with the celerity expected of him. Curiously enough, the Confederate commander, Van Dorn, was also accused of neglect of duty, and also of cruel and improper treatment of his men and officers. He was relieved from his command, and was succeeded by General John C. Pemberton. The charges against Van Dorn, however, after being considered by a court of inquiry, were dismissed as not proven. The disaster at Corinth was a heavy blow to the fortunes of the Confederacy, and it was natural that some one should be sought for to bear the blame for a defeat which was felt to be a calamity and an ignominy. It was at this point that Rosecrans, although he had failed to meet the expectations of Grant, and had incurred the displeasure and the criticism of that able military chief, received the important command of the Army of the Cumberland, superseding Buell, who had just gained the battle of Perryville. The reasons for the military changes in the *personnel* of the armies of the United States at this time were not understood by the people; and subsequent events did not in all cases relieve these changes of the confusion that appeared to cover them.

Murfreesboro.

The unsuccessful Confederate attempt upon Corinth coincides in time almost exactly with the beginning of Bragg's retreat from Kentucky. The results of this expedition were to the authorities at Richmond a disappointment more bitter than had been those of Lee's invasion of Maryland, for now they had come to look upon the battle of Antietam a as Confederate success, since McClellan lay motionless upon the north side of the Potomac, either afraid or unwilling to move upon Lee. Bragg was directed to renew his movement northward from Chattanooga. Towards the close of December, he was at Murfreesboro, thirty miles southeast of Nashville, his army being apparently well in hand. In Virginia things looked so well for the Confederates that Lee thought it safe to detach two thirds of Longstreet's large corps to North Carolina. Sherman's operations against Vicksburg seemed likely to fail. Even in Tennessee the outlook was promising, when Bragg moved to Murfreesboro. Rosecrans, with something less than 50,000 men, was at Nashville, whence it was not thought probable that he would attempt to move before

spring. He had to depend for supplies upon Louisville, three hundred miles away, by means of a single railroad. Bragg had with him, or close at hand, fully 60,000 men,[1] a portion of whom, chiefly cavalry, had been detached to operate against Rosecrans's communications. The Christmas holidays were approaching, and there was much hilarity at Murfreesboro. Jefferson Davis made a flying visit thither. There were many festivities, at one of which, the wedding of John H. Morgan, the warlike Bishop Polk officiated, and the guests danced upon a floor where the hated Union flag served for a carpet, that it might be literally "trampled upon."

Battle of Stone's River.

Whatever Bragg's ultimate purpose might be, Rosecrans undertook to forestall it by suddenly taking the offensive. On the day after Christmas he moved from Nashville, and on the 30th of December, having driven in the Confederate outposts, he took up a position about four miles from Murfreesboro, from which he was separated by Stone's River, a sluggish stream, bordered by cedar brakes. Bragg thereupon collected his force and assumed a line parallel to that of Rosecrans, between it and Murfreesboro. Then ensued one of the most hotly contested actions of the war, called the Battle of Stone's River, or of Murfreesboro. The forces engaged are very differently stated, each commander affirming that he was greatly outnumbered. Rosecrans says he had 43,000 men, and estimated that the enemy had 62,000. Bragg gives his force at 35,000, and estimated that of Rosecrans at 70,000. The returns show that Rosecrans's statement was the more nearly correct. The Confederate returns clearly indicate that Bragg had fully 50,000 men.

This is one of the few actions in which both commanders had determined to attack the enemy in his own chosen position. Each proposed to strike first with his left at the right of the other. Bragg struck first. At dawn of December 31st, a dense fog hung over the banks of Stone's River. Emerging from this, Bragg fell furiously upon the Federal right. The two divisions of Johnson and Davis were swept away, losing most of their guns and many prisoners. The next division was that of Philip H. Sheridan, who stood his ground stoutly, though assailed in front and on one flank by greatly superior numbers. At length he was forced back a little, having lost his train, and exhausted all the ammunition of his infantry, but he formed a new line, and stood at bay with the bayonet. For the proposed attack upon the enemy's weak right, Rosecrans had to cross the river, upon the opposite side of which was only the division of

[1] The returns from Bragg's army, of December 10, give him, in round numbers, 88,000, "present and absent," 59,000 "present," of whom 51,000 were "present for duty." The number "present for duty," December 31st, was 37,712.

Breckinridge. This purpose had now to be abandoned, and the entire Federal force concentrated upon a new line on their imperilled right. This was done with rare skill, and only just in time. The Confederates rushed upon this new line, bringing up all their force, with the exception of Breckrinridge. They advanced from the cedar thickets which they had already won, but were met with a terrible fire from which they recoiled. Four times the charge was repeated, with the same result, and at last they took refuge among the cedars from which they had come. Breckinridge's division of 7,000 fresh men was now brought across the river. Twice more was the attack renewed, and twice more was it repulsed. Night came on, and the two armies rested in the positions where darkness found them.

On New Year's Day, 1863, there was no fighting except a little cavalry skirmishing. Bragg evidently supposed that the enemy were about to retreat; but Rosecrans had been busy in strengthening his position on what was now the Confederate front, and in making preparations to resume his former plan of attack. On the morning of the 2d, Bragg made some demonstrations, with the object of discovering what his opponent meant to do. He soon learned, to his cost. Rosecrans had made his position a sort of citadel, from which he could sally and strike upon any point. He sent a weak division across Stone's River, to menace the former Confederate right. Breckinridge was ordered to that side to meet this movement. This was accomplished. But Stone's River was a military obstacle so slight, that it mattered little on which side of it the forces were. Rosecrans had indeed lost a third of his artillery; but he had enough left for the work in hand. The batteries were posted upon an eminence, from which the whole battle-field on both sides of the river could be swept. Breckinridge's and Polk's divisions attempted vainly to carry this position. Rosecrans tells the result in a few words: "The firing was terrific, and the havoc terrible. The enemy retreated more rapidly than they had advanced. In forty minutes they lost 2,000 men. . . . It was now dark and raining, or we should have pursued the enemy into Murfreesboro. As it was, Crittenden's corps passed over and, with Davis, occupied the crests, which were intrenched in a few hours."

The *Hartford* and *Albatross* as they appeared at Vicksburg after running the Batteries of Port Hudson in March, 1862.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

The Court House at Vicksburg.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

This battle of Stone's River is one of the few actions of the war fought upon both sides in accordance with the best rules of strategy and tactics. Both Bragg and Rosecrans displayed military ability which neither of them afterwards showed. Each of them seems to have divined the purpose of the other. Each attacked at the point where he knew himself to be strongest, and where he had good reason to believe the enemy to be weakest. Each brought into action the whole of his force, with what resolute determination is shown by the losses. The total loss of the Federal army in this campaign was 13,249, of whom 1,730 were killed, 7,802 wounded, and 3,717 captured or missing. The Confederate losses were not fully reported; their official records show these figures: 1,294 killed, 7,945 wounded, 1,027 captured or missing; total, 10,266; but this sum total is probably somewhat below the actual figures. The storm that raged on the 3d of the month prevented further action. Bragg began his retreat on that night, falling back to the south of Elk River, and ultimately concentrating his shattered forces at Tullahoma. Rosecrans was in no condition for pursuit. His cavalry force was inferior to the enemy's.

Results.

While these operations were going on in Kentucky and Tennessee, events of great moment were taking place further to the south and west. Grant, being now left in supreme command on the Mississippi, resolved to carry out the plan of which the capture of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson had been a part. He had been peremptorily ordered to clear the Mississippi River of all military obstructions; and his own personal feelings, so thoroughly in sympathy with those of the Western people, were warmly enlisted in the enterprise committed to his skill and care. But although Vicksburg was still the chief objective point in any campaign for the deliverance of the great river from blockade, it was no longer the sole point from which the enemy could command the stream.

Grant's command on the Mississippi

Toward the end of July, 1862, the Federal fleet that had been

threatening Vicksburg from below returned to Baton Rouge, and the army, abandoning the canal on which they had been at work, soon landed again at that place. Overwork, malaria, and scurvy had so depleted the ranks of General Williams's forces that he had barely 800 men out of his former 3,200 fit for duty. At this critical juncture, the Confederates resolved to make an attempt to retake Baton Rouge, the capital of Louisiana, with the ultimate object of recapturing New Orleans. Accordingly, Van Dorn prepared to assume the offensive once more, and on the 5th of August, Breckinridge, with two divisions of troops, was sent against Baton Rouge, and a sharp engagement took place between the two little armies in the rear of the town. The enemy was repulsed, but in the fight General Williams was killed. The Confederates fell back to Port Hudson, about twenty-five miles below the northern boundary of the State of Louisiana, on the east bank of the Mississippi. The Federal troops quietly evacuated Baton Rouge on the 20th of August, and returned to the vicinity of New Orleans. Meanwhile Breckinridge, with great energy, began the fortification of Port Hudson; and a second strategic point, 200 miles below Vicksburg, was thus secured on the river for the Confederates.

Port Hudson fortified.

Now, towards the end of October, Grant began the planning of a campaign by land. It had been found that a fleet of gunboats, however formidable, could not successfully cope with the batteries on the bluffs near Vicksburg; or, as Farragut had described the situation, although the fleet could run past the batteries as often as required, it could not take the town so long as it was defended by a land force securely entrenched behind its hill. At Vicksburg the Mississippi turns northeastward for ten or fifteen miles, then trends to the southwest, thus forming a sharp curve measuring thirty miles, though the distance across the peninsula is hardly two miles. Vicksburg is nearly at the bend of this curve, and if a direct channel could be made across the land for the river, the city would be left an inland town, ten miles or more from the Mississippi. As early as July, 1862, when demonstrations were made up the Mississippi from New Orleans, there had been an attempt to change the course of the river by cutting a canal. But the mighty stream, which has often made short cuts for itself in a single night, refused to follow the new channel. Meantime the Confederates had perceived the importance of Vicksburg, surrounded it with fortifications on the land side, and greatly strengthened the river batteries. General Pemberton, a special favorite of Jefferson Davis, was made Lieutenant-general, in order that he might outrank Van Dorn, and was placed in command of all the Confederate force in this region. Thus matters stood late

Poison Spring, Chickasaw Bayou, Miss.

Drawn by Harry Allchin from a photograph made in December, 1862.

in November, 1862, when Grant found himself in a condition to undertake the capture of Vicksburg.

The plan of operations had been carefully arranged between Grant and Sherman. For its execution there were in all more than 70,000 men, posted in different places, 18,000 being with Sherman at Memphis. The general idea was, that Sherman should move rapidly down the river, while Grant, moving by the Central Mississippi Railroad, should take Vicksburg in the rear. Pemberton took a position midway between Vicksburg and Memphis, on the Tallahatchie River, hoping to prevent Grant from coming down by the railroad, but he was manœuvred out of it. Sherman says: "Grant moved direct upon Pemberton, while I moved from Memphis, and a smaller force, under General Washburne, struck directly upon Grenada, which was in the enemy's rear. The first thing that Pemberton knew, the depot of his supplies was almost in the grasp of a small cavalry force, and he fell back in confusion, giving us the Tallahatchie without a battle." Vicksburg thus seemed within the grasp of the Federal armies. Grant's plans.

But success was wrested from them by an occurrence apparently trivial. Grant's force must depend for supplies upon the railroad; and he had established his main depot at Holly Springs, Mississippi,

Negroes coming into Vicksburg for Supplies.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

a few miles below Memphis, apparently quite safe from molestation. This main depot was guarded by Colonel Murphy, with about 2,000 men. Van Dorn, with his cavalry, made a long ride around Grant's army, and on the 20th of December came upon Holly Springs, surprising the camp, and capturing Murphy's force. The prisoners were immediately paroled. The railroad depot, the station-house, the engine-house, and the immense storehouses, all filled with commissary stores and clothing, were burned. In one of the buildings were a hundred barrels of gunpowder, the explosion of which knocked down nearly all the houses on one side of the public square. The goods thus destroyed were valued at $2,000,000. Grant had learned that a raid was directed here, had given warning to Murphy, and despatched reënforcements to him. But he took no precautions against surprise, and gave up the post without striking a blow. For his conduct on this occasion he was subsequently dismissed from the service. This untoward event compelled in the end an entire change in the conduct of the campaign. Grant had to replace his supplies; and before this could be done, he determined that the land march must be abandoned, and the whole army should sail down the Mississippi.

Holly Springs.

Sherman, ignorant of the disaster at Holly Springs, had gone

down the river, landed near the mouth of the Yazoo, a muddy stream that falls into the Mississippi above Vicksburg, and made an ineffectual attack upon the land side of the fortifications in the rear of the town. With this movement properly began the long siege of Vicksburg. It closed on the 31st of December, at the very time when the battle of Stone's River was at its height. The attack was rendered difficult by the nature of the country, which was swampy and intersected by creeks and bayous, along which were levees, sometimes fourteen feet high, which in many places formed intrenchments as perfect as if they had been designed for that purpose. The Confederate line of works was fifteen miles long, assailable at only a few points. An attempt was made to carry them, but without success anywhere. The whole effort cost Sherman 1,929 men, of whom 191 were reported killed, 982 wounded, and 756 missing. The Confederate loss was very much less. Pemberton, not now having to confront Grant upon the inland way by the railroad, was able to throw large reënforcements into Vicksburg, transforming it into a citadel. Sherman was convinced that the place was too strong to be assailed by the force at his command, and that the direct siege must be suspended until Grant's army should come down the river.

Sherman's attempt upon Vicksburg.

Sherman's force, some 40,000 men, had gone down on a fleet of steamboats, the energy and celerity of the commander in this case being quickened by the report which Grant and Sherman had heard of an impending change in the command of the expedition. General John A. McClernand, a fellow-townsman of the President, a prominent and influential Democratic leader in Illinois, greatly exercised in his mind over the long blockade of the Mississippi, had secured authority to raise new levies of troops in the States of Iowa, Indiana, and Illinois for the express purpose of furnishing an army contingent to be employed in the reduction of the Confederate works along the river. McClernand was not a favorite with Mr. Lincoln; but the President appreciated his services, and nobody better than Lincoln knew the importance of enlisting through a political leader like McClernand the hearty coöperation and support of those elements in the population of the West which had not been altogether friendly to the war for the maintenance of the Union. Although he had not had a military education, McClernand made rapid progress in the early part of the war. He was among the first of the civilian brigadiers, and he carried himself well at Belmont and at the capture of Fort Donelson, in which latter fight he commanded the right of the line. Grant thoroughly disliked and distrusted him; and Sherman naturally shared the feeling of his superior officer and friend. But

Sherman got away without interference, and departed with the authority of the War Department on his errand, which, as we have just seen, was not fruitful of substantial results. On the very day of Sherman's departure from Memphis, however, Grant received a despatch from Washington informing him that "It is the wish of the President that General McClernand's corps shall constitute a part of the river expedition, and that he shall have the immediate command, under your direction." This was an unwelcome order for Grant, but he faithfully endeavored to have it executed. He sent instructions to Sherman, and notified McClernand, who was at Springfield, Illinois, of the proposed change in the command. Neither of these despatches reached their destination; a movement by the bold Confederate cavalryman, Forrest, simultaneous with that which destroyed Grant's supply depot at Holly Springs, cut off his telegraphic communications with the North and Northwest. Sherman departed on his down-river expedition ignorant of the destruction of Grant's base of supply and of the intended substitution of McClernand in the command of the expedition.

On the 2d of January, 1863, General McClernand came down to take command. That which had been styled the Army of the Tennessee ceased formally to exist. The whole force in this quarter was now called the Army of the Mississippi, being divided into two corps, the one to be under the immediate command of General G. W. Morgan, the other under Sherman.

McClernand's command was brief and hardly more than nominal.

Fort Hindman.

The chief incident in it was the capture of Fort Hindman, forty miles up the Arkansas River. This fort formed a kind of defence for several steamers, which, sallying out into the Mississippi, annoyed the supply-boats, and made some considerable captures. A combined naval and military force — under Commodore Porter and General Sherman — was sent against the fort. On the 10th of January, the gunboats shelled the Southern sharpshooters out of their rifle-pits, and under their fire the troops pushed through the half-frozen swamps, where they encamped during the night. In the morning they advanced under a heavy fire, from which they suffered severely, and were on the point of assaulting, when a white flag was raised, and the fort was surrendered, with about 5,000 prisoners. The capture cost nearly 1,000 men. The enemy, fighting under cover, suffered much less. So important was the fort considered to be that Churchill, its commander, had been ordered "to hold on until help arrived, or till all were dead." He said that he would have done so, had not some of his soldiers hung out the white flag without his knowledge. The possession of the place, though of importance to the

Vicksburg.

Confederates, was of no value to the Union army, and after some further raids up the river Fort Hindman was abandoned. But, although his capture of this post was not of permanent value to the National forces operating on the Mississippi, there was afterwards some discussion as to the credit to be given for suggesting the expedition. It was claimed that the plan originated with McClernand, but the weight of evidence appears to be in Sherman's favor. Grant, ignorant of Sherman's responsibility for the campaign against Fort Hindman, characterized the movement as "a wild-goose chase."

Grant had full authority to relieve McClernand from command, but he was apparently unwilling to exercise it. An angry correspondence was opened between the two generals; and this resulted, six months later, in McClernand's being relieved. But the immediate effect of the strained relations between Grant and McClernand was the decision of Grant to take command of the Vicksburg expedition himself. He would not trust McClernand. His sense of justice forbade his giving the command to McClernand's junior; and this complication gave Grant an opportunity to win new laurels, and to add to the history of the Civil War one of its most glowing and fascinating chapters. The Army of the Mississippi was now divided into four corps, the numbering of which was ordered to correspond with a general reorganization of the armies of the United States. The army under Grant, accordingly, was commanded as fol-

Grant and McClernand.

lows: the Thirteenth Corps by McClernand, the Fifteenth by Sherman, the Sixteenth by Hurlbut, and the Seventeenth by McPherson. In his new dispositions, Grant assigned to Hurlbut's corps the duty of guarding the Memphis and Charleston railroad, running through Corinth; McPherson's corps was brought down the river and joined to the corps of Sherman and McClernand at Milliken's Bend, seventeen miles above Vicksburg. With the close of 1862 it may be said that the famous siege of Vicksburg began.

The struggle for the possession of Missouri continued through the year, with varying success; but so little had military movements there to do with those on the eastern side of the Mississippi that they can hardly be considered as influencing the general result. Nowhere else was the struggle so clearly defined in a slave State between the Unionists who were ready to sacrifice slavery to the Union, and those who were determined to save it by dragging the State into the confederacy. Had the President thought it well to sustain General Fremont's proclamation of emancipation, the issue between the two parties in that State would at least have been more sharply defined and more speedily settled. There were about 115,000 slaves in Missouri. Had all these been freed and those capable of bearing arms called into service, there can hardly be a doubt of what the result would have been.

The war in Mississippi and Arkansas.

In December, 1861, General Pope had driven Price into Arkansas. That General was soon reënforced by Earl Van Dorn with a body of 20,000 men, including about 2,000 Indians under Albert Pike. General Samuel R. Curtis, who was in command in Southern Missouri, met and defeated this army, with about half the number, in the battle at Pea Ridge in March. His loss was 1,351 men, one half of which was in the division of Colonel Cass, who had borne the brunt of the fight. Curtis's intention was to push on to Little Rock, Arkansas, but for want of provisions — detained by low water in White River — he could only make his way to Helena on the Mississippi. General Schofield was at this time in command of the militia of the State, and through the summer his force, which was chiefly cavalry, was busy in clearing the country of parties of guerillas. One body of about 1,000 men was almost annihilated by Colonel Porter, and another of 1,200 was completely dispersed by Colonel Guitar, and the portion of the State lying north of the Missouri River was almost entirely rid of these marauders. In the western and southwestern portion of the State the insurgents, for a time, were more successful, till General Schofield himself took the field. In a vigorous campaign continued through October and November, they were driven out of the State, followed into Arkansas, and finally

dispersed in a fight with General Blunt at Maysville and General Heron near Fayetteville. The Confederate General Hindman, who was in command in Arkansas, soon recruited his army by fresh conscriptions, and with 11,000 men met Heron at Prairie Grove with only 5,000. With these Heron withstood Hindman for half a day, till reënforced by Blunt with 7,000 men. The battle lasted till dark, when Hindman retreated. The Federal loss was 1,148; on the other side, 1,317.

Federal Camp outside of Vicksburg.
(McClernand's headquarters in background.)
Drawn by Harry Allchin from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

CHAPTER II.

NON-MILITARY EVENTS OF 1862.

FLAGGING OF THE WAR SPIRIT. — LOW TIDE IN THE RECRUITING SERVICE. — PRESSURE OF FINANCIAL BURDENS. — DEVICES FOR RAISING MONEY. — GREAT LOANS AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS. — NEW SYSTEM OF TAXATION. — SUSPENSION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS. — PAPER BECOMES THE ONLY CURRENCY. — ORGANIZATION OF SANITARY AND CHRISTIAN COMMISSIONS. — DISTURBED FOREIGN RELATIONS. — BRITISH AND FRENCH FAVORS TO THE INSURGENTS. — APPEARANCE OF INSURGENT COMMERCE-DESTROYERS. — INVASION OF MEXICO. — THE FRENCH EMPEROR PROPOSES MEDIATION. — THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS OF 1862. — A CABINET CRISIS. — ADMISSION OF WEST VIRGINIA.

Gloomy close of 1862.

NOTWITHSTANDING the gleams of light in the West that brightened the military situation, the year 1862 closed gloomily for the friends of the distressed Union. It cannot be truly said that there was any real despondency for the National cause on the part of the people. Probably the mass of the Northern and Western people, when they turned their attention from the details of the war and from their own private affairs to the larger questions that loomed in the background, were less discouraged concerning the future than were many of the great public leaders, whose habitual contemplation of passing events was likely to induce an abnormally depressed state of mind. As a whole, the American people were steadily confident of ultimate success. But the military events of the year, in spite of some very notable triumphs, were not altogether propitious. The darkness of the general prospect was deepened by the fact that the very last acts of the drama of 1862 were sad. The frightful disaster and carnage of Fredericksburg, and the failure of Sherman's campaign against Vicksburg, stood out prominently in the minds of those who had watched the field with anxious hearts, looking for light. Both of these events left a painful impression on the minds of loyal men.

The Nation was now beginning to feel the financial burden of the war; thousands of homes were badged with mourning for those who had fallen on battle-fields; recruitments came more reluctantly; and the foreign relations of the United States gave every patriot reason-

able cause for anxiety. Although there was no appreciable abatement of the popular confidence in the ultimate triumph of the National arms, it had now become evident that the struggle must be long and wasteful of life and treasure. The end of the war seemed farther off than ever. The joyous enthusiasm with which men had rushed to the defence of the Union, choking the streets with their ranks, and even resorting to certain forms of pious fraud to secure the privilege of fighting for their country, had materially abated. Men were still ready to enlist "for the war," but much of the old spirit of holy zeal was gone. It had become necessary to offer greater inducements to recruits; and appeals were made to the States, rather than to individuals, to fill up the quotas required for the service of the army.

Difficulties in raising troops.

The fearful loss of life that had been incurred during the long and resultless Peninsular campaign of McClellan and in the still more discouraging repulse of Burnside at Fredericksburg created the necessity for more soldiers, while it chilled the enthusiasm of the people from whom those soldiers must come. There were too few advantages wrought by victories in the field to counterbalance the startling losses sustained in battles. So great was the volume of the recruiting by volunteers early in the war, and so mighty the expense of arming, equipping, and sustaining this army, that the Government unwisely stopped receiving volunteers early in the month of April, 1862. It was soon found, however, that an error had been committed, and recruiting was resumed two months later. The policy of enlisting men for a term of service so brief as three months was found to be not economical. Often it came to pass that some of these levies were made useless at a critical moment by the expiration of their term of enlistment. To arm, equip, and send to the front considerable bodies of men whose efficiency was not reached until it was time for them to go home was not a desirable practice in a long war; and this was not to be a short war. It had been thought that the force brought under arms by the various acts of Congress on the statute-books in May, 1862, would be adequate for the work of quelling the insurrection in the Southern States. That force, all told, amounted to 637,126 men. Before the war was over, it was found necessary to set in the field an army of more than two million men.

Meeting of loyal governors.

The losses of the Army of the Potomac during the Peninsular campaign and the anticipated invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania by the Confederate troops induced Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, to propose a meeting of the governors of the loyal States to take measures for a more active support of the Government of the United States. This council was held in Altoona,

Pennsylvania, September 24th. The governors of seventeen States met in conference, and, after renewing their pledges of devotion to the Union and reiterating their promises to support the President in his efforts to suppress the rebellion, they recommended that a reserve army of 100,000 men should be kept constantly on foot, to be raised, equipped, and trained at home, ready for any emergencies that might arise. Under the authority of Congress, President Lincoln had issued a call, July 2d, for 300,000 men. But this call did not meet the exigency, and in the following month, the need of more troops being just then very pressing, another call, this time for 300,000 militia, to serve nine months, was issued, but with very unsatisfactory results. In some of the States upon which this demand was made, it was necessary to resort to a draft; measures of this sort were highly unpopular, and in some instances they were resisted. Even out of the 87,000 obtained in this way there were lost many by desertions; and in Pennsylvania it was discovered that the opposition to the draft was so bitter that armed men interfered to prevent the departure of those who had thus been put into the service of the State for National employment. Incidents like these, however, were not common; but the general result was far from being as satisfactory as had been hoped. By the same authority which was given the President to call out the State militia for nine months to the number of 100,000 men, he was empowered to enlist as many volunteers as should be necessary to fill up the regiments already in the field. It was evident that neither of these calls would suffice for immediate needs. Under the circumstances, nothing short of a conscription law would fill up the depleted ranks of the armies. This plan was quietly discussed as the year closed; but men regarded it with aversion and dread. Impressment was always hateful to the American citizen; and any form of military enlistment that savored of compulsion would certainly be unpopular in a free State.

The public credit.

The public credit was very much better after the Lincoln Administration came in and civil war had actually begun, than it had been during the years immediately previous. Although in a condition of profound peace, the United States Government had found it difficult to borrow money during the Buchanan Administration without submitting to heavy discounts from the money lenders. The management of the finances of the Nation had been exceedingly bad, and the treasury was empty when the party of Lincoln came into power. Howell Cobb, Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury, accepted loans at twelve per cent., under hard conditions from the money lenders; and his immediate successor under the same Administration was only able to reduce these figures to ten per cent. Sec-

A Sanitary Commission Wagon.
Drawn by Gustav Verbeek from a photograph.

retary Salmon P. Chase, whose services in those critical years were eminently distinguished and have given him a high place in the veneration of his countrymen, availed himself of the legislation which he found still operative when he came into office; in placing the fragments of the loan left unsold by his predecessors, he was able to secure far better terms than either of them. He borrowed $3,000,000 at a discount of six per cent. or less; $5,000,000 at par; and when the war had actually begun and the world looked on to see the final breaking up of the American Union, he borrowed $9,000,000 on bonds and notes at figures only a little below par. These acts partook of that hand-to-mouth character which is necessary in a time of transition like that between two such administrations as those of James Buchanan and Abraham Lincoln. When Congress was called together on the Fourth of July, 1861, to consider the state of the country, the National debt was $90,000,000, and there was only a small balance, some $2,000,000, in the Federal treasury. Congress was informed by the Secretary of the Treasury that the enormous sum of $318,519,581 would be required to carry on the Government for the year ending June 30th, 1862; and of this amount, $217,168,850 was needed for war purposes alone.

These figures will serve to indicate the weight of the burdens which must be borne by the people; for although the Secretary proposed to borrow $140,000,000, he announced a system of taxation which should raise at least $80,000,000 for the treasury of the Nation. Congress responded by authorizing a loan of $250,000,000. The Secretary advised that the new loan should be so constructed that it would be absorbed by the American people; they should be dealt with liberally and the loan so managed as to "reward

Financial problems and plans.

those who come forward in the hour of peril to place their means at the disposal of their country." Congress fixed the rate of interest on the new bonds at seven per cent. per annum; it authorized the Secretary to place $100,000,000 of the loan in Europe. Congress also authorized the issue of interest-bearing treasury notes; also another supplemental loan in bonds at six per cent. interest, exchangeable for interest-bearing notes. Taxation was next provided for; under the scheme which eventually became a law of this Congress, duties on imports were increased, the collection of a direct tax was ordered, and incomes were taxed. The direct tax was to be $20,000,000; it was apportioned among the States. The bill authorizing the six-per-cent. loan also authorized the issuance of five-dollar treasury notes to the amount of $50,000,000, "payable on demand, without interest," and "receivable in payment of public dues." This last device was looked at askance by a majority of the people, who were unused to the sight of bank-notes issued by the United States Government.

War taxation.

The people of the United States have always had a horror of a National debt; that debt had reached the vast proportions of nearly $515,000,000 by the end of 1862. They were wholly unaccustomed to the pressure of taxation; by the end of 1862, they were carrying a system of taxation which embraced almost everything under the light of the sun that was taxable. Imported luxuries paid dearly at the custom-houses; spirits and tobacco were heavily assessed; licenses were required of traders, bankers, brokers, pedlers, auctioneers, theatres, and a great variety of manufacturing and trading interests; a stamp tax was laid on legal documents and evidences of indebtedness; and public carriers were required to pay a tariff on the passengers whom they transported. To say that these burdens were borne uncomplainingly would be to pass too lightly over the history of those trying times. But, considering the suddenness of this crisis in the affairs of the country, and the weight of the burdens imposed, we may be confident that the annals of other peoples may be searched in vain for another instance of such forbearance, patience, and courageous patriotism. If the unwelcome load of taxation was not always carried with cheerfulness and alacrity, it was at least sustained with a grim satisfaction in the belief that it was only for a little while, and that it was undertaken for the lasting good of the whole country.

Suspension of specie payments, and its results.

The financial pressure brought with it many incidental hardships, which the people were called upon to endure. On the 28th of December, 1861, the banks voted to suspend specie payments. Their gold was fast disappearing, and it was wise to shut the coffer-lid before it was all gone. And as the

Government depended on the banks, it, too, suspended specie payments immediately after this action had been taken. An irredeemable paper currency appeared now to be inevitable. The banks had refused to accept the demand notes except as special deposits, the bank managers having gained the impression that the issue of $50,000,000 was the indication of "a purpose of resorting to Government paper issues to carry on the war." In February, 1862, a bill finally passed Congress, and was signed by the President, February 25th, making treasury notes a legal tender in payment of debts. The laws authorizing the great loans before alluded to were the first ever enacted in the United States placing in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury the sole power of negotiating loans. The so-called legal tender act of 1862 was the first ever enacted in the United States "making anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debts." [1]

It was not always possible to get the money needed to pay the soldiers who were fighting the battles of the country. So great was the destitution of some of the families of these men that relief societies were organized by town and city governments, charged with the duty of supplying the soldiers' families with the necessaries of life until such time as the Government could pay the men in the field. This work was undertaken with alacrity and zeal; if there were at first a few cases of hardship arising from the inability of the Government to pay the soldiers, ultimately the relief organizations and the generosity of private individuals prevented any real suffering from this cause.

Postage-stamps as currency.

When gold took flight, the minor silver currency of the country speedily followed; the people, unprepared for this disappearance of the small change of daily trade and commerce, were at their wits' end to find a substitute; naturally, they first turned to postage-stamps (which were governmental representatives of a real value) as a makeshift. And Congress, in July, 1862, legalized the use of postage-stamps in making payments to the Government in amounts not greater than ten dollars. But the stamps were never popular as currency; their adhesiveness caused much trouble and loss. Corporations and large trading and manufacturing concerns began to issue small bills (stigmatized as "shinplasters") receivable for merchandise and in payment of current accounts; cities and towns followed with the printing of small notes receivable for taxes and municipal licenses. There was every prospect that the country would be flooded with an irredeemable and variegated fractional currency which would entail much loss and vexation unless

[1] *United States Notes*, by John J. Knox, p. 117.

The Office of the Christian Commission at Washington.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

steps were taken to prevent it. Accordingly, Congress came to the rescue with a law authorizing an issue of not more than $50,000,000 in fractional currency, redeemable in United States notes in sums not less than three dollars, and exchangeable for postage and revenue stamps and receivable for dues to the United States for amounts less than five dollars, except duties on imports. As Congress had meanwhile prohibited the issuing of any check, token, note, or other obligation less than one dollar, "intended to circulate as money, or to be received or used in lieu of lawful money," the fractional currency served a useful purpose and quickly drove out all other forms of small currency. The generation of men who used this fractional currency, however, persisted in calling it "postal currency," and for years after, the popular slang term for all paper money was "stamps."

"Postal" currency.

The total amount of fractional currency issued by the Government during the period of exclusively paper money currency, including several reissues, was $368,720,079.21. As some $30,000,000 were kept in circulation each year, the device was economical for the Government; it bore no interest, and eventually, when it was called in and cancelled, the response showed that a considerable sum had been lost

or destroyed. The loss to the people in this way was about $8,000,000, and the Government was the gainer to that amount; but as the loss was widely distributed, it was not felt by anybody. The fractional notes were issued in denominations of fifty, twenty-five, ten, five, and three cents. In some instances a feeble attempt was made to give them a metallic appearance by printing on their face a gilded ring.

The relief commissions.

Organized and private operations for the relief of those who were enlisted in the ranks of the army were not confined to the succoring of families of absent fighting men. During these earliest years of the war there were two large philanthropic and benevolent associations in the field. The United States Sanitary Commission provided the soldiers in camp and hospital and on the battle-field with the comforts and remedies which the sick required, and with that first aid to the wounded which the overworked army surgeons were not able to extend with promptness. The United States Christian Commission came to the relief of the army chaplains, administering the consolations of religion to the sick and dying, and furnishing wholesome reading and agreeable attendance to soldiers confined in camps and hospitals. The organizing work of the Sanitary Commission was chiefly carried on in the towns and cities of the loyal States by the women of the land; their delicate agencies penetrated to every hamlet and village throughout the country, and the patriotic zeal and fervor which were wrought out by these active means, stimulating as they did that love of country which was necessary for the vigorous prosecution of the war, may be regarded as a nobler contribution to the cause of the Union than even the vast sums of money that were collected and expended. The sanitary fairs were rallying points for the patriotism of the loyal States. Some of these fairs brought enormous sums to be expended in maintaining the trains of the organization, providing for surgical and medical assistance, and the care of the sick and wounded, the overtaxed resources of the Government not always being equal to the strain brought upon them. In thousands of families the women were busy with the preparation of little delicacies and comforts for the war-worn soldiers, to be distributed by the Sanitary Commission, thus bringing the fighting men and the non-combatants at home constantly in touch with each other. A single sanitary fair in New York resulted in the gift of more than a million dollars; and in the care of the wounded and dying of the battle of Antietam was expended an opportune donation of $20,000 in gold, which arrived from California at a critical period in the history of the Commission. First and last, that organization collected and disbursed with rigid economy the mag-

The sanitary fairs.

nificent sum of $5,000,000 in money, and more than twice that amount in supplies; the Christian Commission raised and expended $4,500,000.

Foreign relations.

One grave cause of popular disquiet at this time was the dread of foreign intervention in the disturbed affairs of the Republic. In the affairs of nations, as of individuals, there are never wanting open enemies and secret foes who would take advantage of the adversities of others for their own gain. The early, even precipitate, recognition of the belligerent rights of the insurgents by European powers was a blow to the National cause, mortifying as well as embarrassing. It irritated the loyal citizens of the Republic to know that other powers were ready to place the Nation and its insurgent States on the same footing as regarded the rights of belligerent States. Very soon, too, it was discovered that this policy was strained in behalf of the insurgents. Their corsairs, although they had no home ports from which they could hail and to which they could fly for shelter, found protection, refuge, and supplies in British ports, denied to ships of war carrying the flag of the United States. The effect of the Queen's proclamation of neutrality in the matter of the war between the Government of the United States was to inflame the minds of the American people with indignation. It greatly irked them that as between the Republic and its rebellious citizens a friendly power should hold itself with such strictness of neutrality that each should be regarded as competent to exercise rights of war equal with the other. But when it was found that the proclamation justified British colonial authorities in placing an embargo on coal deposits belonging to the United States Government in British ports, where Confederate cruisers were permitted to buy freely, popular wrath mounted high; and it required skill and patience on the part of the more conservative men of public leading to keep down the rising tempest which threatened to break out with war-cries and open threats of violence. It would appear that the conduct of Great Britain and France was guided by a feeling of uncertainty as to which side would win in the great conflict then raging on this side of the Atlantic; but it was apparent that the emperor of the French, Napoleon III., rather inclined to the belief that the insurgents would eventually succeed in maintaining their independence. This unprincipled adventurer, already dreaming of establishing an imperial dynasty on the borders of the American Republic which should be a check and a counterbalance to the growing power of the United States, saw, or thought he saw, his opportunity in the distressed condition of the American Government and people.

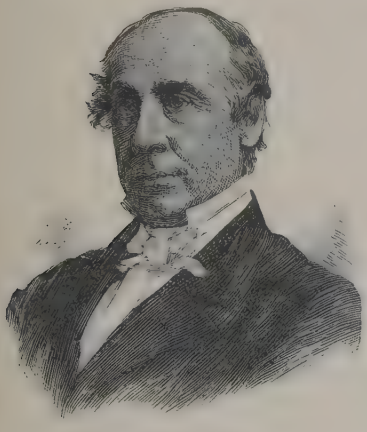
It was during the dark and troubled year 1862 that the evil work

of building Confederate cruisers on the professedly neutral territory of England, under the eyes of the British Government, went on with such flagrant and unrebuked notoriety that the American people began to think that their commerce was to be destroyed and their navy threatened by fleets built under a friendly flag. When the American Minister to England, Mr. Adams, called the attention of the British Government to the fact that a warship, the *Oreto*, was preparing to sail from Liverpool to operate against the shipping of the United States, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Earl Russell, blandly replied that he was officially informed that the suspected ship was a peaceful merchantman, designed for the Mediterranean traffic. Notorious though the purposes and character of that ship were, she was permitted to sail; and in due course of time, arriving in the British West Indies, she was duly passed over to representatives of the so-called Confederacy, and, as the corsair *Florida*, she began her predatory career.

Confederate cruisers built in England.

A more flagrant violation of the neutrality so religiously insisted upon by the British government was the tacit sanction of the building and sailing from the port of Liverpool of the fighting ship at first known as "the 290" from her dock number, but subsequently infamous as the Confederate cruiser *Alabama*. It appeared as if the English owners and builders of this craft, emboldened by the immunity with which the affair of the *Oreto* had been conducted, were at little pains to conceal the true character of this later enterprise. The sailing of that ship was in defiance of the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, the limitations of which had been repeatedly pleaded by the British Government when the American Minister had protested against building and equipping in British ports warships for the use of American insurgents. Something like a panic prevailed among commercial men in the United States when this swift cruiser, built in a British port, manned by British sailors and engineers, and supplied with British arms, coals, and provisions, began her long voyage of destruction. She had been permitted to escape by the negligence or connivance of the British Government; and, being without a home port to which she could carry or send a prize, she was employed precisely as any piratical craft of the time of

The Alabama.



Dr. Henry W. Bellows.

Blackbeard or Kyd was used. She was merely an engine of robbery and destruction. Her prizes were unarmed ships; these were looted and burned. Her name became a terror to the American merchant marine, and the enemies of the Republic exulted in the fact that a single cruiser, with the whole watery globe to hide her, was able to elude the navy of the United States, already spread along a blockaded coast of three thousand miles, and occupied with the reduction of forts and batteries defending insurgent seaports.

Attitude of the British Government.

In reply to the vehement protests of the Government of the United States against these scandalous violations of national comity, the British Government had only one reply to make: their Enlistment Act was insufficient to cover the case; and when it was suggested that that law might be amended, since there appeared to be no disposition to enforce its provisions, the law officers calmly answered that British law was sufficiently effective; and there the matter was allowed to rest, the American Minister informing his government that there was then nothing left but to "make a record which may be of use at some future day." That record was made; it was subsequently found useful.

Louis Napoleon's Mexican project.

One of the visionary schemes of Louis Napoleon was the founding, under imperial patronage, of a monarchical government on the American continent; and while he frankly declared that there was danger that the Republic of the United States would, if unchecked, become the sole dispenser of the products of the New World, he was ready to embark in an enterprise which should not only raise a barrier against the dreaded territorial expansion of the American Republic, but, to quote his own words to one of his emissaries, "restore to the Latin race on the other side of the ocean its force and prestige." It is needless to say that every patriotic and thoughtful American saw with uneasiness the advances made in Mexico during the year 1862. Late in the preceding year, diplomatic representatives of France, Spain, and Great Britain had signed a convention providing for a joint expeditionary force to be sent to Mexico to seize and occupy certain ports on the coast of that country for the purpose of enforcing and collecting certain money claims held by those powers in behalf of their subjects, against the Republic of Mexico. The Spanish naval contingent of this expedition was not only larger than that proposed for each, but it was sent to Mexico before that of either of the other two powers was ready. The French contingent was accordingly augmented; that of the British Government remained insignificant in its proportions. Ultimately, violent dissensions arose among the allies; and early in 1862, the Spanish and British representatives gathered up their forces and sailed away; the French were

left to work out their dynastic and financial schemes in their own way. The American insurgents, who were ready to welcome anything that promised to distract the attention and divide the warlike powers of the National Government, were naturally disposed to be friendly towards the French invasion of Mexico. They merely regarded it as a serious addition to the perplexities already hampering the government which they were endeavoring to destroy.

Interference of Count Mercier.

It was in the course of this autumn that another step of the Emperor of the French was taken in a direction which evinced his fixed belief in the ultimate downfall of the American Republic. This was his attempt to induce England and Russia to join with him in an offer of mediation between the belligerents, which he meant should lead to an enforced termination of the war. The other powers declined to interfere, and the Emperor thereupon sought for some other way of attaining his end. Count Mercier, the French Minister at Washington, was in correspondence with the leading men of the anti-war party at the North. Naturally not a little indignation was felt at an interference on the part of a foreign Government intended to strengthen that party at home which was virtually in alliance with the insurgents, and bitterly opposed to the Administration. Mr. Horace Greeley wrote to Count Mercier: "You have honored me with a frank confidence, which I endeavored to reciprocate. I presume all, or nearly all, Mr. Jewett says with regard to the desirability of your having a large discretion accorded you as to the *time* of further and decisive action on your part and on that of your Government was uttered by me in private conversation." What this Mr. Jewett had said was probably contained in a letter of his own to Count Mercier, in explanation of which the letter of Mr. Greeley was written. It may be that the archives of the French Legation at Washington will never give up the interesting evidence of the correspondence between Count Mercier and those citizens who were so ready to welcome an influence that might seriously embarrass the Administration. But the object of the French Minister appears to have been to concentrate the opposition to the war — whether that opposition came from servility to the South or fear of it — so as to compel the surrender of the Administration.

Duplicity of Louis Napoleon.

The people's instinct that any interference from abroad was, from the very nature of the case, in aid of the rebellion, and hostile to the continued existence of the Nation, was unerring. It was not known then, however, as was afterwards revealed, that the worst and most dangerous enemy in Europe to the United States was Louis Napoleon. His professions of friendship to the Government were profuse. But an examination of the confused mass of

The Sanitary Commission Lodge at Washington.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

Confederate archives, now deposited in the War Department at Washington, has disclosed, in letters from the insurgent agents, Mason and Slidell, the utter hollowness and hypocrisy of those professions. It was hoped that the distress which the want of American cotton had produced in England, and the promise of free trade with the Southern States, which it was a part of Mason's and Slidell's errand to offer, would prove an irresistible pressure upon the English Ministry. It was due more to the caution of that Government, rather than to any friendly feeling, that Louis Napoleon failed to induce it to join with him in measures which would, and he meant should, destroy the American Union. He dreaded its power, and he hoped for its ruin. When that was accomplished, he proposed to command the Gulf of Mexico by establishing a French post in Florida; and he seems to have had a dream of reëstablishing a French colonial system on this continent by detaching Texas, and possibly Louisiana, from the Southern Confederacy. He attempted to get unofficial representations — which, because they were unofficial, Lord John Russell declined to receive — before the English Government, of his strong desire that France and England should unite in acknowledging the independence of the Southern States; and the fear of undertaking

alone a war with the United States was probably the only consideration which deterred him from granting the recognition for which the insurgent agents labored so earnestly, and, at one time, so hopefully. His efforts to induce England and Russia to interfere with a proposition for a six months' armistice were made on behalf of the South, in the hope of ending both the war and the Union; and when he offered his sole mediation, three months afterward, it was done in the same spirit and with the same purpose. Had not New Orleans been taken at the time it was, it was considered by Mr. Slidell quite probable that the Emperor, finding that the English Ministry were deaf to his suggestions, would have ventured upon recognizing the Confederacy upon his sole responsibility. He regretted that the insurgents were without a navy, and he was quite willing to connive at the use of French ship-yards and ports for the building and equipping of ships for them, if it were done under a false pretence. It was with his sanction that seven war vessels — four corvettes like the *Alabama*, and three iron-clad rams — were built on Confederate account at Bordeaux and Nantes. It was only by accident that Mr. Dayton, the American Minister, discovered their destination, and demanded that they be detained. The Emperor's professions of friendship made it necessary to comply with this demand. And herein lay the difference in the conduct of France and England. The English Ministry made no pretence of sympathy with the North; they permitted insurgent cruisers to be built in English ship-yards; English colonial ports were their harbors; it was there they were fitted and refitted, and thence sailed to prey upon American commerce. English blockade runners supplied the Confederates with munitions of war and articles of commerce, and, so far as she dared to be, England was the open friend and ally of the inchoate slaveholding confederacy; subjecting herself to no other restraint than the keeping so far within the lines of a professed neutrality as to escape responsibility for war by her enmity to the United States.

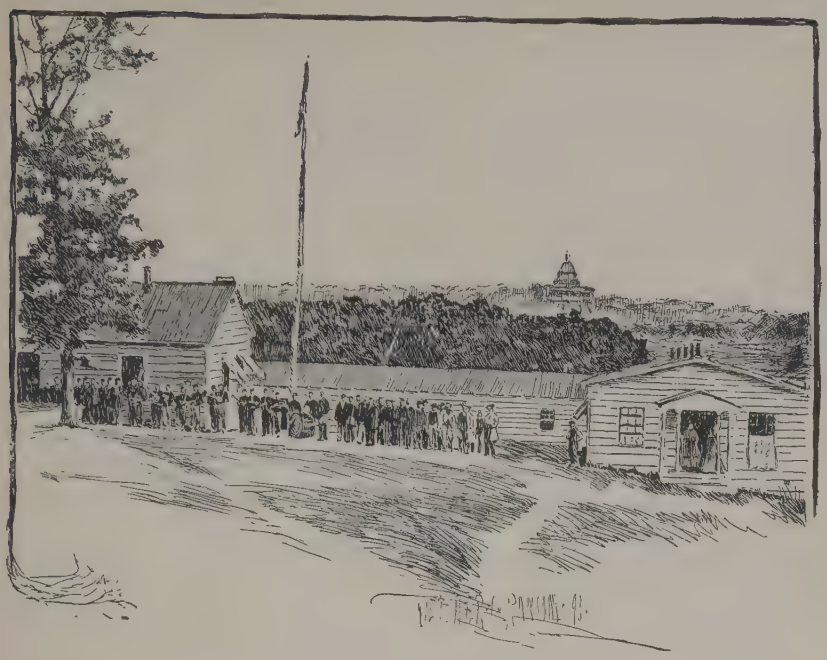
The time was well chosen by M. Mercier to enter into correspondence with the disaffected and the timid. The military events of the year had greatly depressed the loyal people of the North, and in an equal degree excited the hopes of the anti-war Democrats, who meant to save the Union, if it could be saved at all, by concessions to the South which even the slaveholders would not reject. The elections of the year apparently showed an increase of the anti-war feeling, though in reality, so far as the Republican vote was concerned, they only showed that there was widespread dissatisfaction and impatience at the way the war was conducted. The inevitable result, however, was a gain for the Democratic party in many places, especially in

New York, where the Governor elected was one of those who were ready to do anything, except take up arms, to aid in the subjection of the Northern people to Southern rule. The French Emperor's offer of mediation, though promptly rejected, undoubtedly served to strengthen traitors and to make the timid more afraid.

The elections of 1862.

As the only considerable party in the loyal States opposed to the National Administration was founded upon the assumption that the war for the maintenance of the Union was unconstitutional, cruel, and unwise, it followed that the reverses which overtook the Federal armies during the year helped that organization in the elections of 1862. A very large element of the Democratic party allied itself with the Republicans in the maintenance of the Union by supporting all executive and legislative measures designed for that purpose. But there were enough Peace Democrats, when these were reënforced by that great body of unattached voters which is a feature of American politics, to carry an election, only provided the discontent and dissatisfaction of the people were sufficient to induce some of them to go to the polls with intention to rebuke the Administration. Added to the military disasters of the year, the President's premonitory emancipation proclamation of September helped to increase and deepen the discontent which prevailed in some parts of the country. From the first, there had been many muttered complaints against the conduct of the war as "an abolition war;" but it required all of President Lincoln's shrewdness of management to hold in check those of his friends who were impatient for a general edict of emancipation, while he should not alienate the support of those who sincerely dreaded the possibility of converting the war for the preservation of the Union into a crusade for the liberation of the slaves. It was a time of popular depression. Everything had gone wrong. There was imminence of a conscription for the army; the day of deliverance from a state of war had been put off; gold, being now a commodity for wild speculation, fluctuated in price as battles were won or lost, and the prices of the necessaries of life sympathetically rose and fell; the Nation was daily going deeper and deeper into debt; the suspension of the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* was contemplated with aversion; and, although the business of the country flourished, its finances were greatly disturbed.

In this condition of things the autumnal elections of 1862 came on, and the opposition made great gains throughout the loyal States. In New York, for example, the Democrats chose their candidate for governor, Horatio Seymour, an honest but narrow-minded and bitter partisan who was a good type of the Peace Democrat — continually



The Officers' Quarters at Harewood Hospital near Washington.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

protesting devotion to the Union as it was, and demanding a rigid enforcement of the provisions of the Constitution as it is; complaining that the war was not properly conducted, and yet demanding that it should stop where it was. There were also heavy losses to the Administration in the elections for Congressmen held in the great States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, although these were not sufficient to give the Peace Democrats that working majority for which they had fondly hoped, and which they now confidently looked to secure when the next elections should come on, unless the war should end before two years should pass.

The position of the President at this time was most difficult. The men who had urged that his political policy was too conservative and moderate, reproached him with having brought these disasters on the country and on his party. On the other hand, the conservative members of his own party were ready to revile him for having so far yielded to the clamors of the radicals as to put forth the warning contained in his September proclamation of emancipation. From real and counterfeit loyalists alike came two demands impossible of consideration together: peace at any price, and a more vigorous prosecution of the war. But, although there were never wanting in the

Congress of the United States and in that of the Confederacy men to offer resolutions looking to negotiations for peace between the Nation and the insurgents, all such movements were significantly abortive. There was much talk of peace; but no authority on either side of the line dared to consider peace propositions with seriousness. Both sides were determined that a peace should come alone by the force of conquering arms.

Political effect of McClellan's removal.

By a curious combination of circumstances, the removal of McClellan from his command came in to disturb the congratulations of the Peace Democrats over the results of the November elections of that year. In a letter of the British Minister to the United States, Lord Lyons, written to Earl Russell, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, about this time, the writer said that he found the Democratic leaders in New York in a state of exultation over their great victory; they seemed to think, he said, that this popular expression at the polls would warn the President, and that he "would seek to terminate the war, not to push it to extremity; that he would endeavor to effect a reconciliation with the people of the South, and renounce the idea of subjugating or exterminating them." On the following morning," continues Lord Lyons, "intelligence arrived which dashed the rising hopes of the Conservatives. It was announced that General McClellan had been dismissed from the command of the Army of the Potomac." Lord Lyons, commenting on the effect of this announcement on the Peace Democrats of New York, said that it irritated them very much; but their irritation was "mixed with consternation and despondency." It is significant that the British Minister found that the subject uppermost in the minds of the New York Democrats was mediation; they thought this must come at last, but they were afraid that it would come too soon; and they said, "It would be essential to the success of any proposal from abroad that it should be deferred until the control of the Executive Government should be in the hands of the Conservative party." These ingenious gentlemen dreaded the effect on the minds of the people of a proposition of foreign mediation in the internecine quarrel in the United States. Unless the Peace Democrats were in power, such a proposition would revive the flagging war spirit of the country.

Secretary Chase's action and opinions.

The policy of President Lincoln excited the contempt of at least one member of his cabinet — Secretary Chase; and a cabinet crisis was added to the burdens which that good man had to bear during this trying year of his administration of public affairs. Mr. Chase fairly represented the more advanced, or radical, wing of the party that elected Mr. Lincoln. He had himself been a candidate for the nomination which was given to Lincoln; and

he naturally thought that choice was a great blunder. His presidential ambitions were not laid aside when he entered the cabinet of his successful competitor. His private correspondence was burdened with complaints and criticisms of the President's course; and if he had been engaged in disseminating information and opinions that would undermine confidence in the President, he could not have pursued a different course than he did. To one he wrote thus of the President: "He has already separated himself from the great body of the party which elected him; distrusts most those who represent its spirit, and waits — for what?" In his own diary he records a conversation which he held with an officer of the Government, whom he met for the first time, and to whom he put the amazing inquiry, "What do you think of the President?" as if it were decorous for a minister to discuss with a stranger the qualifications of the head of the Government. And when this visitor, whom the Secretary describes as "well-read and extremely intelligent," declared the President to be "a man irresolute, but of honest intentions; born a poor white in a slave State, and of course among aristocrats," "without the large mind necessary to grasp great questions," and "ready to lean too much on others," the Secretary was evidently so well satisfied with this honest gentleman's opinion that he set it down in his diary as if it coincided with his own.

Attitude of Secretary Seward.

While Mr. Chase was the type and representative of the political opinions of the so-called radical members of the Republican party, the Secretary of State was popularly regarded as representing the conservative element. He was charged with being the clog on the wheel of progress, the evil counsellor of the President when a policy of delay or retardation was determined upon. In fact, Mr. Chase himself put the popular belief into phrase when he said to one of Mr. Seward's own friends that "he resisted too persistently decided measures, and that his influence encouraged the irresolution and inaction of the President in respect to men and measures." Seward was popularly credited with holding McClellan in such warm friendship that he had kept that general in command long after he had proved that he would not, or could not, win battles for the National cause. To such a height did this feeling of distrust and animosity work itself, during the dark days at the end of 1862, that a caucus of Republican Senators actually voted that the President be requested to dismiss Mr. Seward from his cabinet. Before serving upon Mr. Lincoln this demand, however, the Senators had the good sense to modify their resolution, which, although it did not specify by name the object of the Senators' distrust, was sufficiently explicit for its purpose — the warning of the Secretary of State out of

the cabinet. The Secretary, getting wind of this proceeding, handed to the President his resignation, which was held in abeyance. The Senators, having called in committee upon the President, presented their grievances against Mr. Seward, and the President held with them a frank and free conference which resulted in nothing further than an adjournment for an hour later in the day.

At this adjourned meeting the Senators were surprised to find the cabinet (Mr. Seward alone excepted) present, and the cabinet officers were equally taken aback to find the Senators brought into the council. In the discussion which followed, the members of the cabinet naturally took the part of their absent colleague, although Secretary Chase, who had so often criticised Secretary Seward after the manner now taken by the Senators, was placed in an embarrassing position. He could not well side with these critics; and yet to some of them he had uttered the same complaints which they now preferred. The news of the cabinet crisis spread rapidly over the country, exciting the vague hopes of confirmed opponents of the war, and still further depressing the spirits of those who were devoted to the Administration as the only hope for a rational and honorable conclusion of that war. The ardent friends of McClellan, of whom there were many who believed his the only name to conjure with, saw in this distressing complication an occasion for his immediate return to supreme military command. They even believed, or affected to believe, that their idol would not accept the command that would now certainly be offered him unless it

The Convalescent Camp of the Sanitary Commission Lodge near Alexandria.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph made in May, 1863.

were absolute and supreme. To add to the perplexity, Mr. Chase, doubtless feeling with keenness the embarrassment of his position, tendered his resignation, or, he took it to the President in a written form, and the President, anticipating his action, took it from his hand. The way was now clear. The President wrote an identical note to the two Secretaries in which he said that after a most anxious consideration of the case, his deliberate judgment was that the public interests did not admit of his accepting their resignations. He requested them to resume the duties of their respective offices. Mr. Seward promptly responded that he had resumed the functions which he had put aside; and Mr. Chase, after some delay, withdrew his resignation. The crisis was over. The frank discussion between the President, his cabinet officers, and the committee of protesting Senators, had so cleared the air that further misunderstandings seemed impossible. The "prairie lawyer," whose diplomacy was so contemptuously regarded by some of the members of his own party, had met this most serious of all the complications which he encountered in his Administration and had solved it with matchless shrewdness and courage.

Admission of West Virginia.

On the last day of this year, by signing the bill to admit the State of West Virginia to the Union, the President gave vitality to an important measure which, in some of its parts, was without a precedent in the history of the United States. The proposition to consummate the dismemberment of the Old Dominion created much feeling in the loyal States where sentimental considerations still had some force; and it excited the wrath of the insurgents, who had failed to secure for their inchoate republic the nineteen counties west of the Blue Ridge, and generally known as West Virginia. The people of those counties inherited from their fathers the sectional disputes which had alienated the citizens of the western part of Virginia from those of the eastern part for more than forty years. The antagonism between the two sections dated back to the very beginning of things. The West Virginians, although they outnumbered those of the eastern section, were politically overpowered by the more aristocratic office-holding class in the region on the Atlantic side of the Blue Ridge. There were few slaves in West Virginia; the slave-owners of Eastern Virginia, on the basis of representation permitted under the laws, exercised a preponderating political influence in the State; the non-slaveholders were in a political minority. Naturally, when it was proposed that a confederacy whose corner-stone was to be slavery should be established, the people of the western counties of the State were bitterly opposed to taking Virginia into the new confederacy. They voted against the ordinance of seces-

sion; and when that device had been forced upon the State by the plotters in Richmond, they resolved to make the most of their earliest opportunity to set up a State government of their own.

They found that opportunity in the formal secession of the old State government and the abdication of their offices by the men who had been the United States Senators of Virginia. When the mayor of the chief city of West Virginia was ordered by Governor Letcher to seize the Government property in Wheeling "in the name of the sovereign State of Virginia," that worthy gentleman replied: "I have seized upon the custom-house, the post-office and all public buildings and documents, in the name of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, whose property they are."[1] The authority of the "sovereign State of Virginia" was defied, now that that State, by an act of so-called secession, declared itself to be outside the Federal Union. A convention of delegates met at Wheeling, and, assuming that the State of Virginia, as a part of the United States, no longer had any government, proceeded to erect such a government. Under this "restored government," a Legislature was chosen and the machinery of government provided. United States Senators were elected in due form and were admitted to the Senate. Mr. Francis H. Peirpoint was elected Governor, and all the forms of law were duly complied with. The Federal Constitution requires as a condition precedent to the division of a State, or to the joining thereto of any territory of another State, that the act shall be sanctioned by the Legislature and subsequently approved by the people at the ballot-box; accordingly the Legislature framed and adopted an ordinance dividing the State and providing for the submission of that instrument to the vote of the people. The people by an enormous majority, approved the act of division and at the same time chose delegates to a constitutional convention. That body framed a constitution for the new State of West Virginia, and it was ratified by the people, the vote being 18,862 in its favor, with only 514 votes cast against it. These last proceedings took place in April, 1862, so that in the midst of war, West Virginia was prepared for an entrance into the Federal Union with the same punctilious observance of constitutional forms that would have been required in a time of peace.

By those who maintained the habitual attitude of opposition to everything that savored of sincere devotion to the Union or of hostility to the insurgents' cause, these doings were denounced as revolutionary; the enemies of the Administration stigmatized as hypocritical the course of the President and the Executive departments, who, while denying the right of secession in States, had recognized that right in

[1] *Loyal West Virginia*, Theodore F. Lang.

The Sanitary Commission Lodge at Alexandria.

Drawn by Victor S. Perard from a photograph made in July, 1864.

the fragment of a State when the people of that fragment knocked at the door of "the old Union" for admission. The argument on the other side was that the political body which had initiated and verified these proceedings was indubitably the State of Virginia. It was argued that the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, had returned to the people at large for their exercise. The restored government represented by the Legislature assembled in Wheeling was, by express consent of the United States, invested with all the rights of the State of Virginia, and charged with all the powers and dignities of that State. It was upon this theory that the State of West Virginia was finally admitted by the act of Congress, which was signed by the President, December 31st, 1862. The house divided against itself had ceased to stand in Old Virginia.

CHAPTER III.

THE THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR.

THE FINAL PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION. — HOOKER REORGANIZES THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. — HE CROSSES THE RAPPAHANNOCK. — THE BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE. — A FEDERAL DEFEAT. — MEADE IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY. — THE CONFEDERATES TAKE THE OFFENSIVE. — INVASION OF PENNSYLVANIA. — THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG. — DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMY. — GRANT'S OPERATIONS AROUND VICKSBURG. — THE LONG SIEGE. — VICKSBURG SURRENDERS. — FALL OF PORT HUDSON AND OPENING OF THE MISSISSIPPI. — A NATIONAL THANKSGIVING PROCLAIMED. — DRAFT RIOTS IN NEW YORK. — SUSPENSION OF THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.

The final Emancipation Proclamation.

ON the first day of January, 1863, President Lincoln issued his final Proclamation of Emancipation. This immortal document was prepared in consonance with the previous announcement made September 22d, 1862, just after the battle of Antietam. The matter of issuing it had been decided upon by the President alone; with his usual deference to the opinions of others in minor details, he submitted the document to his cabinet before promulgating it to the people; he accepted suggestions as to the verbal construction of the edict; the act was his own. Reciting the warning contained in the Proclamation of September 22d, the President asserted his authority in the premises in the following words: "Now, therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned [September 22, 1862], order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:" with that precision of detail which was characteristic of Lincoln, he proceeded to specify the States in which rebellion then existed and he specifically mentioned

Major-General Joseph Hooker.

those parts of States (sundry parishes in Louisiana, counties in Virginia, and the entire territory now known as West Virginia), which were exempted from the operation of the edict now issued. He had founded his right to proclaim liberty and freedom to the slave upon the war powers of the Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. The Proclamation of September, 1862, was a military measure, pure and simple; it had no justification on any other ground. The exemptions noted in the final Proclamation were made to apply to such parts of States as were no longer in the hands of the insurgents and therefore were exempt from the law of military necessity which did exist elsewhere. He argued that if he could interfere with the institution of slavery in any part of the United States, save on the ground of military necessity, he could interfere with it in any one of the States in which rebellion did not exist, and indeed "change any law in any State."

Having specified the States and parts of States in which armed rebellion against the Government of the United States still existed, he thus proclaimed freedom from slavery: "And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons." The Proclamation enjoined abstinence from violence upon the freed persons, and further declared they would be received into the naval and military service of the United States as far as they might be found suitable. In a letter written to a citizen of Kentucky,[1] more than a year after the promulgation of the Proclamation, Lincoln admirably summarized the history of events preceding and apparently leading up to the final step. He argued that his first duty, under his oath of office, was to save the country; the Nation, he said, was the first care of the President. "Was it pos-

Lincoln's reasons.

[1] A. G. Hodges, April 4, 1864.

sible," he asked, "to lose the Nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected, yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb." He added: "When, early in the war, General Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not think it then an indispensable necessity. When, a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation, I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and with it the Constitution, or of laying a strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter."

Bounties.

Up to this time, the armies of the Nation had been recruited by volunteers, most of whom came from patriotic motives, although some of those who enlisted in the later days were stimulated by offers of bounties offered by their respective States. This latter class of recruits were regarded with good-natured contempt by the older soldiers. Some of them, having secured handsome sums (which sometimes exceeded $300) paid on condition of their enlistment for a term of years, evaded their duty by shirking in the ranks or by running away at the first convenient opportunity. They were stigmatized as "bounty-jumpers," and the very phrase "bounty men" was a term of reproach when they first made their appearance in the army. Some of these were introduced to the stern realities of war in the Sixth Corps of the Army of the Potomac at the battle of Fredericksburg; and it is related that when their wounded were brought back through the ranks of the old volunteers, the latter would cry out, derisively, "Take good care of those men; they have cost the Government a great deal of money." [1]

Colored troops.

In January, 1863, a bill was introduced in Congress to authorize the President to enroll into the land and naval forces of the United States such number of colored persons as he might deem useful to suppress the rebellion, their term of enlistment not to exceed five years. But as this authority was already in the hands of the President, the measure was not pressed after it had passed one branch of Congress. A far more important bill was that introduced

[1] Gen. W. F. Smith, in *Battles and Leaders*, vol. iii. p. 137.

in the Senate, early in the year, providing for the enrolment of the National forces. This bill, which became a law, March 3d, 1863, provided that all able-bodied citizens of the United States, and those of foreign birth who had declared their intentions to become such, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, should be liable to military duty at the call of the President. Certain exemptions from military duty were made under the law; these applied to certain persons already in the public service and to those whose parents or children were wholly dependent upon their labor.

The Chancellor House.

Drafted persons were allowed to furnish an acceptable substitute for military duty; or they might secure exemption for all liability to draft on the payment of $300. On this model of a conscription law all further acts were constructed. At last, then, the much dreaded draft was to be ordered.

The whole country was divided into enrolment districts, in each of which a board to supervise the enrolling and the drafting of persons liable to military duty was appointed. Persons drafted and failing to report for duty were treated as deserters. A considerable force of provost-marshals was raised for the purpose of executing the law; and all the machinery of the conscription act, as it was called, was set in motion in time to raise recruits for a term beginning July 1st, 1863, and continuing for three years. Unless extended by further action of Congress, the draft was not to continue for more than two years next succeeding July 1st, 1863. The enactment of this law was bitterly opposed in Congress by the men who were in sympathy with the rebellion, or who had all along resisted every measure for the support of the National Administration in its prosecution of plans for the maintenance of the Union. Nothing but the exigencies of the situa-

Major-General Oliver O. Howard.

tion would have made the conscription law palatable to the people; but it was felt that it was just that all who enjoyed the protection and shelter of the National Government should be made to contribute to its maintenance; in no other way, since voluntary enlistments had begun to flag, could the armies be kept up to a safe numerical standard: and, irksome though the draft might seem, its burden was accepted with the same grim cheerfulness with which other burdens had been taken up before this became necessary. In the course of time, the draft with its undesirable features was made use of by the opponents of the war to break down popular support of the National Administration and to incite a spirit of rebellion among the people of the loyal States.

During the winter of 1862–63, the Army of the Potomac and that of the Confederates under Lee rested on opposite banks of the Rappahannock. They needed rest and reorganization after the exhausting campaign which terminated with the withdrawal of the army under Burnside. The position of the Army of the Potomac was considered almost impregnable; it was among the rolling and irregular hills of Stafford, with its line of supplies in the rear and resting on Aquia Creek, an affluent of the Potomac river, entirely safe and expeditious of movement. The army was found in a demoralized condition when Hooker took command; desertions, he said, were going on at the rate of about two hundred a day; absentees from their commands were numerous, the number reaching as high as 80,000 privates and 3,000 officers. Party feeling among the officers had to some extent manifested itself with sentiments which were disloyal to the Government, if not downright treason. Homesickness among the troops, the result of defeat, inaction, and privations in camp, had increased discontent and promoted desertions. Hooker was always noted for his thoughtful kindness for his men, and by a judicious system of furloughs for the deserving and of punishments for the malcontents, he succeeded in restoring to the army its tone of cheerful courage and military pride. He consolidated into one corps the large cavalry force which had heretofore been scattered in small detachments among the various subdivisions of the army. Its

The Army of the Potomac in the winter of 1862–63.

efficiency was improved by frequent expeditions and skirmishes, and the entire force of the Army of the Potomac was so toned up and inspirited by the end of April that Hooker felt justified in proudly describing it as "the finest army on the planet."

General Hooker.

Hooker was graduated from the United States Military Academy in the class of 1837, served with distinction in the war with Mexico, holding the rank of captain on the staff of General Gideon J. Pillow; he returned to civil life after the Mexican war and reëntered the army as brigadier-general of volunteers, in 1861. He was of a hopeful and sanguine temperament; his figure was erect and manly, and his military bearing was admirably calculated to inspire confidence among his troops, who regarded him with deep affection and who gave him the cognomen of "Fighting Joe," his dash and his indomitable spirit of adventure commending him to the admiration of men who dearly love a brilliant fighter. General Hooker was free of speech; he talked as brilliantly as he fought; and when President Lincoln put him in command of the Army of the Potomac, he wrote him a remarkable letter, dated January 26th, 1863, in which the Commander-in-chief gave the general-in-command some paternal advice and counsel. It was not such a letter as a high state functionary might be supposed to indite to a military subordinate; it was, rather, such a missive as a father might send his son; and such a letter Hooker, with mingled feelings of mortification and pride, declared it to be.

Lincoln's letter to Hooker.

"I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac," wrote the President. "Of course, I have done this upon what appears to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which of course I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition, and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country, and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the Government needed a dictator. Of course, it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The Government will support you to the

utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit, which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you, as far as I can, to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories."

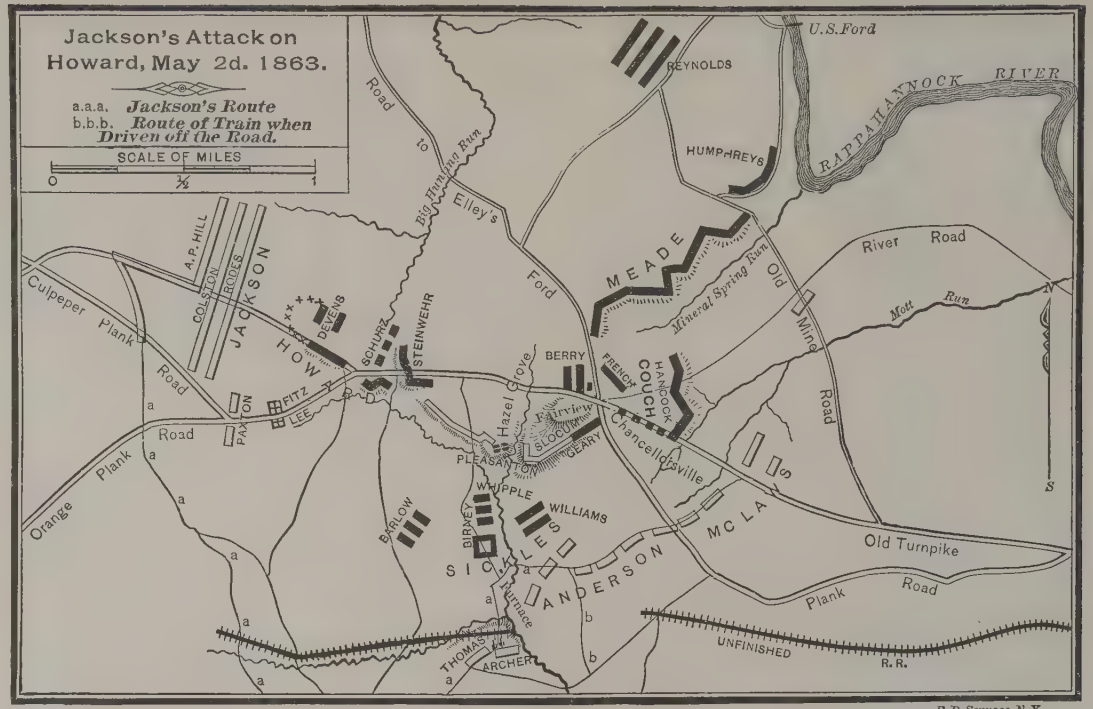
Lincoln at headquarters.

On the 4th of April, the President, accompanied by his wife, his youngest boy, a lad of ten years, and two intimate personal friends, made a visit to the Army of the Potomac, it being understood that a movement of some kind was then about to be made. He spent six days at the headquarters of General Hooker, reviewing the several army corps and visiting the hospitals. On the morning of his leaving the army on his return, he said to General Hooker and General Couch (then Hooker's second in command), "I want to impress upon you two gentlemen, in your next fight — put in all your men."

There is not a conclusive agreement among military authorities in any statement of the numbers engaged on both sides during the campaign which began immediately after this date and terminated with the Federal defeat at Chancellorsville. In round numbers, it is usually estimated that Hooker had 130,000 men of all arms in the service; and that Lee's force amounted to about 60,000. On the other hand, an accomplished and careful historian, who was a division commander in this campaign,[1] says that Hooker had under him 124,500 men of all arms, 11,500 of whom were cavalry. The figures first named here are from the official records; and the official authority of the Confederates puts their total at 60,000.

Hooker's plan of campaign was bold and simple: it had all the

[1] General Abner Doubleday. In his *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg* he says: "Napoleon says 100,000 men on the rolls are only equivalent to about 30,000 muskets in action. It is doubtful if Hooker had over 113,000 men for actual combat. Lieutenant-colonel W. T. Forbes, Assistant Adjutant-general, who has had access to the records, after a careful estimate, places the number as follows: First Corps, 16,000; Second Corps, 16,000; Third Corps, 18,000; Fifth Corps, 15,000; Sixth Corps, 22,000; Eleventh Corps, 15,000; Twelfth Corps, 11,000; total infantry and artillery, 113,000; Pleasanton cavalry, 1,500; total effective force, 114,500. He estimates Lee's army at 62,000, which the Confederate authorities, Hotchkiss and Allan, place as follows: Anderson's and McLaw's divisions of Longstreet's Corps, 17,000; Jackson's Corps, 33,500; Stuart's cavalry, 2,700; artillery, 5,000; add 4,000 on engineer, hospital duty, etc." It should be noted that the smallness of the cavalry force in the preceding estimate of the total effective Federal force is due to the fact that Stoneman, in command of the new cavalry corps, had been detached for other duty at the opening of the campaign.



R.D.Servoss N-Y.

Sedgwick's Reconnaissance on May 4, 1863. Artillery going into action on the south bank of the Rappahannock.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

elements of practicability. Above the city of Fredericksburg were two fords, both of them below the point at which the Rapidan enters the Rappahannock; these were Banks's Ford, about six miles up the stream, and the United States Ford, about seven miles still further up. The Confederates had not thought it worth while to fortify the fords above the junction of the two streams; but the two below the entrance of the Rapidan were very strongly defended. As the Confederates had supposed that no force would attempt to cross two streams above the point of their juncture, they had left their fording places undefended; it was here that Hooker's crossing was to be made. Once across the Rappahannock, his movement down stream on the right bank would necessarily uncover the two lower fords, and make them available for future operations. Hooker's plans.

It was determined to make a pretence of crossing with three corps under Sedgwick below Fredericksburg, while the remaining four corps under Slocum should make a detour, and cross the river at the fords above the mouth of the Rapidan. This force was then to march down the river on its right bank, open the United States and Banks's

fords, reunite the two wings of the army (the reserve force then being able to take the shorter route by the lower fords), and then to give battle to the enemy in the open country near Banks's Ford, taking the Confederate position at Fredericksburg in reverse; Lee's army still occupied the heights above the city in a long thin line. A part of the left wing was to be left in camp opposite Fredericksburg, in full view from the Confederate position, to confuse still further the enemy. To aid in the attempt to crush Lee's army, General Stoneman, with 10,000 cavalry, was ordered to cross the upper fords of the Rappahannock, two weeks in advance of the general movement, and effectually destroy Lee's communications with Richmond, which was about fifty-five miles distant, cutting off his supplies, his means for obtaining reënforcements, and his line of retreat. If the work of the cavalry were effectively performed, Lee's army would soon be out of provisions and be forced to retreat, even if the expected battle should not send him flying, as Hooker hoped that it would. The Sixth Corps, under Couch, and the First, under Reynolds, were not only to threaten Lee in front from Fredericksburg, but were to attack in that direction, with the Third Corps, under Sickles, held in reserve.

Great things were expected of the cavalry; it was a large body, more than 10,000 strong, well mounted and full of fight, with almost nothing worthy of the name of opposition before it. Hooker's injunction to Stoneman was, "Let your watchword be fight, and let all your orders be fight, fight, fight." Heavy rains detained this corps from the 13th of April until the 27th. The ravines were full of streams, and the fords were impassable. Hooker was all impatience. The time of enlistment for many of his men was about to expire; 16,472 officers and men of the recruits on the two-years' list were to be mustered out during the months of March, April, May, and June; and added to these were so large a number of the nine-months' men, enlisted during the months next after the defeats of McClellan and Pope, that the total sum of losses by the expiration of terms of service about this date was 11,097 men. Hooker chafed at this prospect, and, after waiting for the subsidence of the waters, he hurried off cavalry, infantry, and artillery together on the 27th. Various causes operated to baffle the plans arranged for the cavalry, and this force cut no figure in the subsequent movements of the armies.

Chancellorsville.

Chancellorsville is not a village, nor even a collection of houses. It is a large solitary house in the midst of an open clearing made in the woods and thickets to which has been given the name of the Wilderness. Here was the point, the converging of a system of country roads, that Hooker had judiciously selected for his headquarters around which his army was to be concentrated. Beyond,

in the direction of Fredericksburg, was the open country into which Lee must advance and accept battle. If he declined this, he would have his right turned by the corps then in front at Fredericksburg, and Hooker's main army would fall upon his rear from Chancellorsville. If he fell back upon Richmond, he exposed his flank, and would be in danger of being cut to pieces.

All went well for the Federal army. The cavalry corps having departed on its errand of destruction, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps (Howard's and Slocum's), marched for Kelly's Ford, on the Rappahannock, above the mouth of the Rapidan, twenty-seven miles from Fredericksburg, where they were joined by the Fifth Corps (Meade's), as previously ordered, and the passage across the river was made on the night of the 28th without opposition. Next day, the passage of the Rapidan was effected readily, and the three corps marched down the stream, arriving at Chancellorsville on the afternoon of the 30th. This advance uncovered the United States Ford, behind which Couch was waiting with his corps, the Second, and those troops were marched across a pontoon bridge, then thrown athwart the stream. Meanwhile, Sedgwick's corps, the Sixth, on the left of the Army of the Potomac, had crossed the river on a bridge of boats at a point below Fredericksburg; the First Corps, under Reynolds, had followed, and the Third Corps (Sickles's), was ready to reënforce either of the two wings as circumstances might determine. The movement had succeeded admirably, even brilliantly. From his new headquarters at Chancellorsville, Hooker issued to his army an order of the day, in which he congratulated his gallant officers and men on their success. "Now," he said, "the enemy must flee shamefully or come out of his defences to accept battle on our ground, where he is doomed to certain destruction!"

Major-General John Sedgwick.

But, having by these daring yet simple movements achieved full possession of an important strategic point in the rear of the army that had blocked his way to Richmond, Hooker suddenly ceased to be the "Fighting Joe" to whom his army so confidently looked

The position.

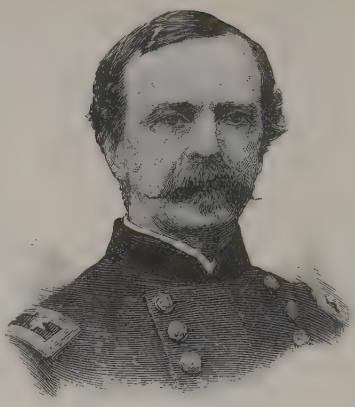
for a vigorous attack. What he called "our ground" was an open space half way between Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg, outside of the impenetrable woods in which the army was encamped. In front of his army the entrance to the ground was favorable, and the surface there was well adapted to the manœuvres of a large force. But the precious hours of the evening and night of the 30th of April and the early morning of the 1st of May were unaccountably wasted; it was not until eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 1st that Hooker started from Chancellorsville with his army to meet the enemy whom he had so confidently doomed to certain destruction. Before that time, Lee had started out to meet him. Leaving Early's division reënforced by only one brigade to hold the line of works on the heights of Fredericksburg, Lee hurried forward the rest of his forces during the evening and midnight of the 30th, in the direction from which he now learned that the principal attack was to come — Chancellorsville. Meade's corps arrived on the Federal left in full view of Banks's Ford; Slocum, with the Twelfth, found no opposition on the right; and the centre, Sykes's division, having encountered the cavalry skirmishers of the Confederates, drove them back and established itself in the position which had been assigned to it. So far, so good. But instead of strongly supporting the three columns in advance, Hooker now sent orders for them to fall back to the positions which they had occupied the night before. Astonished at the order, Couch, who was next in command under Hooker, and Warren, in command of the corps of the Topographical Engineers, urged their chief to reconsider and recall an order which could not have any other than a demoralizing effect. In vain; Hooker insisted upon his order, and the troops, uneasy and confounded, withdrew in the face of the enemy instead of fighting him. On the very place which Hooker had chosen as "our ground," the battle of Chancellorsville was already lost. The Confederates immediately occupied the positions thus vacated, taking possession of the plank road across which the Federal troops had been lined, and establishing artillery on a crest of ground running in the direction of Hooker's lines, from which they were able to enfilade the receding troops of the Army of the Potomac. Desultory but generally resultless fighting was kept up along the front of the line during the remainder of the day. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the Third Corps (Sickles's) received orders to cross and reënforce the force already at Chancellorsville; and on the following morning, May 2d, the First Corps (Reynolds's), was ordered over, leaving Sedgwick alone below Fredericksburg with his own corps and one division (Gibbon's), of the Second Corps; this gave him between 26,000 and 27,000 men for his anticipated attack on the line of works back of the town.

Loosely speaking, it may be said that the position of the Army of the Potomac, on the morning of the 2d was along a crescent-shaped line, the left resting on the river near the United States Ford; the centre passing around and enclosing Chancellorsville and facing south; the right resting "in the air," that is to say, without any artificial or natural obstacle for its support. Howard, with his Eleventh Corps, now occupied that position, his defensive works being wholly in his front; his flank was at the edge of the dense growth of forest and thicket which characterized all of the fateful Wilderness. It was here that was committed the second error that cost the Army of the Potomac dearly. Lee had discovered the weak point in Hooker's line of defence; for Hooker was no longer the fighter who was to press the enemy to the wall; he was behind his defences.

Sending "Stonewall" Jackson with a column of 26,000 men to crush in the Federal right, Lee kept up a furious and deceptive cannonading along his own right and centre. To move Jackson's corps

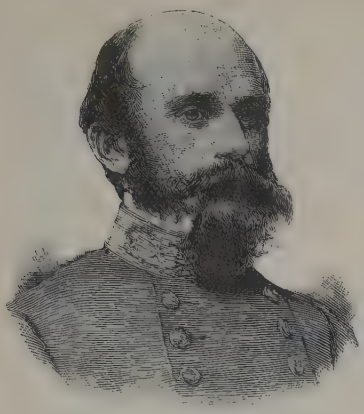
The battle of Chancellorsville.

from Lee's right to his left was a hazardous measure; it must occupy almost an entire day; but it was accomplished with all of Jackson's skill and celerity. The column started at early dawn; late in the summer afternoon, while the unsuspecting Federal troops were massed at ease on the right of the line, they were surprised by a rush of deer, hares, and other wild things of the wood, driven before the advance of Jackson's men, and immediately the whirlwind burst upon them from the thickets and the forest. The few pickets that had been thrown out from the Eleventh Corps came flying before the foe, and Jackson's men fell upon the astonished troops, doubling up their lines, scattering them like chaff and sending the demoralized ranks backward in dire and utter confusion. It was a rout, not a retreat.



Major-General Daniel E. Sickles.

The flanking movement of Jackson had not been performed without being seen from the Federal lines. At one point, the column passed over a hill in full view of Birney's division of Sickles's corps, then stationed between the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. Word was at once sent to headquarters. But Hooker was unable to determine whether the movement was a retreat of the Confederate forces, or an attempt to flank his right wing. He inclined to the former theory; and, when he was visited by Couch, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he exclaimed, "Lee is in full retreat towards Gordonsville, and I have sent out Sickles to capture his artillery." Couch says he thought that if this conception of the situation was correct, it was surprising that so small a force had been sent. As a matter of fact, the attack on the rear of Jackson's corps accomplished nothing beyond pushing him from the line which he had chosen to another which was a little less desirable. At four o'clock, when Jackson was forming his lines for the fatal attack on the Eleventh Corps, Hooker wrote to Sedgwick, at Fredericksburg, "We know the enemy is flying, trying to save his trains. Two of Sickles's divisions are upon him." It is likely that this opinion was to some extent shared by Hooker's commanders. But Hooker had taken some precaution earlier in the day to prevent the surprise which might overtake Howard and Slocum on the right of the line. As early as nine o'clock in the morning of that day, he had sent orders to Slocum and Howard, commanding the Twelfth and Eleventh Corps, directing them to be prepared for a flank movement,



Lieutenant-General Richard S. Ewell, C. S. A.

as he "had good reason to suppose" that the enemy was moving to the right of the line of the army. Howard says this order never reached him. At all events, the surprise of the Eleventh Corps was so complete that the contempt and objurgation subsequently poured upon the gallant men comprising it was wholly unjustifiable. Unfortunately, there had been some irritation in the ranks on account of the displacement of their old commander, Sigel, who was succeeded by Howard. This fact, which had nothing whatever to do with the disaster of the 2d of May, was unfairly quoted to the discredit of the Eleventh, many of whom were of German origin and were under the command of officers of their own former nationality.

Two brigades of the Eleventh Corps succeeded in rallying and effecting a change of front; they fought well and maintained their line until, overwhelmed by superior numbers, they were forced back upon the Twelfth Corps. The remainder of their men went on, a hopeless rabble rout, in the direction of Chancellorsville and the Rappahannock. In the midst of the tumult, Hooker hurried up and, finding his old division of the Third Corps, now commanded by Birney, back of the road along which the enemy was sweeping like a whirlwind, he ordered it forward with a bayonet charge. Supported by Hay's brigade of the Second Corps, this division marched steadily forward, ploughing its way through the tumultuous crowds of fugitives and striking the advance of the Confederates obliquely on the left and front. Artillery from the Twelfth Corps supported this movement, and Jackson's column was forced into the woods in front of the intrenchments abandoned by the Eleventh Corps. For an instant, the onset was checked; but on low ground, in full view of the Confederates, and in front of the woods, were the guns of a division of the Third Corps, left without protection. To seize these pieces and turn them upon the Federal troops would be the work of a moment for the Confederates. At that critical juncture, General Pleasanton, returning from the front with two regiments of cavalry, which he found it impossible to employ advantageously in the maze of underbrush and wood, arrived on the scene. To seize the guns and put them in position would require a few minutes; but in a few minutes the enemy would be upon him. To hold in check the Confed-

Keenan's charge.

Camp and Town of Gettysburg.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

erates long enough to save the guns, Pleasanton asked Major Keenan, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Cavalry, to charge into the woods and hold the enemy in check. It was almost certain death. With a smile on his face, as one should say, "It is sweet to die for one's country," Keenan and his brave five hundred rode into the woods, Keenan at the head. The furious charge checked the elated enemy for ten minutes, during which the guns were put into position; other pieces were brought up, and when the decimated ranks of the Eighth Pennsylvania rode back, their heroic commander dead on the field, Pleasanton had twenty-two guns loaded with double canister ready to fire. Soon the woods were alive with masses of Confederates who advanced with fierce yells. The twenty-two guns spoke with one terrific voice; then there was a deep silence, and when the smoke of the cannon was swept aside by the evening breeze not a living man was to be seen. The victors had melted as it were into the ground; the fight was done; at this point ended Stonewall Jackson's magnificent attack; and with it was ended his career.

There was a nocturnal combat. On both sides of the line there was great confusion; in the darkness men surrendered to their own comrades, and many played at cross-purposes before they realized where they were. Emboldened by his day's success, Jackson con-

ceived the plan of cutting in between the rear of the Federals and the United States Ford, on the following day. Having made a new disposition of some of his troops, he advanced toward the Federal lines to ascertain for himself the exact position of his enemy. He was accompanied by only a few of his staff, and when he had reached the point where the attack had been made against his most advanced regiments, earlier in the day, he was confronted by Berry's division, then involved in an engagement with the Confederates. He was under fire before he knew it. Turning towards his own lines, one hundred yards distant, he put his horse to a gallop and was on the point of reaching his line when he was fired upon by his own pickets, who in the darkness naturally mistook the clatter of Jackson and his staff for a cavalry charge. He fell grievously wounded and was placed on a litter, but the firing which now opened upon that quarter from the Federal lines laid low one or two of the bearers, and Jackson was injured by being thrown upon the ground. Even when brought in, the firing in the darkness continued, and A. P. Hill, Jackson's next in command, was wounded while leaning over his chief. Jackson was carried to the rear, his arm amputated and his wounds dressed. He died on the 10th of May, near Guiney's Station, Virginia. To the Army of Northern Virginia his loss was irreparable. He died in the midst of his illusions, firmly believing himself to be an appointed instrument for the deliverance of the Southern people from what they considered to be a galling bondage. Jackson verily thought that he wielded the sword of the Lord and of Gideon.

Stonewall Jackson's plan.

Jackson's death.

When the battle opened on the next day, May 3d, the Eleventh Corps had been sent to the extreme left of the Federal line where the troops, behind the strong works thrown up by a division of Meade's corps, were reorganized and made ready for the fight into which they longed to precipitate themselves to retrieve previous disasters. The new line laid out by Hooker for the day's operations was on a slight elevation that crossed at right angles the plank road leading from Chancellorsville toward Fredericksburg. This road ran through the centre of the position; and it was commanded by high ground on the right of the Federal centre, Hazel Grove, occupied by the third (Whipple's) division of the Third Army Corps. It was an aggressive position, as it took directly in flank any advance that might be made against the Federal line from that direction. In obedience to orders, however, this key to the Federal position was abandoned and was immediately seized by the enemy who placed upon it thirty guns which at once began a terrible fire upon the Federal troops below and upon the lines of the Twelfth

The battle on May 3d.

Corps, posted between Hazel Grove and the plank road. A fierce attack was now made upon Sickles's corps, to the right of the plank road, the assailing column being from Jackson's old corps, now commanded by J. E. B. Stuart, the men advancing with fierce cries of "Remember Jackson!" There was a wild struggle here between the avengers of "Stonewall" and the Union soldiers, who, as one of their own generals said, "fought like devils." Rent by the flanking fire from Hazel Grove and furiously assaulted by the infantry in front, Sickles's men fought obstinately but finally fell back without disorder to their intrenched line, which was but partially defended, and then to a third line which was well fortified and which they held to the end of the day's fighting.

The fighting on that day appears to have been conducted on the theory that each commanding officer was to decide for himself what was best to be done. Gradually the lines of defence were contracted so that control of the system of roads centring at Chancellorsville was ultimately abandoned. The Confederates, pressing forward with spirit, forced backward the Third Corps, and Stuart's corps, fighting on the right of the Federals, was enabled to form a juncture with the right of Lee's main army. It did not appear that any of the generals in the field under Hooker's command received any orders except to retire when out of ammunition; and this contingency occurred early in the day in consequence of the sharp and severe firing that went on. There was no provision made for replenishing the exhausted supplies of ammunition. As the Federal troops fell back, the field was occupied by the Confederates, who brought their artillery into play, and Hooker's headquarters at the Chancellor House were soon under fire. About nine o'clock in the forenoon, Hooker, who was standing on the veranda of the house, waiting to hear the sound of Sedgwick's guns as he should approach from the heights above Fredericksburg, was struck down by a falling wooden column which had been knocked out of place by a ball from the artillery in the field in front. A report that Hooker had been killed flew around, and General Couch, filled with apprehension, came up to see if the command had actually devolved upon him in that critical moment of the fight. Hooker was for a time unconscious, and Couch, taking command for the time, naturally assumed no more responsibility than was absolutely required for the immediate safety of the army. Hooker rallied in an hour or two, but precious time had been lost. From that moment all went wrong. During the remainder of the day, Hooker acted like a man dazed. He subsequently said that he felt that he had fought no battle. He had not; the enemy whom he had so arrogantly challenged had fought a victorious battle.

Hooker injured.

As if confirming the sad prescience of President Lincoln, Hooker and Couch had not put all their men into this fight. In spite of his warning, 37,000 men — the whole of the First Corps and nearly three-fourths of the Fifth Corps — were not put into the fight. Added to these were at least 5,000 of the Eleventh Corps, left inactive on the left, though they were burning for the fray and eager to vindicate their reputation as gallant and brave soldiers. It would appear that all these troops had been held in reserve by Hooker, who expected

Battle-field of Gettysburg.

that they might be needed in some great and sudden emergency; for it should be remembered that he fought the battle of Chancellorsville, after all, purely on defensive lines. As it was, Stuart's (late Jackson's) corps, wearied by incessant fighting, their numbers — only 26,000 at the beginning — decimated by death and wounds, were permitted to beset the Federal right while a fresh and greatly superior force stood idle with their arms in their hands not far away.

Sedgwick's movements.

Where was Sedgwick? Twice during the night of the 2d, Hooker had sent him orders which implied that he was to attack and destroy the Confederate forces at Fredericksburg and march at once upon Chancellorsville. To accomplish this somewhat unreasonable order, it would be necessary for Sedgwick to scale the heights of Fredericksburg, drive out Early, and then march eleven miles and attack Lee's rear. It was easier said than done. But

early on the morning of the 3d, when the fitful and disorganized fighting on the Federal right at Chancellorsville was about to begin, Sedgwick forced his way through the town of Fredericksburg, and, after ineffectual attempts to turn, first the right and then the left, of the Confederate lines, he carried the centre by storm, scaling the heights of Marye, so deadly to Burnside's assailing columns in the previous December. He at once put his troops in motion towards Chancellorsville, having reached the heights at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. But a halt to enable him to re-form his lines and receive the reënforcement of one of his divisions (Brooks's) which had been left three miles below Fredericksburg, so delayed him that it was three o'clock in the afternoon before the final start was made. By this time Early had been reënforced by a brigade that had been temporarily detached from other duty, and Sedgwick found the way disputed before him. At this time the line of the Federal forces around Chancellorsville was in the form of a flat curve, the right wing resting on the Rapidan, its left on the Rappahannock, and its centre about three fourths of a mile north of Chancellorsville. The fords were still all covered. Both armies remained on the field of battle that night, Sedgwick being cut off from the heights above the town; that line had been reoccupied by the enemy whom he had dislodged. His line of retreat across the Rappahannock above the town was still open.

His flight.

On the morning of the 4th, Lee, finding that Hooker remained quiet within his lines, ventured to detach a considerable force to crush Sedgwick, or drive him across the river. Sedgwick accordingly found himself shut in on three sides, only his line to Banks's Ford being left open; and that was in constant danger from roving bands of Confederates, which menaced the rear of the Federal position. Most of the fighting that day was done by Sedgwick's men. They had been left apparently to get out of their precarious position as best they could. No assistance came from Hooker, although he had been informed by Sedgwick of his desperate situation. His line was six miles long, and he held it with 20,000 men against 25,000 of the enemy, who, as he had heard, had been reënforced from Richmond. Two bridges had been thrown across the river for use in case Sedgwick's retreat should become inevitable. A third was now constructed, and Sedgwick applied for leave to cross; this was granted, but the order giving permission to recross was subsequently countermanded, too late, however, to be effective, for Sedgwick, under cover of the darkness of the night, had already begun his retreat to the north bank of the Rappahannock with a loss of 4,590 men, killed, wounded, or missing. The campaign was over.

Major-General George G. Meade.

Hooker held a council of war on the night of the 4th, and although a majority of those who participated in it, contrary to the usual custom of councils of war, wished to remain and fight it out, he decided to retire to the north side of the river. Heavy rains had so swollen the stream that the recrossing was effected with some difficulty; but, with his rear well protected and unharassed by the enemy, the Army of the Potomac was taken safely over to its old camping-ground, where Hooker's chief-of-staff telegraphed to the grief-smitten President that this final movement had been accomplished.

Results of the Chancellorsville defeat.

The sharp criticism that had made Burnside's command in the Army of the Potomac so unhappy at its close was now directed against his unfortunate successor. The freedom with which Hooker had spoken of Burnside was doubtless as great as that with which he was now criticised by his subordinates. Injurious and unjust reports concerning Hooker's condition during the days of fighting were circulated through the country; and the people, once more baffled and disappointed in their hopes, fell upon the luckless general commanding the Army of the Potomac with angry animadversion. They had been kept in ignorance of the daily results while the fighting was going on; and it was with incredulous astonishment that they received the intelligence that the army was actually defeated and driven back to its former position on the north bank of the Rappahannock. These were the total losses in that wasteful fight: On the Federal side, 12,197 killed and wounded; 5,000 missing; a total of 17,197. On the Confederate side, 10,266 killed and wounded; 2,753 missing; a total of 13,019. Considering the numerical strength of the two armies, it will be seen that the relative proportion of losses was about equal in each.

Various causes operated to impel the Confederate Government to take an aggressive attitude very soon after the triumph of their arms at Chancellorsville. The situation at Vicksburg was daily becoming more hopeless for them; Grant's lines were drawing more and more tightly around the devoted city, and its ultimate fall must be counter-

balanced by some brilliant exploit in another part of the great field in which the armies were manœuvring. The Southern people were naturally hopeful of final success, now that they had repelled "the invader" from the banks of the Rappahannock. They would be more ready, at this critical juncture, to rush forward and help to end the war with one grand flourish. The foreign relations of the Confederates at this time were in a more encouraging condition than ever before. The war had lasted longer than the Federal authorities had apparently expected it would; and European nations were confirmed in their belief that the rebellion would eventually make such head against the National Government that its permanent success must be looked for. The ruling class in England made no secret of their friendship for the Confederate cause; the aristocracy and the laboring classes were openly and offensively hostile to the Federal cause; and only the less influential middle classes were friendly to the Government of the United States. The moral support of the British Government, therefore, was on the side of the Confederates; only one more military triumph would be needed, it was argued, to establish upon Northern soil the standard of the insurgents and insure a peace dictated by the leaders of a counter invasion. The French Government, from the first deeply incredulous of the ability of the Federal Government to suppress the rebellion, and now eager to assist in the dismembership of the Federal Union, encouraged the Confederate emissaries in Paris to go on and win another great battle and receive ample and substantial aid in the triumphant work of establishing the Southern Confederacy. Louis Napoleon, who, with that fatuousness which characterized his view of the American situation, from first to last, had hypocritically assisted the Confederates while he maintained a cordial and friendly understanding with the representatives of the Federal

Aggressive plans of the Confederate Government.

Intrenchments on Little Round Top.
Drawn by Ozias Dodge from a photograph.

Government, was now assured in his own mind that the insurgent armies would soon be in Washington, and that the banner of the revolt would float from the buildings of the National capital. Once let the Confederate armies shift the contest from Southern soil, too long drenched with blood, to the homes and fields of the "invaders," strengthening foreign alliances might be formed; Confederate loans would be profitably marketed in Paris and London; increased supplies of war material would be forwarded from European ports, and possibly a fleet would be fitted out for the raising of the blockade of the Southern coast, in place of the piratical cruisers which had been furtively furnished to the belligerents, who had no longer an open port of their own. It was a pleasing picture that was offered to the Confederate leaders, who, without knowing it, now stood at the pinnacle of their greatness.

According to their own official statements, Lee's army, reënforced by conscripts and Longstreet's two divisions, numbered 88,754 men on the 31st of May; of this force, 68,352 were reported ready for duty; from various other sources, it is learned that the total force employed in the campaign amounted to about 70,000 or 78,000 effective fighting men. The invasion of the North being resolved upon, this army moved with spirit, exalted by victory and inspired with an enthusiastic belief in their own indomitable and unconquerable prowess. On the other hand, Hooker's army had been reduced by its great losses by the casualties of war and by the expiration of terms of enlistment. Shaken by defeat and demoralized by the notorious bickerings of their own commanders, they were still further depressed by the influences which politicians at home put in motion in order to cool the patriotism of the men who were fighting for the preservation of the National Union. The Army of the Potomac, set in the field to try conclusions with the force designed to establish the Confederacy on Northern soil, then numbered about 82,000 men. The Confederates had 190 guns; the Federals had 300 guns; the cavalry corps of the two armies were about equal. Lee's army was organized in three large corps; seven corps composed the Army of the Potomac; but the numerical strength of the two armies, as we have seen, was very nearly equal, and it should be borne in mind that a Confederate army corps was about twice as large as any one of the corps on the National side.

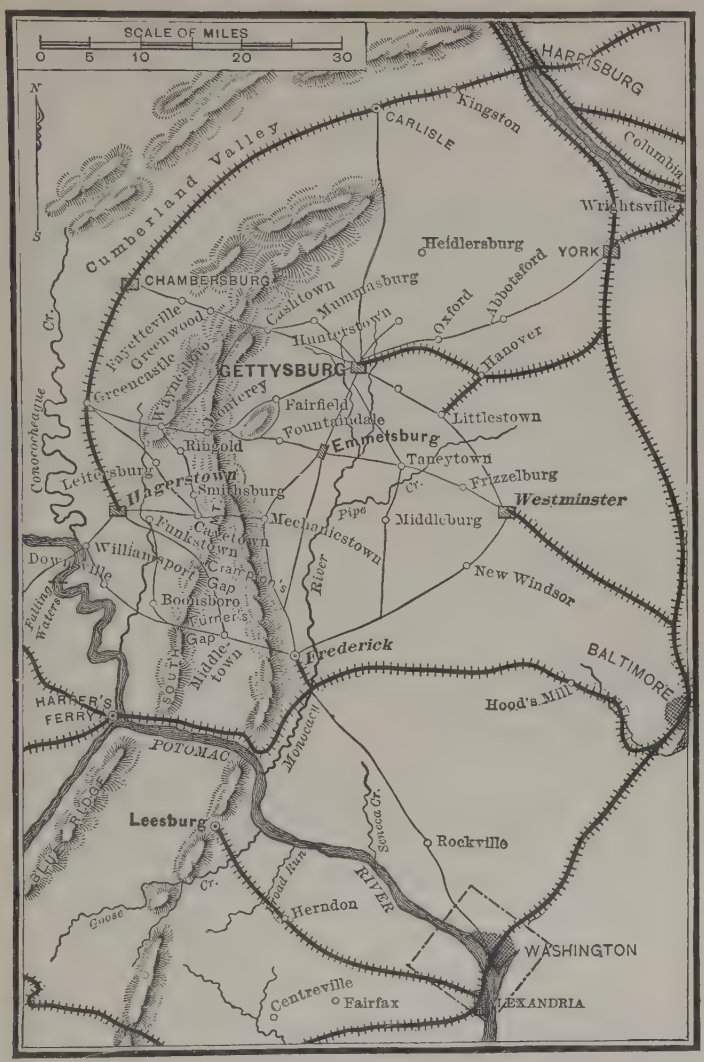
The "invasion of the North."

If the tone of the Army of the Potomac was low and depressed, the required tonic was to come, not from the National Government, nor yet from "Fighting Joe." It came from the enemy. Intimations that an invasion of the North was under advisement were plenty before the month of May had passed.

Hooker, learning through his spies that such a movement was imminent, notified the President of the fact; and it speedily became evident that Lee's army was pointed toward the free States, its objective undoubtedly being the nearest great cities of the North — Philadelphia and Baltimore, possibly Washington. On the 3d of June the movement began; five days later, Longstreet's and Ewell's corps were at Culpepper, enveloped in a "cloud of cavalry," as Hooker said, the entire Confederate horse, under Stuart, being present. Lee's third corps, A. P. Hill's, was left in the lines of Fredericksburg until the situation should be more clearly developed. Hooker sent a cavalry force under Pleasanton to attack Stuart and to find out what was going on. This movement was disconcerted somewhat by Stuart's moving up to Brandy Station, where a cavalry engagement took place. Pleasanton was repulsed, but he ascertained that Lee's army was in motion; and so far he had accomplished his errand. Hooker meanwhile had set his army on the interior lines around which Lee must move in order to penetrate the region whose invasion was the object of his campaign. Ewell undertook to clear the Shenandoah Valley of Federal troops, and he passed down the valley with a sweeping rush. Halleck's orders to Hooker were to cover Washington and defend Harper's Ferry; other than this, he was left to himself. As the Confederate army moved down the Shenandoah Valley, their cavalry protecting the passes through the Blue Ridge, Hooker clung to the eastern base of the ridge, holding the inner line of two parallel curves along which the two armies were moving. He had asked permission to interpose his whole army between the head of Lee's army, which was then in the Shenandoah Valley, and the rear, which was on the Fredericksburg line; but Halleck forbade this, the defence of Washington, as usual, paralyzing any attempted brilliant movement against an invading force.

As Ewell swept down the Shenandoah Valley, he encountered General Milroy, who, with 10,000 men, was holding on at Winchester, hoping that he could withstand the attack which he knew was coming, although he had been warned that his force would not be adequate to the occasion. He made a gallant defence, but he

Major-General Winfield S. Hancock.



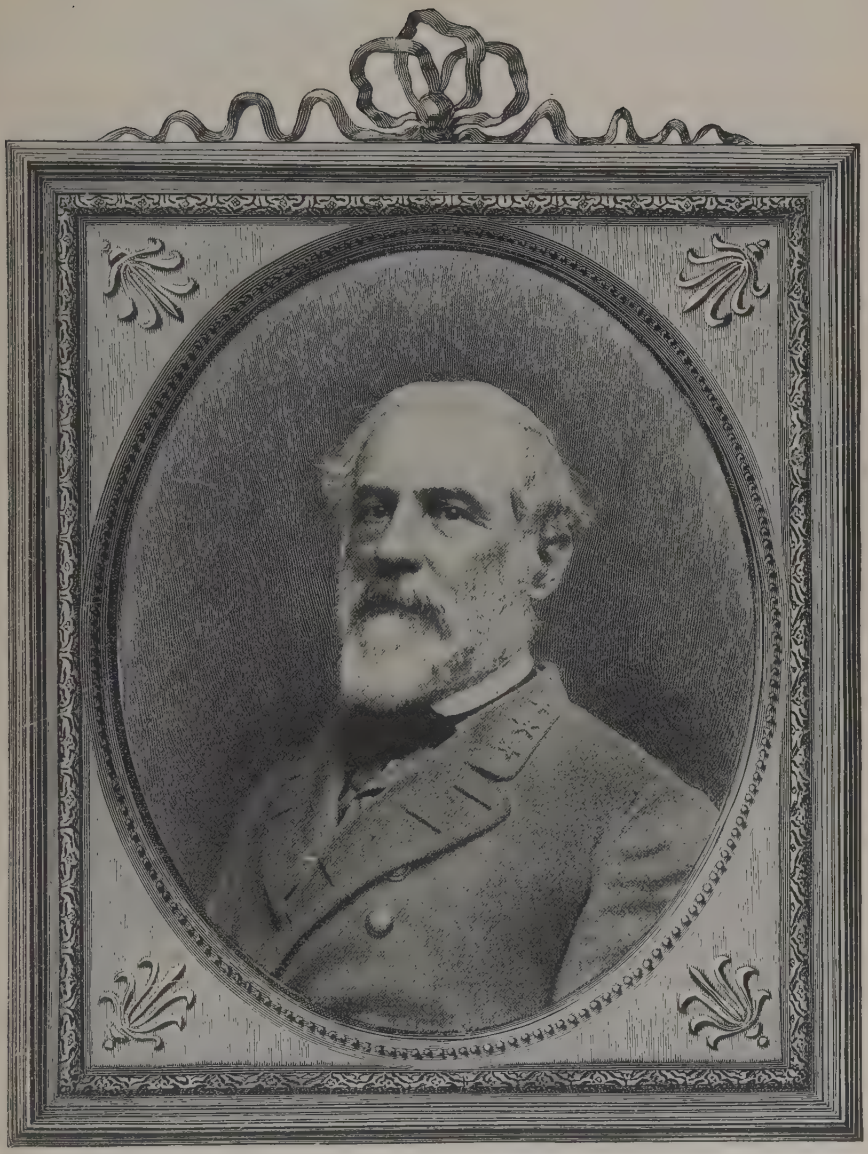
The Country from the Potomac to Harrisburg.

was overwhelmed by superior numbers; about 4,000 of his men were taken prisoners; the remainder escaped to Harper's Ferry. The entire Confederate army was now in motion; the valley was cleared of any opposing force; and on the 22d of June, Ewell's corps crossed the Potomac at Shepherdstown and Williamsport, Maryland, and moved up the Cumberland Valley in the direction of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. A large body of Confederate cavalry had meanwhile crossed the river and had made a raid as far north as Chambersburg

and had brought back to Ewell plentiful supplies from the rich country raided. There was a great panic among the peaceful inhabitants of Pennsylvania who were now for the first time confronted with the horror and destructiveness of war. The Governors of New York and Pennsylvania were called upon to furnish militia troops to repel invasion, and several regiments were forwarded for the defence of Harrisburg and Philadelphia. But it was not at once that the people of these cities awoke to a full realization of the imminence of the danger. On the 24th and 25th, the other two corps of Lee's army crossed the Potomac, and his entire force was now north of the river once more. The invaders were surprised and delighted to find a land so rich and fat with all that they needed for their comfort and subsistence. They seized horses, grain, goods in store, and farm produce of every sort. With amusing punctiliousness, they paid for these levies — in Confederate scrip which was as valuable as so much waste paper; and when the people remonstrated, they were grimly told that if they aided in the war for the recognition of Southern independence, their Confederate "shin-plasters" would soon be worth their face value. The luckless colored people whom the invaders swept up in their march were even less fortunate. They were seized and sent to the rear, eventually being transported to that region of the United States in which slavery was still a living institution. The roads were now filled with fugitives flying to save their lives, property, and freedom.

The Confederates in Pennsylvania.

The Confederate cavalry having been sent off on one of the wild forays which were so dear to the hearts of the Southern rough riders, Lee was left for a time in ignorance of the movements of Hooker. That dashing raid of cavalry, it may be said here, was comparatively fruitless. It deprived Lee of an efficient arm of the service until after the battle of Gettysburg had been fought and lost; and the raiding resulted in no benefit whatever to the Confederates. Hooker, moving on a line nearer Washington than that taken by Lee, crossed the Potomac at Edwards's Ferry, on the 25th and 26th, and marched directly upon Frederick, Maryland. Here he proposed to throw the Twelfth Corps (Slocum's) through the South Mountain passes to the westward and order that force to join with the 11,000 men under General French, lying idle at Harper's Ferry, and attack Lee's rear, deranging his communications, capturing his trains and exposing him to a general attack in his rear. He applied to Washington for permission to do this; but Halleck was obstinate in his determination, at that time at least, to defend Harper's Ferry, and he refused the required permission. For some time there had been a growing asperity in the tone of Hooker's communications with the



GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE, C. S. A.

John L. Burns, of Gettysburg.
Drawn by J. C. Phillips from a photograph.

War Department. He had at first chosen to address himself to the President instead of to Halleck, there being an ancient grudge between himself and the General-in-chief. The much harassed President had vainly attempted to mollify this ill-feeling; and now Hooker, having contemptuously said that it was useless to hold Harper's Ferry as the key to Maryland, "now that the door had been smashed in," tendered his resignation. It is not certain whether he expected that he would be taken at his word and be relieved in the face of the enemy. But there was no time for parley or remonstrance. His request was promptly complied with, and General George G. Meade was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac. The country heard the news with incredulity and alarm.

Hooker succeeded by Meade.

General Meade was a graduate of the United States Military Academy, of the class of 1835; he had served in the Mexican war, and subsequently had been employed in engineer duty during a time of peace; had been with the Army of the Potomac since the breaking out of the war, first as a brigadier and then as a corps commander, in which latter rank he served through the great battles of Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. Succeeding to the command of the Army of the Potomac, he made no radical changes in Hooker's admirable strategic plans. General Sykes was assigned to the command of the Third Corps, formerly Meade's, and Hancock received that of Couch, who was now assigned to the command of the Department of the Susquehanna, in which he was expected to organize and drill the raw recruits and militia being enlisted for the emergency. Meade, however, at once secured that permission to use as he pleased the Harper's Ferry garrison which had been refused to Hooker. But he did not employ that force as Hooker had proposed. It may as well be said here that Hooker, on his being relieved from command of the Army of the Potomac, was ordered to Baltimore to await further instructions. Contrary to the existing rules and regulations, which forbade general officers to visit Washington without first receiving formal permission, Hooker went to the National capital to

obtain a satisfactory explanation, if possible, of his treatment. He was ungraciously ordered under arrest for disobedience of orders, and thus incurred a humiliation which might have been spared him. Subsequently, he retrieved his somewhat shaken reputation as a good fighter, when, at his own passionate petition, he had been transferred to the West.

Major-General George E. Pickett, C. S. A.

The panic excited by the near approach of a hostile army was not confined to the loyal States. General Dix, commanding at Fortress Monroe, was ordered to make a demonstration against Richmond, which had been left with a weak defence. A considerable body of troops was sent up to Yorktown and thence to White House. General Getty, with a column of 7,000 men, moved up as far as Hanover Junction, on the 13th of June, to destroy Lee's communications as far as possible. At the same time, General Keyes, with another column of about 5,000 troops, moved from White House to secure Bottom's Bridge on the Chickahominy, thus clearing the way for an advance upon Richmond. The consternation in the Confederate capital was for a time very great; on the 15th, Keyes's command was at New Kent Court House, only fifteen miles from the city. It was at one time intended to recall Lee to the defence of Richmond; and the Confederate commander was severely blamed for having left the city so poorly guarded; but reënforcements from Charleston and other points to the southward were hurried up, the militia were called out, and the immediate danger was over. A few days later, June 26th, another panic was caused in Richmond by the sudden appearance of Colonel Spear, with his Eleventh Pennsylvania cavalry, within eleven miles of the city. It was Spear's mission to interfere with Lee's communications; but he performed several other exploits, one of which was the capture of the Confederate General W. H. F. Lee, a son of General Robert E. Lee. This capture served a useful purpose. The Richmond Government, habitually seeking for pretexts to treat with harshness their prisoners of war, were about to hang a Federal captain then confined in Libby prison; reprisals were threatened, and the fact that a son of General Lee was in the hands of the enemy had a deterrent effect upon the Confederate authorities. At this time, the maltreatment of Federal prisoners of war in Southern camps of detention had greatly excited the

A demonstration against Richmond.

Southern prisons.

people of the loyal States; and it was growing more and more difficult to effect exchanges; it was even charged that the Richmond Government were pursuing a systematic course of depletion and starvation with their prisoners, in order to weaken the effective force of their antagonists.

But Meade did not entertain any serious notion of interfering with Lee's line of retreat. Slocum's Twelfth Corps was ordered to join the main bulk of the army, and French's troops, taken from Harper's Ferry in spite of the Maryland "door smashed in," were ordered to Frederick, where they were held as a reserve to the Army of the Potomac when that body moved forward. Ewell's corps were now at Carlisle and York, nearly forty miles north of Gettysburg; Longstreet's corps were at Chambersburg, in the Cumberland Valley west of the mountains; and Hill's were at Fayetteville, about ten miles east of Longstreet, on a road leading through the range towards Gettysburg. On the 28th, Lee was startled to learn that the Army of the Potomac was not on the south side of the river, as he had supposed, but at Frederick, Maryland. His communications were now in danger, for the army could be so formed that his line to the Potomac at Williamsport and Shepherdstown would be severed while the Federal forces would at the same time afford ample protection to Washington. So far as food and forage were concerned, Lee could manage to subsist on the country; but unless his ammunition trains were kept full and in motion, he would soon be helpless in the very region which he had come to invade and conquer. It had been Hooker's plan to carry out a suggestion made by President Lincoln, who, writing to the general, June 15th, before the Confederate forces

Dead Horses of the 9th Massachusetts Battery after the Battle of Gettysburg.
Drawn by B. J. Rosenmeier from a photograph.

had crossed the Potomac, said: "If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg, and the tail of it on the plank road between Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him somewhere?" Later on, as we have seen, it was Hooker's desire to profit by the increased extension of "the animal;" but that was forbidden him. Meade, with the same forces that had been denied to Hooker, did not attempt any sharp interference with Lee's line of communication, although Lee naturally expected that he would. To use General Doubleday's metaphor, "The head of the serpent faced about as soon as its tail was trodden upon."

The concentration at Gettysburg.

Lee, on the night of the 28th, sent couriers to all of his corps commanders to concentrate at Gettysburg. He might have gone on to Harrisburg; for Meade had no notion of attacking his rear; at that very moment, the general commanding the Army of the Potomac was about to withdraw all the forces apparently acting against Lee's line of retreat.

On the night of the 30th, the Confederate forces were rapidly concentrating at Gettysburg, the evident intention being to strike across to the eastward in the direction of Baltimore. Meade waited for the development of Lee's plans, playing a waiting game. His forces were well spread out; a part under Reynolds, of the First Corps, were at Marsh Creek, near Gettysburg; and a part, under Sedgwick,

"Slaughter-Pen" at the foot of Little Round Top.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph made just after the battle.

of the Sixth Corps, at Manchester, thirty-five miles away, to the southward, with others intervening between Meade's line on which he was to offer battle on Pipe Creek, fifteen miles southeast of Gettysburg. This line was a good one for the purpose for which it was selected; but it was not the line on which the great and decisive battle was to be fought. Circumstances determined otherwise. To concentrate his forces here, Meade intended to draw back his advance and bring forward his rear. Buford's division of Federal cavalry occupied the hills to the westward of Gettysburg, on the morning of the 1st of July, Reynolds being close at hand to support him with as large a force from the left wing of the army (composed of the First, Third, and Eleventh Corps) as might be available. Reynolds, having been assigned to the command of this wing of the army, had left his corps, the First, in command of General Abner Doubleday. The concentration of the Confederate forces was now taking place on the westward of the range of hills to the west of Gettysburg generally known as Seminary Ridge. Beyond this ridge, still farther to the westward, rises another range, and beyond this is a small stream, Willoughby's Run; beyond this little stream lie two other folds of the ground; and it was on the heights on either side of Willoughby's Run that most of the fighting of July 1st took place.

The Federal troops engaged in obstructing the advance of the Confederate forces coming in from the west were hotly pressed by the enemy. Reynolds personally saw to the posting of a considerable force in a piece of woods between the forks of two roads that approached Gettysburg from the west from beyond Seminary Ridge. Filled with anxiety lest his troops should not be up in time, he frequently exposed himself, turning his head in the direction from which his men were to come upon the field. While thus looking, he was shot in the back of the head by a Confederate sharpshooter and instantly killed. The command of the left wing of the army now devolved upon General Doubleday, who kept it until General Howard, later in the day, arrived on the field and, by virtue of his seniority rank, succeeded to the command of that wing of the army. The loss of Reynolds, who was a brave, gallant, and capable officer, was a serious blow to the army; and it was one of the lamented disasters that detracted from the subsequent glories of the battle-field.

Death of Reynolds.

The Federal forces at first gained considerable advantage. But before long the most of Hill's and Ewell's corps were on the field, outnumbering Howard two to one. The Federals were driven back in some confusion through Gettysburg, losing in all 10,000 men, of whom half were made prisoners. The

Gettysburg — the first day, July 1st.

remainder took up a strong position on Culp's Hill, in the rear and southeastward of the town. Meade, who was fifteen miles distant, soon learned that there was fighting near Gettysburg, and sent Hancock with orders to take command of the force there, and to decide what was to be done. Hancock, agreeing with the opinion of others who had preceded him, decided that this was the place to give battle, and sent word to Meade to hurry up all his forces. Some of these came during the night, others early in the morning, and in the afternoon Sedgwick's corps reached the field after a march of thirty-five miles. Lee had in the mean while suspended operations until he could bring up his whole army.

A little after noon of July 2d both armies were concentrated, and fairly in position, each occupying a ridge, separated by a valley one or two miles broad. The Federals were on Cemetery Ridge, directly south of Gettysburg. This ridge, about three miles long, is shaped like a fish-hook. Here and there it rises into craggy hills. At the extreme south is Round Top, next Little Round Top, then at some distance is Cemetery Hill at the bend of the hook, and lastly Culp's Hill, forming the barb. The Confederate forces were mainly upon the opposite Seminary Ridge, Ewell's division, however, being at the foot of Culp's Hill, two miles away. Each army numbered about 75,000 men, exclusive of cavalry. The greater part of the Confederate cavalry was many miles away. Probably Lee greatly underestimated Meade's strength, for with only a small part of his own force he assailed the strong position in which it was placed. Longstreet was to fall upon the left at the Round Tops, while upon the right, at Culp's Hill, Ewell was to make "a demonstration, to be converted into a real attack should opportunity offer." Meade intended that his line should occupy the crest of the ridge between Round Top and Cemetery Hill, Sickles being in the centre. At this point the ridge is comparatively slightly marked, but running diagonally to this is another and more prominent ridge. Sickles took post here, so that his line, instead of being continuous with that of Hancock, on his right, ran at a considerable angle from it, leaving between them a gap of nearly half a mile. Moreover, Little Round Top had been left unoccupied, and this was the key to the

Major-General John F. Reynolds.

Major-General Gouverneur K. Warren.

whole Federal position, for if the enemy could seize it and plant a few guns there, the Federal line would be enfiladed from end to end.

Meade was on the point of rectifying the error into which Sickles had naturally fallen, when at three o'clock the battle was opened by the enemy, and it was too late. Hood's division of Longstreet's corps struck for Little Round Top, and began swarming up its rugged western side. Before they could gain the summit, Warren, who as engineer was examining the line, saw the peril, and brought forward a few regiments, who were a moment ahead of the enemy, forced them back, and held the disputed point. The remainder of Longstreet's corps pressed fiercely upon Sickles, who was borne from the field with his leg shattered. His corps was slowly forced back until it reached the true crest, where a new line was formed. The Confederates charged this, but encountered a fire from which they recoiled. Hancock, who now commanded the centre, ordered a counter-charge, and the assailants were driven back to the ridge previously occupied by Sickles. Ewell's demonstration upon Culp's Hill was delayed until the action on the left was nearly over. Most of the force here had been withdrawn to the aid of Sickles, and Ewell effected a lodgment within the outer line of the Federal intrenchments. The Union loss this day was fully 10,000, two thirds of which fell upon Sickles's corps, which lost nearly half its numbers. This action decided nothing, for Meade did not wish to hold the ground upon the left from which Sickles had been forced, and Ewell's foothold on the right was of no importance in itself. Still the Confederates had gained some apparent advantages, and of these Lee said, "These partial successes determined me to continue the assault the next day."

His plan was, that Ewell should assail Culp's Hill, on the right, while the main effort was directed against the centre. But July 3. early in the morning Meade had forced Ewell from the position which he had won, of which Lee was not informed. The morning was spent in preparation. Batteries, mounting one hundred and fifteen guns, opened fire from Seminary Ridge. Meade had two hundred guns, but the Ridge is so rugged that not more than eighty

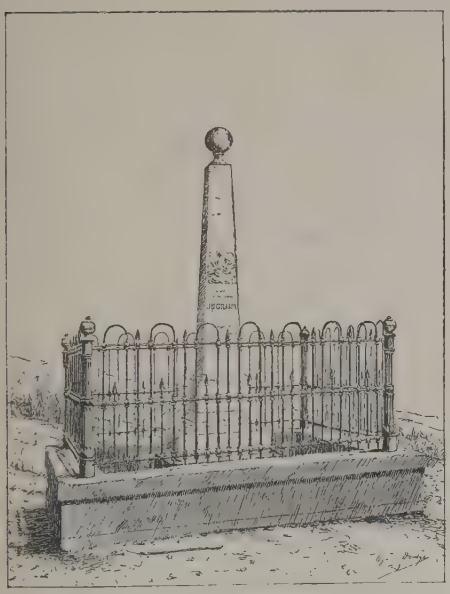
The Union Ironclad *Essex*, which ran the Batteries at Port Hudson and Vicksburg.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

could be put in position. The cannonade began an hour after noon, and was kept up until three o'clock. Some of the Federal guns were dismounted, but their place was supplied by others. The men were so sheltered behind a low swell, that there was little loss of life. After two hours, Hunt, Meade's chief of artillery, began gradually to slacken his fire. Lee supposed that the Union batteries had been silenced, that the infantry must be confused and frightened, and he ordered the grand attack to be made. Everything had conspired to mislead him as to the force of his enemy. He could not have supposed that there were more than 40,000 men on the opposite ridge. He had no reason to doubt that Ewell had been successful at Culp's Hill, and would be able to hold his own in that quarter. Moreover, Stuart's cavalry had now rejoined him, and were ready to be hurled upon the foe when he began to retreat. So the decisive assault was committed to a column of not more than 18,000 men in all. These consisted mainly of Pickett's Virginians of Hill's corps, who had not as yet been engaged, supported by the brigades of Pettigrew and Wilcox. From both of the ridges overlooking the plain between them, this charge was in plain view. It was executed with the precision and deliberateness of a movement in a great military review. It was ordered by General Lee, against the better judgment of Longstreet, who commanded the right wing of the Confederate army. He says: "I had offered my objections to Pickett's battle and had been overruled, and I was in the immediate presence of the commanding general when the order was given for Pickett to advance."

The column moved steadily down the slope of Seminary Ridge, and across the valley. It had been intended that the artillery should advance and support the infantry, but at the last moment it was found that their ammunition had been used up in the wasteful cannonade, and it was too late to replenish it. The column showed a front of fully a mile. No sooner did it emerge from the woods than

all the Federal guns, from Round Top to Cemetery Hill, opened upon it, plowing great furrows through the ranks, which were closed up as fast as made. The movement was at first directed somewhat to the left of the Union centre. Here, a little in advance of the main Federal line, and protected by rude intrenchments, was one of Doubleday's brigades, which poured a terrible musketry fire upon the enemy's flank. Bending a little to its left, the column pressed on until Pettigrew's brigade came to within three hundred yards of Hancock's line, which had reserved its fire. In a few minutes the whole brigade was streaming back in wild disorder. Pickett's division struck a weaker point, where Gibbon's front line was thinly posted behind a low stone wall. Pickett charged straight over this, among the Union batteries, and for a quarter of an hour there was a confused hand-to-hand *mêlée*. The Federal soldiers rushed into the fight "helter-skelter, every man for himself, their officers among them," and drove the Virginians back over the low stone wall. Of Pickett's three brigade commanders, Garnett lay dead, Armistead mortally wounded within the Federal lines, and Kemper had been borne off to die. Of all that gallant band, not one in four escaped. The rest were dead or prisoners. The attacking column, thus crushed in the centre, gave way everywhere else. The Confederate loss this day was 16,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, the Federal loss being not one fifth as great. Hancock was severely wounded, and the command of his corps was temporarily given to Warren.



The Pemberton Monument commemorating the Surrender at Vicksburg. (Now removed.)

Drawn by Ozias Dodge from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

The conditions here were not unlike those at the battle of Fredericksburg, except that the relations of the two belligerents were reversed. It was Lee now, not Burnside, who was assailing a position well-nigh impregnable. It was the Confederate assaulting column, not the Federal, which was beaten back, torn, bleeding, and wounded. The ground between the two ridges at Gettysburg had witnessed just

such a gallant and yet hopeless charge as that which had covered the field of Fredericksburg with windrows of the dead. It was a melancholy sacrifice. The day was lost, and in losing it Lee said: "It was all my fault; get together, and let us do the best we can toward saving what is left of us."

Lee's retreat.

During that night Lee concentrated the remainder of his force behind the crest of Seminary Ridge, awaiting an attack. On the morning of the 4th, Meade held a council of war, at which it was decided that no attack should then be made. Before night a heavy storm set in, under cover of which Lee began his retreat, leaving a strong rear-guard to defend the passes through the mountains. By the 7th he had made the march of forty miles. The Potomac, which he had crossed almost dry-shod a fortnight before, was now swollen by heavy rains, and not to be forded. The bridges had been destroyed by a cavalry dash from Frederick, and he had no alternative but to intrench himself until the waters should abate or bridges be built. Meade, however, showed no inclination to follow up his advantage, although reënforced by troops which had been detached from Washington and Baltimore and placed at his disposal. When he called another council of war, on the 12th, he found that the majority of those who were present and voting were against an attack; but it was observed that the casualties of war had deprived the council of the voices of most of the fighting corps commanders. Meade was in favor of a forward movement; he allowed himself to be overruled by the vote of a council; and the truth of the old saying as to the non-combative attitude of a council of war was once more vindicated. Had Meade been longer in command of the army, firmer in the saddle, he might not have been so easily influenced by a vote. Meanwhile he was being pressed by frequent despatches and orders from Washington to renew the fight. It was pointed out to him that the enemy was surely escaping across the Potomac into Virginia; that he was strong enough to attack and prevent any further flight of the Confederates; that such a misadventure now would be deplorable, and that the full and complete destruction of the Army of Northern Virginia was within his reach. All in vain.

On the evening of the 13th an order was finally issued for an advance the next morning. The enemy was to be pressed. But when the day broke, the enemy had disappeared. Before Meade began his movement, Lee had utilized the six days' delay by fortifying his position on the Potomac at Falling Waters, bridging the stream, replenishing his ammunition, and finally by crossing with his whole force. By eight o'clock in the morning, the bulk of the Confederate army was once more on the soil of Virginia. Federal troops

Contraband Camp at Briarfield, Jefferson Davis's Plantation, thirty miles below Vicksburg.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

arriving tardily on the ridge above the place of crossing saw the smoke of camp fires on the opposite side of the river, where the war-worn veterans of Lee's army were safely resting after their long and disastrous campaign on free soil. Nearly 2,000 of Lee's rear-guard were captured at the crossing; and General Pettigrew, in command there, was so severely wounded that he died two days later, in Virginia, having been taken over to the Confederate lines under a flag of truce. There was weeping and lamentation in the South over the failure of the invasion and the costly sacrifice of life and war material which this unprofitable foray had entailed. But in the North there was great disappointment at the failure to capture or annihilate Lee's army and end the war then and there. Mingled with the jubilation over the brilliant success of the Union arms and the utter defeat of an insurgent host were complaints of the fearful cost at which this had been secured, and murmurs of exasperation that the escape of Lee added another period of indefinite extension to the war.

Losses at Gettysburg.

According to the revised returns from both armies engaged in the battle of Gettysburg, which was one of the most destructive in modern history, the total losses were as follows: the Federal army lost 3,072 in killed, 14,497 wounded, 5,434 prisoners or missing, a total of 23,103; the Confederates lost 2,592 killed, 12,709 wounded and 5,150 captured or missing, 20,451, all told. At the lowest estimate, Meade had 92,000 men actually engaged in the

battle; Lee had about 78,000, making a grand total of 170,000 men marshalled in this great and decisive struggle of the civil war.

General Joseph E. Johnston, C. S. A.

Vicksburg.

At the very hour of the final repulse of the Confederates at Gettysburg, another great disaster befell their cause in the surrender of Vicksburg and the consequent liberation from their control of the great river of the West. In a previous chapter the unsuccessful attempt of Sherman to approach Vicksburg by the way of Chickasaw Bayou and Haines's Bluff was described; and the ineffectual expedition of the naval force was also alluded to; and it was seen that an attacking column from the North could not reach Vicksburg except under very great difficulties entailing enormous loss of life, and that a naval attack on the front of the city was of no avail so long as the hills around and in its rear were occupied by a garrison. Early in 1863, Grant took personal command of the expedition which was intended to reduce Vicksburg and free the Mississippi. Great expectations were entertained of a canal which was to be constructed across the narrow neck of a peninsula opposite Vicksburg, where the river makes a great bend, or loop. If a navigable canal were to be built across this neck of land, diverting the main channel of the river in that direction, Vicksburg would be made an inland city; and in that case Grant's army could be readily transported to any point on the stream below. A prodigious amount of labor was expended on the canal by the corps of McClernand and Sherman; but the scheme was abortive; high water overflowed the peninsula, and the channel remained in the old bed of the river.

Other schemes were taken up and abandoned. Some of these involved great labor and ingenuity; their prosecution was conducted under circumstances of peril, and the story of their adventurous undertakings is one of the most romantic and novel of the whole war. One of these was an attempt to flank Vicksburg from the North by the way of the Yazoo river, which empties into the Mississippi a short distance above Vicksburg. This was a proposition to go up the

Yazoo and enter Steele's bayou, near the mouth of the river, and thence, by a series of short cuts through smaller streams and bayous, enter the Yazoo again at a point above Haines's Bluff, that place being so heavily fortified that its passage was impossible from below. But the tortuous passages, the dank swamps and cane-brakes, the water-ways blocked with fallen trees and the tangle of vines and undergrowths made every foot of the way a task well-nigh herculean. The Confederates not only blocked the way before the expedition, but they began to impede the channel behind, and the erection of small batteries and pickets along the line of retreat threatened to cut off the force that was so boldly advancing into the wilderness of swamps and bayous above. At one time, Admiral Porter, who had command of the steam fleet, fully expected that he would have to abandon his boats and trust to the ability of Sherman's military contingent for a safe deliverance from the maze into which they had penetrated. But the whole force finally extricated itself from the difficult region of the bayous and returned to the Mississippi River in safety.

Grant now determined to march down the river on its western bank, cross at some point far below Vicksburg, and attack the city in the rear. The greatest difficulty was the passage of the river below the city. This was to be overcome by Porter's fleet (which was then above Vicksburg), running the batteries and assembling below. Accordingly, the army moved southward from Milliken's Bend, on the west side of the Mississippi, at some distance from the bank, and, after unsuccessful attempts at Grand Gulf and New Carthage, a crossing was determined upon at Bruinsburg, about sixty miles below Vicksburg. Porter's fleet ran the batteries of Vicksburg, as Farragut's had run them during the previous autumn, without sustaining serious loss, although some casualties were suffered in the passage. Porter's voyage down the river was accomplished on the night of April 16th, much to the discomfiture of the Confederates, who lighted up the picture by immense bonfires made ready along the river bank in order the better to discern their enemy and cannonade his daring fleet. They now saw that the army below the city would have ample means for crossing the river and taking their system of defences in flank. And this was what was accomplished.

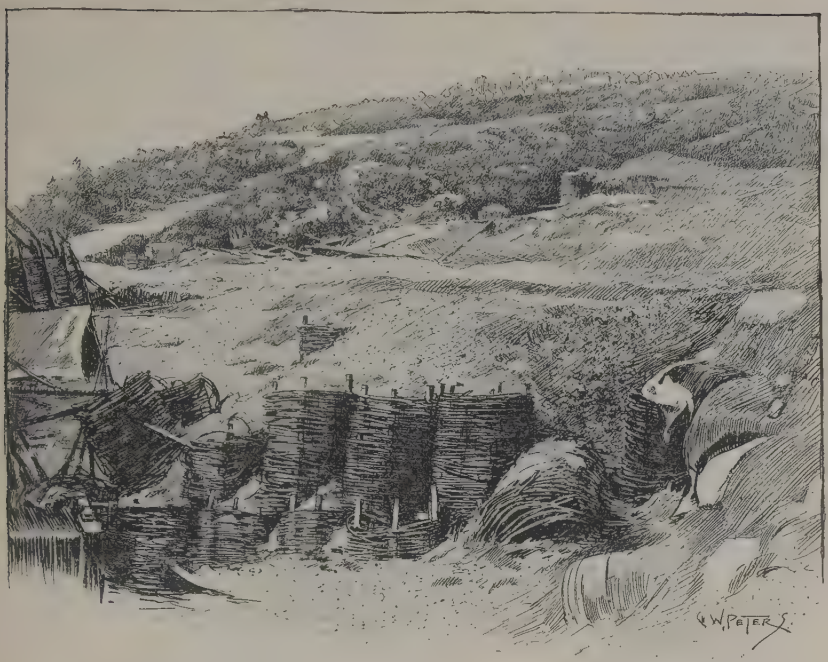
Porter's fleet runs the batteries.

Crossing at Bruinsburg, Grant's army, now numbering 20,000 men, began a long campaign towards Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, which it was necessary to reduce before turning towards Vicksburg, which lies to the westward of Jackson. On the 7th of May, being reënforced by additional troops from McPherson's (Seventeenth) corps, and by Sherman with two divisions of his, the Fifteenth, corps, Grant had 30,000 men. The Confederates occupied

Grant's movements.

Haines's Bluff, Vicksburg, Grand Gulf, and Jackson with about 60,000 men. The State of Mississippi and the eastern part of Louisiana constituted one department and was under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston, who had lately been ordered here from Virginia, and to whom Pemberton, commanding the forces in and around Vicksburg, was subordinate. One of the most successful and daring cavalry raids of the war, conducted by Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson, at this time greatly aided Grant in his operations. Grierson, with 1,700 men, set out from La Grange, Tennessee, on the 17th of April, and, riding southward, traversed the entire State of Mississippi, cutting railroads, burning bridges, destroying military supplies, and, by his sudden attacks and swift movements, carrying consternation and alarm into every corner of the raided region. He entered Baton Rouge, Louisiana, sixteen days later, having ridden six hundred miles through a hostile country, by difficult ways, fighting and destroying as he went. The result of this raid was the capture of about six hundred men, the destruction of 3,000 stand of arms, and the burning of Confederate property valued at $6,000,000.

Grant's movements necessitated the abandonment of Grand Gulf by the Confederates and that point was taken possession of by Admiral Porter, giving Grant's army a base of supply. But Grant now cut himself loose from any base and pushed on in a northeasterly direction towards Jackson, which is about fifty miles east of Vicksburg, nearly in a direct line. Johnston had arrived in Jackson on the 13th, finding there about 12,000 men subject to his orders. Now began a series of severe engagements, some of which rose to the dignity of battles. On the 12th of May was fought a battle at Raymond; on the 14th the battle of Jackson; and then, leaving Sherman at Jackson to destroy the Confederate factories running there, Grant turned westward and established a rendezvous at Bolton, twenty miles from Jackson. Thence marching in the direction of Vicksburg, he encountered Pemberton intrenched at Champion's Hill, about fifteen miles east of Vicksburg, and here was fought, on the 16th of May, the most important battle of this campaign. The Confederates lost over 3,000 killed and wounded and nearly as many more captured on the subsequent retreat; one of the Confederate killed was General Tilghman, an able officer. Grant's loss in this fight was 2,441, all told. The next fight occurred on the Big Black, where the Confederates had fallen back and destroyed the bridges across the stream after their defeat at Champion's Hill. This position was vigorously attacked on the 17th, and after a gallant but hopeless resistance the Confederates again gave way with considerable loss, of which 1,750 prisoners were no small part. The Federal loss was 279, and among



The Federal Approach on Vicksburg. Head of one of the saps on north side of works.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

their captures were eighteen guns. The crossing of the Big Black was speedily accomplished, the skilful engineers of the Federal army constructing three bridges, over which the entire force marched triumphantly towards Vicksburg.

Vicksburg besieged.

There had been some contention among the Confederate military authorities as to the expediency of holding Vicksburg with a force which was now to be shut up inside of the beleaguered city. Johnston expected to reach Pemberton in time to effect a junction and relieve him; but Johnston demurred at the disposition of the Confederate troops, which were scattered over a large area. He criticised the "wild expedition" of Bragg into Kentucky, which, while it yielded good results in the shape of stores of food and grain, terminated in the flight and scattering of a large force which might have been better employed in offensive operations against the enemy. And he deplored the unwisdom of leaving some 50,000 troops in Arkansas where they were not needed. Finally, he insisted that a proper consolidation of the Confederate forces would not only have repelled Grant's invasion, but would have saved Tennessee to the Confederacy. As it was, the Confederates were beaten in detail.

When Grant sat down before Vicksburg, he had encountered and defeated 7,000 or 8,000 at Port Gibson; 5,000 at Raymond; 8,000 to 11,000 at Jackson; 25,000, at Champion's Hill; and 4,000 at the Big Black. His own losses in that campaign were 4,379, all told. The tactics of the Confederates were not good; they had at Vicksburg, Grand Gulf, and Jackson, and on the roads between these places, no less than 60,000 men. These were taken in detached bodies and beaten.

The Federal troops had subsisted largely on the country through which they had passed; this was a novelty in the military operations of that time; and among those who said it could not be done was General Sherman, who took occasion to proclaim, as soon as the campaign had been victoriously concluded, that he had opposed Grant's scheme, and to Grant alone belonged all the credit of having accomplished an undertaking so novel and so daring. Now proceeding to invest the city of Vicksburg, into which Pemberton had marched and shut himself up, Grant established the right of his line with Sherman at Haines's Bluff, on the Yazoo, directly above the ground on which he had suffered defeat during the previous autumn; McPherson's corps occupied the centre, and McClernand's corps was on the left, resting on the Mississippi below Vicksburg with a thin line which was subsequently strengthened. In front was Porter's fleet whose guns and mortars bombarded the devoted city. The investment was complete on the 19th of May.

Jefferson Davis's House on Hurricane Island, near Vicksburg.
Drawn by B. J. Rosenmeier from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

The siege.

Grant had accomplished his purpose of driving Pemberton into Vicksburg while he warded off Johnston in the rear. But he must now conduct a siege on the one side and be prepared for an attack on the other side. He pressed the siege with great severity, apprehending the possibilities of Johnston's approach with an army reënforced for the raising of the siege of Vicksburg. The Confederate line in front was eight miles long; his own line was

fourteen miles from river to river. Two attempts were made to carry the works by storm, one on the 19th of May and another on the 22d. Both of these were unsuccessful, although the troops fought with valor and spirit. The two assaults convinced both officers and men that the city could only be captured after a long siege, and they were willing to settle down to this tedious work with a contentment that they would not have felt if they had been ordered into trenches, saps, and mines on their arrival before Vicksburg.

During one of these assaults, that of the 22d, General McClernand reported that he had pierced the enemy's intrenchments at several points, and that he must have reënforcements. This proved to be incorrect, and it drew upon McClernand Grant's additional displeasure. Not long after this, McClernand, in violation of military orders, sent to the newspapers of the North an order which he had issued to his troops in which he praised his own command in fulsome terms, to the discredit of the other corps of the army. Sherman and McPherson justly complained of this breach of discipline and the unfair implications cast upon their men. Grant accordingly relieved McClernand from command, and that general's military career was closed. He was replaced by General E. O. C. Ord. The siege was prosecuted with mines and counter-mines, and the inhabitants were rigorously shut up in the city, practically cut off from all communication with the outside world. Before the end of June famine began to press upon the people. Mule flesh took the place of beef and bacon. A barrel of flour sold — in Confederate currency — for $1,000; corn meal at $140 a bushel; molasses at $10 a gallon. The steady fire from the Federal gunboats had reduced the city to a heap of ruins. Half the people were living in caves dug into the hillsides; and even here they were not safe. Rod by rod the works of the besiegers crept up to those of the besieged. They mined and counter-mined against each other. On the morning of June 1st a mine was exploded under an important part of the outer Confederate line, damaging the interior works so that not one of the garrison could show his head without its becoming a mark for some sharpshooter. A practicable breach had thus been made.

The line of defence broken anywhere was broken everywhere. Grant had now fully 60,000 men for the attack; Pemberton not a quarter as many for the defence; for of the 21,000 nominally with him, 6,000 were in the hospitals. On the morning of July 3d it was clear that Grant was on the point of assaulting. Pemberton sent a message asking for an armistice, and the appointment of commissioners to arrange terms of capitulation. Grant would accept only an unconditional surrender. The terms were settled

Surrender of Vicksburg.

The Union Fleet of Gunboats off De Soto Point, opposite Vicksburg.
Drawn by Ozias Dodge from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

that day, although the surrender was not formally made until the morning of July 4th. The garrison was paroled, not to take up arms again until exchanged by proper authority. Officers were to retain their side-arms and private baggage, and field and cavalry officers one horse for each. Privates were to keep their own clothing, and to have rations sufficient to enable them to reach their homes.

Grant's course in paroling so many men, instead of holding them as prisoners of war, was criticised unfavorably by some of the military authorities; and it was doubtless true that many of the captives at Vicksburg were afterwards found in front of Federal armies with muskets in their hands; the Confederate authorities were not nearly so scrupulous in the management of their men who had been released after capture as they expected the Federals to be. But Grant would have been embarrassed in his subsequent operations by so vast a number of prisoners of war, his transportation by water being inadequate for the purpose of carrying them away, and his marches into the interior were certain to be undertaken with celerity if at all. Pemberton disclosed the condition of his men when he asked Grant to aid him in guarding them from desertion, before and after they had signed their paroles; a request which Grant very naturally declined to consider. By his orders no manifestation of undue exultation was permitted to the victorious besiegers; but one of the Confederate officers

has recorded the fact that cheers were given by at least one regiment of Federals for the brave defenders who were then marching out of the city. The soldiers fraternized with cordial good feeling on both sides; they could not forget that they were fellow-countrymen, brothers of the same blood.

During his correspondence with Pemberton, preliminary to the surrender, Grant wrote these generous words: "Men who have shown so much endurance and courage as those now in Vicksburg will always challenge the respect of an adversary, and I can assure you will be treated with all the respect due to prisoners of war. I do not favor the proposition of appointing commissioners to arrange the terms of capitulation, because I have no other terms than those indicated above," — unconditional surrender. It was the hand of iron in the glove of velvet. The Federal soldiers shared the contents of their haversacks with their famished adversaries whom they had just starved out. Grant's commissary department issued to Pemberton's order, after the capitulation, the enormous quantity of 32,000 rations.

The military results of this campaign, as summed up by Grant,

"Old Abe" and Color Guard of 8th Wisconsin Volunteers at Vicksburg.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

were: "The defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg; the occupation of Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg, its garrison, and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of 37,000 prisoners, at least 10,000 killed and wounded, and hundreds, perhaps thousands, who can never be collected and reorganized. Arms and munitions of war for an army of 60,000 men have fallen into our hands, besides a large amount of other public property, and much that was destroyed to prevent our capturing it." He might have added the fall of Port Hudson, which Farragut with a naval, and Banks with a land, force had vainly attempted to reduce, but whose surrender was inevitable after the fall of Vicksburg. The entire Federal loss in Grant's operations was 8,575, of whom 943 were killed, 7,095 wounded, and 537 missing. The fall of Vicksburg reopened the Mississippi from its headwaters to the Gulf of Mexico. It was here, according to Grant's own account, that it suddenly occurred to him that it might be possible, after all, that he would be called upon to conduct the military affairs of the Nation and end the war.

Results of this campaign.

The two great victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg roused the enthusiasm of the people of the loyal States as nothing before this time had ever done. Popular rejoicings over these important Federal successes were heartfelt and universal; for a time, at least, the discordant note of the Peace Democrat was unheard; it really seemed to most people that the end of the war was in sight. In reality it was farther off than was generally supposed. But in the exultation of the moment past disappointments and trials were forgotten. Every variety of public jubilation was employed to signify the joy of the loyal people of the United States over the signal victories that had crowned their arms. The President, in view of the triumphs achieved, issued a proclamation, dated July 15, inviting the people of the United States to observe the 6th of August, 1863, as a day of National thanksgiving. He said, in making this recommendation: "It has pleased Almighty God to hearken to the supplications and prayers of an afflicted people, and to vouchsafe to the army and navy of the United States victories on the land and on the sea, so signal and so effective as to furnish reasonable ground for augmented confidence that the union of these States will be maintained, their Constitution preserved, and their peace and prosperity permanently restored." After referring with tenderness to the sacrifice of life, limb, health, and liberty that had been made to secure these blessings, the good President invited the people to observe the day mentioned as one of thanksgiving, "to render the homage due to the Divine Majesty for the wonderful things he has

Rejoicing in the loyal States.

Porter's Fleet.

done in the Nation's behalf, and invoke the influences of his holy spirit to subdue the anger which has produced and so long sustained a needless and cruel rebellion; to change the hearts of the insurgents; to guide the counsels of the Government with wisdom adequate to so great a National emergency, and to visit with tender care and consolation, throughout the length and breadth of our land, all those who, through the vicissitudes of marches, voyages, battles, and sieges have been brought to suffer in mind, body, or estate; and, finally, to lead the whole Nation through paths of repentance and submission to the divine will, back to the perfect enjoyment of union and fraternal peace." Later in the year, in view of the fact that the original New England institution of Thanksgiving Day had become very nearly nationalized, the President appointed the last Thursday of November as a day of National thanksgiving. In this way was established a precedent which has been followed by successive Presidents of the United States, the festival then for the first time being recognized by the chief magistrate of the Nation.

National thanksgiving.

Later in the year, too, being invited to address a meeting called to assemble in Springfield, Illinois, to consider the condition of National affairs, the President wrote a remarkable letter, dated August 26th, in which he referred in these terms to the opening of the Mississippi, the consummation of the ardent wish of the people of the Northwest: "The Father of Waters again goes unvexed

Lincoln's letter.

to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it; nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too, in more colors than one, also lent a helping hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great National one, and let none be slighted who bore an honorable part in it. And while those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been more bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro, Gettysburg, and on many fields of less note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery margins they have been present, not only on the deep sea, the broad bay, the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all. For the great republic — for the principle it lives by and keeps alive — for man's great future — thanks to all." In November, 1863, the battle-field of Gettysburg was solemnly dedicated as a National burying-ground for those who fell in the great fight.

The results in the Confederacy.

In the insurgent States the exasperation, alarm, and consternation that resulted from these two disasters to the Confederacy were naturally very great. The civil and military authorities threw upon each other the blame for these signal reverses. Although Lee generously assumed responsibility for the defeat at Gettysburg, he subsequently accounted for that defeat in a way that provoked the comment of at least one of the Confederate writers of history [1] that his explanation was disingenuous. Recriminations were also bandied very freely after the surrender of Vicksburg. It was charged that Pemberton was one of the Confederate generals who were known as "the President's Pets," and that favoritism, and not merit, had determined his appointment to the important command at Vicksburg. It is undeniable that Johnston was not a favorite with Jefferson Davis, and that he was a soldier far superior to Pemberton; and yet Pemberton, who had never before commanded a body of troops, was assigned to Vicksburg, where, it is alleged, he received private instructions from Davis, inconsistent with those which he received from Johnston, his superior officer. In his report at the conclusion of the campaign and the fall of Vicksburg, Johnston wrote: "General Pemberton made not a single movement in obedience to my orders, and regarded none of my instructions; and finally did not embrace the only opportunity to save his army — that given by my order to abandon Vicksburg."

[1] Edward A. Pollard, *Life of Jefferson Davis*, etc. p. 292.

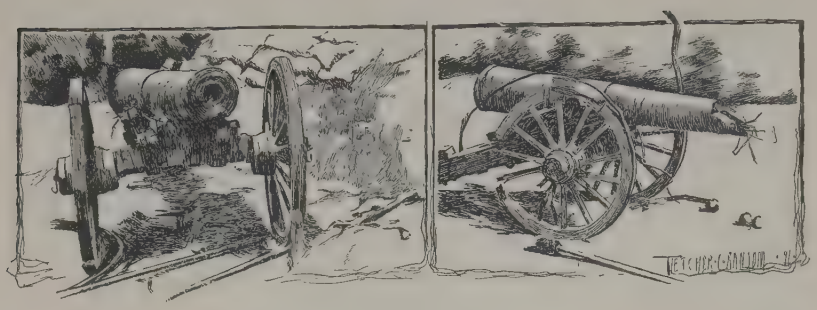
By a curious train of circumstances, in no way related to the events just narrated, the victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg were almost immediately followed by severe rioting in the city of New York in consequence of an attempt to enforce the draft, or conscription act. This measure was adopted by Congress early in the year and was finally approved by the President, March 3d, 1863.

The draft riots.

A Section of the Confederate Arsenal at Vicksburg, showing the store of projectiles captured by the Union Army.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

Its enactment had been bitterly opposed in Congress by the Peace Democrats, their argument being that it was unconstitutional and subversive of the liberties of the people. It was, in fact, the first Congressional enactment by which the Federal Government appealed directly to the people of the United States for the creation of an army, without the intervention of the State governments. The law declared that, with certain exceptions clearly set forth, all able-bodied citizens and persons of alien birth who had declared their intentions to become citizens, between the ages of twenty and forty-five, should constitute the National forces and be liable to draft at the call of the President. All persons liable to military duty and subject to this call were to be enrolled; and the President had requisite authority to call out every man not legally exempt. As a matter of expediency, only one fifth of the whole number were first called out by the President. Enrollments went on under the direction of the provost marshals and their subordinates, and, although there were some manifestations of the popular dislike of enforced enlistments, there was no serious opposition to the preliminary proceedings.



"A Little the Worse for Wear."

(Confederate guns after the siege of Vicksburg.)

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

Under previous calls for troops from the States, the quotas being duly allotted by the War Department, there had been no violent friction between the State and National authorities anywhere. Now, however, the Governor of the great State of New York was Horatio Seymour, a Peace Democrat, chosen during the deep depression of the preceding year. In his inaugural address, he had strongly intimated his intention to adhere to the extreme States-rights view of the existing political situation and to "maintain and defend the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the State" — a phrase of deep significance in those trying times. Earlier in the year, too, he had espoused with some warmth the cause of Clement L. Vallandigham, one of the most virulent and passionate opponents of the war for the maintenance of the Union. On the adjournment of the Thirty-seventh Congress, March 3d, 1863, Vallandigham, who had been a member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, took the stump in his own State and began to make speeches of the most violent and disloyal character, many of his arguments being specially designed to discourage enlistments in the army. General Burnside, who had been sent to command the Department of Ohio, took notice of a specially intemperate address which Vallandigham made at Mount Vernon, and on the 4th of May he sent a file of soldiers to Vallandigham's house in Dayton, arrested him for treason, and tried him by a military commission, the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* having been at that time suspended by authority of Congress and that right vested in the President. Vallandigham protested against these proceedings; but he was convicted and sentenced to be imprisoned in a military post in Boston harbor. The President, who had not been consulted in the beginning of the affair, commuted this sentence to banishment into the lines of the insurgent forces then operating against the armies of the United States.

Vallandigham and his arrest.

In a letter published at that time, Governor Horatio Seymour denounced the arrest of Vallandigham as "an act which had brought dishonor upon our country, and is full of danger to our persons and our homes." He added: "If this proceeding is approved by the Government and sanctioned by the people, it is not merely a step toward revolution, it is revolution; it will not only lead to military despotism, it establishes military despotism. In this respect it must be accepted, or in this respect it must be rejected. If it is upheld, our liberties are overthrown." Now that the draft was to be enforced in New York, the baser elements of the population of that city began to be excited by the arguments of men who, like Governor Seymour, were apparently unaware of the mischief which their steadfast opposition to every war measure had kindled. It was clamorously insisted that the provision in the draft law which allowed a drafted man to pay for a substitute was a discrimination in favor of the rich. On the 4th of July, Governor Seymour, in a public speech, denounced with great bitterness the Federal Administration, alleging that his own party, the Democratic, regarded it as "hostile to their rights and liberties." And this tone of criticism was maintained by the newspapers that reflected the opinions of that party. Proceedings in the enrollment and drafting offices, begun July 11th, went on without interruption until the 13th of July, when a concerted attack was made on an enrollment office which was situated on the east side of New York, where the population was largely composed of foreign-born persons, unfamiliar with democratic institutions and not in sympathy with the objects of the war for the Union.

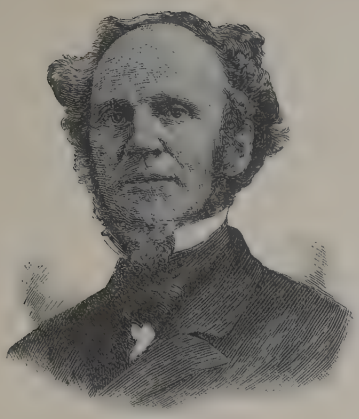
The riot in New York.

This assault put a stop to the proceedings, and the crowd speedily swelled to the dimensions of a mob, which raged through the streets, defying the civil authorities and sacking and looting stores and houses as its numbers were augmented from the drinking dens and low resorts of the city. The rioters were led by fanatical creatures of the wildest communist stripe, and they were aided by thieves who saw in this tumult an opportunity for plunder. The crowds numbered many thousands, and a reign of terror began in the afternoon of that day, when, having wrecked and burned some of the enrolling offices, the rioters robbed and fired the shops near at hand and then turned their fury against individuals. Recognizing in the colored people the objects of especial hate, they killed or maimed every negro person whom they met. Late in the afternoon, the infuriated wretches rushed upon a substantial brick building occupied by a beneficent institution known as the Colored Orphan Asylum. The metropolitan police, whose courage and skill alone saved the city from general pillage and incendiarism, withstood the rioters long enough

to enable the hapless children in the building to escape, when, these defenders having been disabled, the frantic mob broke into the asylum, destroyed whatever was not portable, stole everything that they could carry off, and set the building on fire. Other excesses were committed, the rioters acting more like fiends than human beings. One brave man, Colonel H. T. O'Brien, who had courageously resisted them, was trodden under foot, dragged through the streets, and his corpse brutally maltreated after the rioters had sated their vengeance on the citizen who had withstood them.

Governor Seymour.

While the riot was in progress, Governor Seymour, who had been absent from the city, was sent for in hot haste. He arrived in a state of great mental agitation, and was hurried to the City Hall, where he made a smooth speech to the mob, whom he addressed as "My friends," and whom he assured he had come to test their friendship. As to the cause of the riot, he said that he had sent an officer to Washington to have the draft suspended; and he added, with fervor, "Wait until my adjutant returns from Washington and you shall be satisfied." The Governor was loudly cheered by the rioters; and he subsequently issued two proclamations, one of them somewhat paternal in tone, but condemning the riot and adjuring the people to return peaceably to their homes; the second proclamation declared the city and county of New York to be in a state of insurrection, and warned all disorderly persons of the penalty incurred by any resistance to the State authorities. The State militia of New York was absent in Pennsylvania resisting the invasion from the South; but a small force of the regular army was finally brought into the city, and an engagement took place between the rioters and the soldiers on Third Avenue, in which thirteen of the rioters were killed, eighteen were wounded, and many taken prisoners. By this time, on the fourth day of the riot, the fires of the mob and the fury of the creatures engaged in its work had been burned out, and the sharp action of the soldiers cowed the rioters, who slunk away and hid themselves in their dens. Governor Seymour was severely blamed for the mildness of his address to the howling mob that surged around him when he spoke from the steps of the City Hall. But it is generally believed that he was so overcome with horror on finding this bloody harvest reaped from the seed sown by intemperate opponents of the war and of the draft, that he should not be held strictly responsible for all he said under these most trying circumstances. Peace soon returned to the distracted city; an adjustment of the losses showed that more than one thousand persons were killed or maimed, and that property to the value of two millions of dollars was destroyed. Except for a slight disturbance which took place in Boston,



Horatio Seymour.

and was promptly quelled by the local authorities, the subsequent draft proceedings passed off peaceably in all other parts of the country.

The draft resumed.

During the suspension of the draft, which necessarily followed the interruption of the proceedings in New York, Governor Seymour addressed a letter to President Lincoln in which he requested that the whole business of drafting be postponed until the constitutionality of the law should be tested in the courts. He also suggested that the State's quota might be raised by volunteering; and he added that there were complaints of the disproportion of the quotas to be raised by four of the districts of the State of New York, the city of New York being, as alleged, especially marked for a heavy draft. To this the President replied that he could not suspend the draft, as time was of prime importance at that crisis in the enlistment of troops for immediate service. As to the proposition to appeal the case to the courts, the President said: "I do not object to abide by a decision of the United States Supreme Court, or of the judges thereof, on the constitutionality of the draft law. In fact, I should be willing to facilitate the obtaining of it. But I cannot consent to lose the time while it is being obtained. We are contending with an enemy who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will soon turn upon our now victorious soldiers already in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be." After further ineffective arguments by Governor Seymour, the draft was resumed on the 19th of August, and was conducted to its close, ample preparations for the suppression of disorder having been made.

Arrests for disloyal action.

At this point may be considered the subject of so-called arbitrary arrests, which, with that of compulsory service in the army, was at that time one of the topics of violent political discussion. Very early in the Civil War it became evident that the persons who were plotting for the overthrow of the Federal Government could do incalculable mischief while professedly acting within the limits of the civil law. The broad interpretation of constitutional provisions relating to free speech were pleaded in defence

of those who, like Vallandigham, were ready to paralyze the arm of the Government in its attempts at self-preservation. When active measures were taken for the suppression of the rebellion, the plans and movements of the Government were assiduously betrayed by those who were acting in the interests of the insurgents, but were still maintaining an attitude of loyalty in the loyal States. Politicians and newspapers, availing themselves of the liberty to attack the Administration for its political acts and policies, sought to foment rebellion at home and to lend aid and comfort to those engaged in the more open Southern rebellion, by hindering in every possible way the efforts of the Government to carry on the war.

As the ordinary machinery of the civil law was inadequate to reach with promptness these trespassers, it was thought expedient to resort to more stringent measures. The Constitution of the United States provides that "The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." By implication, therefore, this being a time when rebellion existed, the public safety did require the suspension of the privilege of the writ. But the question as to which department of the Government should exercise the authority to suspend the operation of the writ was left unsettled. Congress was not in session when the earliest emergencies arose, — in the earliest days of the insurrection; and as it was believed that the act might be purely executive, the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* was first suspended by an Executive Proclamation, dated May 3d, 1861, and applied only to certain specified localities. Later, however, the famous case of Merryman, at Baltimore, showed that a resort to the power to suspend the writ must be had in other localities than those specified by the proclamation. Merryman, being charged with treason, had been arrested and taken to Fort McHenry, Baltimore, where he was held in duress by General Cadwalader, commanding at that point. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, being applied to in behalf of Merryman, granted a writ of *habeas corpus;* but the officer intrusted with the execution of the writ reported that he could not gain admission to the fort. General Cadwalader, after stating that the prisoner was actually engaged in active rebellion against the United States, added that he had been "duly authorized by the President of the United States to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* for the public safety." The commanding general, therefore, refused to obey the writ or to admit the officer of the court to the military post. Chief Justice Taney, in a written opinion, declared that the President had no authority to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, nor right to authorize any military officer to do so, and that a mili-

tary officer had no right to arrest any person, not subject to the rules and articles of war, for an offence against the laws of the United States, except in aid of the judicial authority, and subject to its control. He added that the marshal of the court had the right to summon a *posse comitatus* and take the prisoner from the custody of the general commanding at Fort McHenry, but as it was notoriously apparent that he would be resisted by a greatly superior force, the court could do nothing further in the premises. This dictum gave great comfort to those who held that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* could never under any circumstances be suspended, no matter what the Constitution might say.

Arrests under the so-called war powers of the Government continued to be made, but as public criticism was directed with some degree of reasonableness against the practice of the Government in delegating this authority of suspension, and because the Department of State was specially singled out for objurgation on this account, an order was made by authority of the President, February 14th, 1862, transferring to the War Department control of the whole matter of making arrests under the suspension of the privilege of the writ. This order was a justification of the arrests that had been made up to that date, and it was further ordered that all persons then under arrest as "political prisoners or state prisoners" be set at liberty on condition that they sign a parole engaging not to render aid and comfort to the enemy. A few days later, a commission, consisting of General John A. Dix and Mr. Edwards Pierrepont, was appointed by the War Department to consider the cases of all persons confined as "state prisoners;" and under this action many were set at liberty on taking the oath of allegiance.

Up to this time, the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* had been confined to certain localities, or to specified cases; there had been no general suspension. The point that the President could not delegate his authority to suspend was, therefore, still unmet. On the 24th of September, 1862, the President issued a proclamation in which it was declared that the persons liable to trial and punishment by courts-martial or military commission "were all rebels and insurgents, their aiders and abettors, within the United States, and all persons discouraging volunteer enlistments, resisting military drafts, or guilty of any disloyal practices affording aid and comfort to the rebels against the authority of the United States." It was at this time that orders appointing a provost-marshal-general, with deputies in the several States were issued, the same being charged with the duty of inquiring into alleged disloyal practices and arresting deserters and disloyal persons.

Bill to authorize the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

Congress next took up the matter, and, as it was still contended that the President alone could not suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, that body passed a bill to indemnify the President, and other persons, for suspending said privilege, and acts done in pursuance thereof. This bill, which was passed by a very large majority in each branch of Congress, became a law, March 3d, 1863. By this law the President was authorized to suspend the writ throughout the United States, or in any part thereof, during the prevalence of the rebellion, whenever in his judgment the public safety might require it. During the summer of that year, the action of some of the civil courts was so obstructive of the operations of the draft that the officers were unable in many instances to raise troops and arrest deserters; the provost-marshals were harassed continually, and pettifogging attorneys contrived to detain drafted men under various subterfuges after they should have gone into military service. To meet this emergency, the President, September 15th, 1863, availed himself of the authority expressly conferred upon him by the act of March 3d, and issued a proclamation in which he directed that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* should be henceforth suspended in all cases where persons were held under the command of the Government as spies, or aiders or abettors of the enemy, or as soldiers or deserters, or for offences against the military service. The fact that a state of rebellion existed, as a just and constitutional requirement for this action, was recited, and all civil and military officers of the United States were required to take notice of this suspension.

This act, as well as others preliminary thereto, received a very general popular approval; and the civil courts, when called upon in a few cases to pass upon the action of the President and Congress, justified that action. No amount of moderation in the exercise of these extraordinary powers could be expected to satisfy those who were angered by any act of any branch of the Government which was designed to facilitate the operations of the armies engaged in putting down the rebellion. Under the law of March 3d, 1863, military governors who were or who might be appointed by the President to administer affairs in States formerly in rebellion were invested with requisite authority to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus;* and the executive letters of appointment issued to these officers gave them such authority duly specified. This only increased the virulence of the attacks made upon these functionaries by the sympathizers with the rebellion; and, although in all cases the military governors and the officers acting directly under the authority of the President exercised their powers with moderation, every instance of such exercise was denounced as

unconstitutional, lawless, and subversive of the rights of citizens. Any place for the detention of a military prisoner was stigmatized as a "bastile," and the officer making an arrest was denounced as a "military satrap" or "one of Lincoln's hirelings."

It is worthy of remark here that the military despotism that then existed was confined to the limits of the so-called Confederate States. Immediately after the defeats to the Confederate arms that were suffered in July, 1863, came a proclamation from Jefferson Davis extending the limits of the conscription act so as to include all male persons between the ages of eighteen and forty-five; the Confederate Congress, which was a mere reflector of Davis's will, extended the limit of age to fifty-five years, and at the same time it was enacted that all substitutions were repealed, so that persons who had hired substitutes were liable to conscription without return of the money they had paid to secure exemption; and a levy *en masse* was ordered, every person subject to military duty being declared subject to the articles of war, and required to report at once, or be liable to death as a deserter. Private property was impressed for public uses, the officers of the Government paying for such seizures whatever they might think just. Martial law was proclaimed at the discretion of Jefferson Davis; and a general proclamation of banishment was fulminated against all persons who might be suspected or accused of being friendly to the Government of the United States. The writ of *habeas corpus* was early suspended by act of the Confederate Congress, and, to use the language of one of the Confederate historians,[1] "the country was converted into a vast camp, and the government of Jefferson Davis into one of the most thorough military despotisms of the age." It was generally asserted in the loyal States, however, by members of the Peace Party, that the last relics of free government in North America were to be found in the States south of Mason and Dixon's line.

[1] Pollard's *Life of Jefferson Davis*, p. 332.

CHAPTER IV.

ACTIVE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTHWEST.

CAVALRY RAIDS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE LINES. — ROSECRANS IMPORTUNED TO MOVE. — CONTROVERSIES WITH THE WAR DEPARTMENT. — A GOOD BIT OF STRATEGY. — THE BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA. — THOMAS "THE ROCK OF CHICKAMAUGA." — ROSECRANS SUCCEEDED BY THOMAS. — GRANT IN FULL COMMAND IN THE SOUTHWEST. — THE BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA. — HOOKER'S FIGHT ABOVE THE CLOUDS. — BURNSIDE SHUT UP IN KNOXVILLE. — SHERMAN MARCHES TO HIS RELIEF. — THE FINAL DELIVERANCE OF EASTERN TENNESSEE.

Rosecrans in Murfreesboro.

WHILE Grant was starving out the garrison of Vicksburg, with Johnston's force menacing him in the rear, Rosecrans remained securely intrenched in Murfreesboro, doing nothing but strengthening his defences and conducting an active epistolary campaign against the War Department in Washington, that branch of the Government being urgent that he should employ his army to better advantage. As if contented with the laurels won at Stone's River and in the defence of Murfreesboro, Rosecrans remained quiescent from midwinter until nearly midsummer, although in the mean time he had been reënforced by the addition of some 14,000 men. When explanations were demanded of him, Rosecrans justified his refusal to move by the plea that it was better for him to lie still and keep his immediate antagonist, Bragg, in a state of constant expectancy than to move upon him and drive him to the support of Johnston, thereby enabling that general to move upon Grant's rear. Grant, however, did not share in Rosecrans's apprehension of Bragg's possibly reënforcing Johnston in consequence of any such movement. He urged that Rosecrans should be directed to make some demonstration against Bragg in order to distract his attention from the situation of Johnston, to reënforce whom was Bragg's obvious duty, provided Rosecrans should keep still. Fortunately for Grant, Bragg discreetly remained quiet, waiting for Rosecrans.

Cavalry raids.

But while the great armies of Grant, Johnston, Bragg, and Rosecrans remained motionless, waiting and watching developments, a number of small detachments were sent out from both sides of the line to create diversions in different directions.

Major-General William S. Rosecrans.

One of these was a daring venture by a Confederate force under Wheeler and Forrest, with about 4,000 men, cavalry and artillery, launched against the town of Dover, near Fort Donelson. This was a point on the Cumberland River, the possession of which would enable the enemy to cut off Rosecrans's line of supply. The post was then held by 600 men under Colonel A. C. Harding, of the 83d Illinois regiment. A gallant fight ensued and the raiders were driven off, with the aid of two gunboats which were in the stream near at hand. The Confederates lost 700 men and the Federals lost 126 in this costly affair, which occurred early in February.

So frequent and harassing were these raids by the enemy that the Washington authorities entreated Rosecrans to use his cavalry for the purpose of getting up counter-raids. One of the very first of these came to grief early in March. A detachment of about 2,500 troops under the command of Colonel John Coburn, operating to the south of Franklin, Tennessee, unexpectedly ran into a force of 10,000 Confederate troops under General Van Dorn, and — after a fight, in which each side lost about 200 men — was surrounded and captured. After this there were several collisions between the reconnoitring forces of the two armies, which, although regarded at the time with considerable anxiety on both sides, were not influential in their results.

One of the most important cavalry movements undertaken at that time was that headed by Colonel A. D. Streight, during the month of April. Provided with a provisional brigade organized for this errand, Streight was ordered into Georgia and Alabama to destroy property, lay waste the country upon which the Confederate forces were subsisting, and to cut the enemy's communications wherever that was possible. The main purpose of the expedition was to interrupt railroad communications by which the Confederate army was supplied by way of Chattanooga. The commanding officer was enjoined to destroy all depots and manufactories of arms and ammunition, and to restrain his troops from pillage and marauding by the way. His forces consisted of 1,700 or 1,800 men, and he started from Nashville for the Tennessee River, westward of Chattanooga,

Streight in Alabama.

and, sweeping around in the rear of Bragg's army, made for Northern Georgia, inflicting as much damage as possible as he sped on his way. He soon found Forrest on his rear, and although he repeatedly turned and fought, these attacks reduced his ammunition and other supplies, and on the 3d of May he was compelled to surrender with all his force. Taken to Richmond, the men were soon after exchanged; but Streight was detained with his officers, the pretext being that they had transgressed one of the statutes of the State of Georgia which prescribed severe penalties for inciting slaves to rebellion. These officers had been directed to enlist any Union men whom they might find inside the insurgent lines. Streight, however, made his escape from prison before the merits of his case could be adjusted.

J. H. Morgan in Indiana.

Another great raid was that of the Confederate John H. Morgan, who, with 3,000 cavalrymen, started from Burkesville, Southern Kentucky, July 2d, with directions to create a diversion on Rosecrans's left, for the purpose of covering the retreat upon Chattanooga which Bragg had resolved to make. Morgan wanted to extend his raid into the State of Ohio, but this Bragg forbade. Intent on carrying out his own plans, Morgan crossed the Cumberland, and, riding north, followed by all the Federal detachments in that vicinity, had a series of engagements with the Federals who endeavored to obstruct his passage to the Ohio River. He reached that stream at Brandenburg, on the 9th, and, although his crossing was disputed by the Home Guards and a gunboat, he seized two small steamers and carried his entire command over the river, and, turning to the eastward, marched through several Indiana towns — Salem, Vienna, Vernon, and Sumanville — to the Ohio State line, which he crossed at Harrison, the band pillaging and plundering as it went. It would appear that the prosperity and thrift of the country through which the raiders passed excited their cupidity in the most extraordinary manner. At home, these men were accustomed to the sight of poverty and a depleted population; here all was plenty and tranquillity; the rural inhabitants were pursuing their various occupations without thought of the war that was now so suddenly developed in their own pastoral neighborhood in one of its minor phases. The raiders looted shops and stores, carrying off commodities that were to them useless and cumbersome — bolts of calico, articles of household use, hardware and unwieldly packages of goods of various kinds. The Confederate historian[1] of this famous raid says: "I would not have believed that such a passion could have been developed so ludicrously among any body of civilized men."

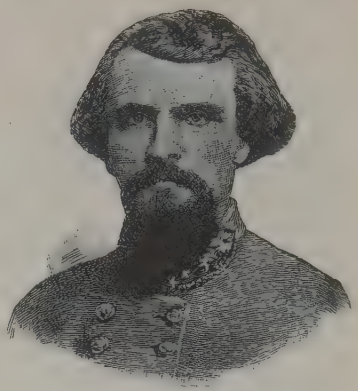
But the country was up in arms, and although the militia were

[1] Basil W. Duke's *History of Morgan's Cavalry*, p. 437.

Alexander's Bridge across Chickamauga Creek, at the Battle-field of Chickamauga.
Drawn by W. St. John Harper from a photograph.

not sufficiently formidable to alarm the bold raider, they were able to annoy him and impede his march through Ohio. The troopers undoubtedly enjoyed the panic they created among the peaceful farmers and shopkeepers of Indiana, but beyond this their foray was useless. Lee was driven out of Pennsylvania, and Vicksburg fell into the hands of Grant while Morgan's men were stealing horn buttons and burning barns in Ohio; and when they had frightened (without entering) Cincinnati, and had ridden due east across the southern part of Ohio, they reached Buffington Island, on the river, with the expectation of making their way into the mountains of West Virginia, only to find their passage barred by a gunboat patrol on the stream. Here, on the 20th of July, the greater part of the raiding force was captured, Morgan escaping with about 500 men. The leader of these fugitives wandered northward for four or five days, vainly seeking a way of escape across the river into West Virginia; but at Wellsville, near the western line of Pennsylvania, he was finally captured by General Shackelford and taken to the penitentiary at Columbus, where he was confined, pending the settlement of the dispute which grew out of the refusal of the Confederate authorities to exchange Colonel Streight. Morgan, like Streight, solved the problem for himself by making his escape from prison. His raid, which was one of the exciting topics of that time, gave him great vogue; but it had no substantial result other than the wasting of two brigades of choice

Confederate cavalry. Morgan transcended his orders to no purpose; he did not delay for a moment the movements of the army that was to manœuvre Bragg out of Tennessee.



Lieutenant-General Nathan B. Forrest, C. S. A.

About the middle of June, Rosecrans, annoyed by the persistent demands of the Administration for a renewal of activities, called a council of war to consider the situation. True to tradition, the council voted against an advance, Rosecrans's chief-of-staff, General James A. Garfield, alone dissenting. General Garfield drew up an elaborate paper reviewing the opinions of the generals composing the council of war, and after allowing a liberal margin for possible errors, he showed that Rosecrans could go into action with 65,137 men, infantry and cavalry, against Bragg's 41,680. Meanwhile Rosecrans was disputing with the Washington authorities the expediency of a forward movement. His talent for controversy was never more brilliantly illustrated than in his correspondence at this time with General Halleck. But on the 24th of June, while Bragg was preparing for that diversion in the rear by John Morgan which was to terminate so disastrously to the raiders, Rosecrans finally moved with an energy and vigor that singularly contrasted with the lethargy which had so long characterized his state. Although immediately overtaken by one of the most tremendous storms that had ever been seen in that stormy region, he speedily manœuvred Bragg out of Shelbyville on Duck River and out of Tullahoma, eighteen miles to the southeast. By filling the country with camp-fires at night, and making a feint in the direction of Shelbyville, Rosecrans succeeded in deluding Bragg with the notion that his left was threatened; whereas, the right, at Tullahoma, was the real point of attack. Too late the Confederate commander discovered the ruse, and, facing to the southward, he abandoned Tullahoma, crossed the Cumberland Mountains and the Tennessee River, and established himself in Chattanooga. This admirable piece of Federal strategy, which occupied only nine days, greatly demoralized Bragg's army and finally expelled him from Kentucky and Tennessee, delivering a vast region from the terror of the Confederate arms and inflicting upon his army a loss of men, guns, and material which it could not well afford to sustain.

Rosecrans moves.

Unhappily, Rosecrans was not inclined to prosecute his success to

the yet greater victory which seemed before him. He remained inactive at Tullahoma for six weeks, during which time Bragg energetically strengthened himself in the possession of Chattanooga. Reënforcements were gathered in from every point available, bridges were rebuilt, and trains were soon running with supplies between the Cumberland and the Tennessee. Rosecrans, inquired of from Washington concerning the situation, dwelt on the difficulties of the march before him, in case he should venture to attack Bragg. He went over again the old controversy with the War Department as to the expediency of attacking Bragg while Grant was before Vicksburg, although that situation existed no longer, since Vicksburg had fallen.

The advance to Chattanooga.

But, as before at Murfreesboro, when Rosecrans did move, it was with a spirit and skill that greatly enhanced his fame as a military strategist. Between him and the town of Chattanooga, on his left, rose the Cumberland Mountains, and beyond them was the rocky ridge known as Walden's; beyond this, the river flowing between the range and the town. On the right of Rosecrans were the mountains and the river, and beyond these, the high and wide plateau of Sand Ridge and the yet more formidable Heights of the Lookout range. It was the latter route that Rosecrans chose. In order to mislead Bragg, he made an imposing demonstration on his own left, tantalizing the Confederate commander with a pretended assault from the north of the river; the mountain passes on that side of the river, in full view from the enemy's points of observation, were filled with Federal troops while the main body of the army was being cautiously moved around to the west and southward. With wonderful celerity, while Bragg's attention was fixed on the movement to the right of his lines, the Federal army began to cross the river on his own left, August 29th; and five days later the entire force was across the stream with the exception of four brigades that had been left to keep up appearances on the north side, above the town. The steeps of Sand Mountain were next scaled, and by the 7th of September the army was stretched along the western base of Lookout. For the next few days, Rosecrans occupied himself with reconnaissances to discover if it were true, as reported, that Bragg was in retreat to the southward. As the Confederates had left a force sufficient to cover their

Major-General Gordon Granger.

movements, it was not until the 9th that his flight was certainly known to the Federal commander; and on that day the Army of the Cumberland marched triumphantly into Chattanooga, and one of the most important strategic movements of the war was brought to a triumphant close. Whatever may be true of Rosecrans's previous and subsequent career, this movement was a stroke of military genius.

Chickamauga.

Bragg had fallen back upon Lafayette, twenty-five miles south of Chattanooga, and, supposing him to be in full retreat, Rosecrans now began pursuit. But Bragg, reënforced by two divisions from Johnston's army, soon demonstrated to his antagonist

Bloody Pond, Chickamauga Battle-field.

Drawn by W. St. John Harper from a photograph.

that his was no disorderly flight. Turning back from Lafayette, he assumed the offensive, and after the two armies had been cautiously feeling of each other for a week, they met about half way between Lafayette and Chattanooga, and on the banks of the Chickamauga Creek was fought, on the 19th and 20th of September, one of the bloodiest battles of the war. The general direction of the Federal lines brought their face towards the southeast, the Confederates facing to the northwest. Bragg was reënforced on the 19th by Longstreet's corps from the Army of Northern Virginia, and, instead of retreating, the Confederates were massed opposite the centre of the Federal line; and Rosecrans's forces were so widely scattered that an abler general than Bragg might have beaten his divisions in detail. Later on, there was much bickering and recrimination

among the Confederate commanders concerning this failure to make the most of these opportunities to inflict severe punishment on the Federal commander for his lack of tactical skill in the disposition of his troops. But when Bragg had been told that one of his scouting parties had reported McCook's division at Alpine, twenty miles south of Lafayette, he excitedly replied, "Lieutenant Baylor lies. There is not an infantry soldier of the enemy south of us." [1] Yet McCook's corps was at the point indicated, the right of the Federal line being there in the air, with Thomas at the extreme left and Crittenden in the centre.

The first day's battle began at ten o'clock in the morning of the 19th, the Confederates, under command of General (and Bishop) Polk, crossing Chickamauga Creek without opposition. It was Bragg's plan to make a feint against the Federal right and then to fall heavily upon the left, seize the roads leading to Chattanooga, having flanked and crushed the Federal left. This would cut off Rosecrans from his new base of supplies and enable the Confederates to reoccupy the town from which they had lately been manœuvred so cleverly. There was, however, a want of concert of action among the Confederate commanders; and the well-laid plan of Bragg failed of complete success. Then, too, General Thomas, who held the key to the position on the Federal left, not only refused to yield to the furious onslaught of the Confederates, but he occasionally struck back with great vigor, inflicting considerable losses on the enemy. There was hard fighting all along the line during that day, and so determined were the contestants that the commanders on both sides repeatedly reported to their respective headquarters that they were confronted by superior numbers.

The first day's battle.

Charges were made and repelled, were renewed and again repulsed, first on the one side and then on the other. Batteries of artillery were taken and retaken; regiments and even brigades were shattered in frantic attempts to break the lines in front of them, and numbers of prisoners were captured as the line of battle swayed backwards and forwards, like the fringe of some gigantic curtain fluttering in the gale. Thomas's line was doubled back on his left, but he held his position like a rock, the doubling of his line being his safest device for defence or offence. But before night fell he rectified his line, and the day closed without any material change in the general position of the fighters.

The second day's fighting, according to Bragg's expressed conviction, was to determine the total defeat of Rosecrans's army. Bragg's right was now commanded by General Polk and his left by Longstreet, whose name was certainly one to conjure with in

The second day's battle.

[1] Gen. D. H. Hill, *Battles and Leaders*, vol. iii. p. 645.

any army of the Confederate service. Polk's assault was to begin at break of day, and as soon as he began to hammer on Thomas's corps the fight was to be taken up and rolled all along the line to the Confederate left. Again there was confusion in the councils of the Confederates. A change of organization had been made during the previous night, and when the morning broke, some of the subordinate commanders were without orders for the day. D. H. Hill, who was to be with his corps in the left wing, commanded by Polk, did not receive his orders at all, and Polk failed to move until nine o'clock in the forenoon. The bitter reproaches which he incurred for this delay were a part of the long and unprofitable controversy among the Confederate commanders that followed the fighting.

As on the previous day, the brunt of the battle was borne by Thomas on the Federal left, Bragg's determination to crush in that part of the line and execute a flank movement being now clearly evident. But the compactness of Thomas's position defied the repeated assaults of the enemy, and although the combatants swayed back and forward with varying violence, the Federal left was still unimpaired. The real disaster of the day took place in the centre, where the line was known by Rosecrans to be weak. At that point were two divisions, one of them being commanded by General Thomas J. Wood and the other by General Joseph J. Reynolds. Word having been received by Rosecrans that there was a gap between these two divisions and that Reynolds's right flank was in danger, the general sent word to Wood to "close up on Reynolds as fast as possible and support him." This order was wrongly worded, or wrongly dictated by the general commanding; for to "close up" is to bring together the two ends of adjoining lines, while to "support" is to take a position in the rear of the force to be supported, ready to advance when required. The order was impossible of absolute obedience. But, as there was no real gap between the two divisions at that point, Wood, with the instinct of a military man, executed the other clause of the order, sorely against his own judgment, by falling in the rear of Reynolds and begging General McCook, who happened to be at that part of the line, to see that the gap thus created was closed. At this critical moment, when all the divisions and brigades were out of position, Longstreet hurled six divisions of his corps into the gap and a solid column poured through the Federal lines. The centre was crumbled like a wall of clay overwhelmed by an inundation, and for a moment it looked as though the whole of Rosecrans's army would be scattered in the wildest confusion. At the same time, Sheridan, who was on the Federal right with both flanks unprotected, was struck with vigor by the Confederate right under

The Federal centre broken.

Lookout Mountain.

Drawn by W. St. John Harper from a photograph.

Hindman, and, after a gallant defence, gave way with considerable disorder.

Now all seemed to be over for the Federal forces, and Rosecrans, who had witnessed with consternation the destruction of his right wing, appeared to have lost his head. Intent only on saving the fragments of his army, he rode back to Chattanooga to give orders for the safety of the military supplies there accumulated and for the means of crossing the river. He was accompanied by his chief-of-staff, General James A. Garfield, for a part of the way; but that officer, convinced that Thomas would not be driven from his position on the Federal left, entreated permission to return and report to him. Receiving reluctant consent, he rode back to the field and found Thomas still holding the road to Chattanooga, undismayed by a disaster that had crumbled four fifths of the army into wild confusion. General Gordon Granger, without orders, had brought up the reserves, and Thomas had swung back his lines to a position on a ridge known as the Horseshoe, where he still resisted the enemy, mowing down with a galling fire the brigades of Longstreet's men who were endeavoring to reach the road. Rosecrans had sent word to Thomas, placing him in command of the Federal forces left on the field, and the general, as night fell and his ammunition was exhausted, maintained his position at the last with a bayonet charge that distracted

and dismayed the persistent enemy. It was here that this brave and heroic soldier won the title of "The Rock of Chickamauga." When darkness came on at last to close the awful fighting of the day, Sheridan, who had kept his command together with consummate skill, although far separated from the rest of the army, made a circuit around Lookout Mountain, and, during the night, joined Thomas at Rossville, north of the battle-ground and about half way to Chattanooga, at which point the Federal forces rallied and then fell back upon the town. Bragg was left in possession of the field on which the battle had been fought, thus securing at least the semblance of a victory, but failing to grasp the object for which all this blood had been shed — Chattanooga.

Thomas at Chickamauga.

There was much confusion in the official reports on which were to be calculated the number of the forces engaged and the casualties on both sides, during the battle of Chickamauga. The total effective strength of the Federal army, according to the best estimates, was a little less than 60,000 men; that of the Confederates was probably about 70,000. The total Federal loss was 16,179, of whom 1,656 were killed, 9,749 wounded, 4,774 captured or missing. The Confederate losses were 17,804, of which 2,389 were killed, 13,412 were wounded, and 2,003 were captured or missing. This was the most destructive battle of the war, Gettysburg alone excepted.

The losses.

Bragg now proceeded to fortify himself in an advanced position, and Rosecrans, shut up in Chattanooga, with only a slender and precarious line of supply, was practically besieged. Meanwhile, the situation in other parts of Tennessee had become grave. General Burnside, in command of the Department of the Ohio, with headquarters at Cincinnati, about the middle of August, while Rosecrans was moving towards Chattanooga, had passed through a difficult mountain region and had taken and occupied Knoxville, which he held securely on the 9th of September. While Rosecrans was being yet more strictly shut up in Chattanooga, Jefferson Davis made a visit to Bragg's headquarters, as some said for the purpose of reconciling differences between Bragg and Longstreet, those two generals not being on terms of amity. It was on this visit that Davis, believing that the Federal army was in a trap from which it could not be extricated, suggested that Longstreet's army should be detached from Bragg and sent against Burnside at Knoxville, some eighty miles distant to the northeastward. This movement began early in November; it greatly weakened Bragg's force, and led Grant to say of it that if Davis did not order it to solve the difficulty between the two commanders, it was because of his high opinion of his own superior military genius: and Grant added: "On several occa-

Davis at Bragg's headquarters.

sions during the war he came to the relief of the Union army by means of his *superior military genius*."

Changes in the organization of the Union army.

On the 19th of October, several important changes were made in the organization of the Federal armies operating in the West. The Departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee were consolidated under the title of the Military Division of the Mississippi, of which General Grant was commander. Rosecrans was relieved from the command of the Army of the Cumberland and ordered to the Department of the Missouri, now of comparatively small importance; he was succeeded by General George H. Thomas in the command of the Army of the Cumberland. As soon as possible after the news of Rosecrans's retreat upon Chattanooga reached Washington, two corps of the Army of the Potomac, the Eleventh (Howard) and the Twelfth (Slocum) had been hurried to his relief. With so much celerity was this detachment of 20,000 men, under the command of Hooker, sent forward, that only eight days were required to take the force from the banks of the Rapidan to Chattanooga, with all the wagons, horses, guns, baggage, and other military impedimenta, ready for fighting at a moment's notice on arrival.

Thomas at Chattanooga.

On assuming command of his new military division, Grant had communicated with Thomas, who had succeeded Rosecrans, directing him to hold out at all hazards until relief could come to him. Thomas's reply was: "We will hold the town till we starve." The stern resolution expressed in these few words was better appreciated by those who knew the distressed state of the beleaguered army in Chattanooga. Supplies for the troops had to be hauled over a single line of road among the mountains for more than sixty miles; very little subsistence could be drawn from the surrounding country, and the beef cattle driven to the town across the impoverished region were so thin and poor that when they arrived at their destination they were hardly able to stand alone. With grim humor the soldiers were accustomed to say that

Major-General George H. Thomas.

they were on "half rations of hard tack and beef dried on the hoof."

Chattanooga, on the south bank of the Tennessee, is at the head of a valley formed by Missionary Ridge on the east and Lookout Mountain on the west, the intervening space being about six miles wide at its broadest part. These two eminences skirting the valley have a general direction from northeast to southwest, as one looks down the valley from the town. When Grant arrived in Chattanooga, the Confederate line of intrenchments extended from the north end of Missionary Ridge nearest the town and on the east, thence along the crest of the ridge for the distance of a mile or two south, thence across the valley to Lookout Mountain, which was occupied and held as a post of observation and directly threatened the town. The Confederates also occupied Lookout Valley, westward of the mountain range, and their pickets extended across to the Tennessee River below the town, thus commanding the water line of communication by which supplies had been transported to Chattanooga from Bridgeport, on the Tennessee, just below the Alabama line. Grant at once availed himself of the Bridgeport line of communication, however, opening a road to that point and crossing the river at Brown's Ferry, where a considerable force was now posted, and the "cracker line," as the soldiers called it, was established, to their great comfort and relief. Cheerfulness and contentment took the place of the depression and dejection that had prevailed before Grant's arrival; the troops were well fed, clothed, and equipped.

Movements before Chattanooga.

Sherman, who had been given command of the Army of the Tennessee, was ordered up from Vicksburg with as many men as could be spared from that point and be gathered up from other posts near at hand. On his arrival, November 15th, after some detention on account of his having stopped to repair railroads along his route, he was assigned to the command of the Federal left, on the north side of the river, facing the upper end of Missionary Ridge. Thomas was in the centre, with his line across the valley, and Hooker was on the right with his line around the base of Lookout Mountain. By a series of swift movements, Hooker had managed to bring his troops well to the front of the right, and an attempt of the enemy to dislodge him and interrupt the "cracker line" had been repulsed with great loss to the assailants. Grant's plan of campaign now was to advance his left against Bragg's right, capturing the heights of Missionary Ridge, while Thomas and Hooker on the centre and right should press the enemy enough to prevent any reënforcement being sent to his right.

Grant was greatly disturbed by frequent messages from Washing-

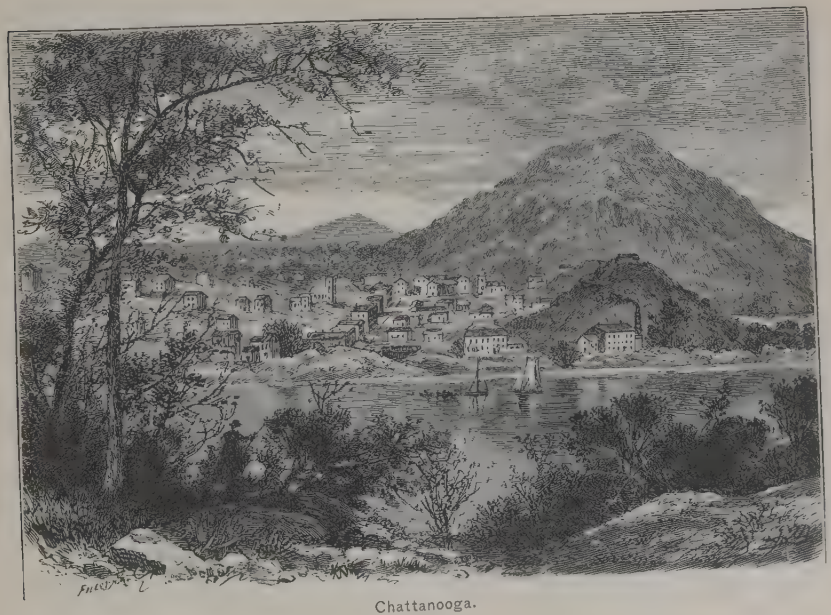
CHATTANOOGA FROM THE WEST SIDE OF POINT LOOKOUT, SHOWING THE BATTLE-FIELD AND THE TENNESSEE RIVER.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph made by J. B. Linn in 1864.

ton urging him to do something for the relief of Burnside, then shut up in Knoxville, although, as Grant said afterwards, Burnside was the only one who did not share in the general uneasiness; he was confident of his ability to hold his own until help should arrive. In consequence of this apparent desperation of the Knoxville situation, Grant began his battle in front of Chattanooga one day earlier than he had at first intended. Sherman bridged the river on the Federal left with great swiftness and in complete silence, on the night of the 23d, and next day he crossed and, to their great astonishment, advanced upon the enemy's works. He was hindered, however, by unexpected obstacles in his way, and did not at once succeed as brilliantly as he had hoped. Hooker moved around the base of Lookout Mountain and at once assailed the steep and apparently inaccessible heights; at many places these heights were walled in by perpendicular palisades of rock, and the declivities were broken by ravines and gullies. But Hooker's men bravely attacked the ridge, and, clearing the startled enemy before them, they scaled the summit and disappeared in a stratum of cloud and mist that lay upon the mountain. From the point of view of General Grant and others below, Hooker was fighting in the sky above; they heard his cannon and musketry, but the clouds shut out all view of the cheering, fighting troops. This was Hooker's "battle above the clouds."

The battle of Chattanooga.

Lookout Mountain.



Chattanooga.

Hooker's advance made the line of the Federal forces continuous from Sherman's crossing of the Tennessee to the base of Missionary Ridge, over the top of the north end of that ridge to the Chattanooga Valley, then along the base of the ridge for a mile or more, and thence up the slope of Lookout to the base of its upper palisade. As an indication of the feeling in Washington at that time, it is worthy of record that Grant's telegram announcing his success, at the close of the day, brought this reply from President Lincoln: "Your despatches as to fighting on Monday and Tuesday are here. Well done. Many thanks to all. Remember Burnside." Halleck telegraphed in a similar strain.

Missionary Ridge.

On the next day, the 25th, Hooker's orders took him down the slopes of Lookout Mountain and across the valley, where he was to strike Bragg on the crest and the westward side of Missionary Ridge, turning his left. But the enemy, as he swung back, destroyed his communications, and Hooker was delayed in his execution of that movement. Grant, perceiving that Bragg was withdrawing troops from his centre to strengthen his right, determined not to wait longer for Hooker. Led by Sheridan and Wood, Thomas's men in the centre wheeled deliberately and marched directly into the Confederate lines at the base of Missionary Ridge on their left. Carried away by the impetuosity of their own movement, the men followed the retreating and panic-struck enemy over their first and second lines of intrenchments, sweeping all before them. Their charge was irresistible. Seen from below, it seemed desperate and impossible of success. Looking at it with amazement, Grant asked by whose orders this was done. Thomas, who stood near by, disclaimed responsibility for having directed it; and when Gordon Granger, who was near at hand, was asked who had ordered the mad charge, he replied, "They started up without orders. When those fellows get started, all hell can't stop them." Grant said something to the effect that somebody would have to suffer if things did not turn out well, and stoically watched the ridge without another word.

Things did turn out well. Driving the Confederates before them, and thus shielded by the fugitives from the fire of the batteries above, the Federal troops reached the summit, drove the gunners from their pieces, turned their own artillery against them, and so defeated Bragg's army. The day was won. Vainly Bragg strove to rally his men. His troops, seeing that all was lost, replied with derisive shouts to his frantic appeals to rally. The cheering, exultant Federals were masters of the situation.

The battle of Chattanooga and its antecedent incidents were full of dramatic and picturesque features. During the first day's fighting

Major-General James A. Garfield.

both sides went into the struggle with amazing spirit and dash. On the second day, however, there was less of the courage of resistance on the Confederate side; possibly the prospect of their left being turned, while their apparently impregnable position on Missionary Ridge was in imminent danger from the swarming troops of the enemy, served to break their confidence and fill them with dismay. Of the final break in his forces on Missionary Ridge, Bragg said that his left "was entirely routed and in rapid flight, nearly all the artillery having been shamefully abandoned by its infantry support. Every effort which could be made by myself and staff and by many other mounted officers availed but little. A panic which I had never before witnessed seemed to have seized upon officers and men, and each seemed to be struggling for his personal safety regardless of his duty or his character." In his grief and distress over this great disappointment, Bragg made a very brief report, omitting many details as to his numerical strength, losses, and other particulars. The Federal forces numbered about 60,000; the Confederates had about 40,000 men in a position which was very properly regarded as impregnable under ordinary conditions.

Grant summed up the results of the fighting in these words: "In this battle the Union army numbered in round figures about 60,000 men; we lost 752 killed, 4,713 wounded, and 350 captured or missing. The rebel loss was much greater in the aggregate, as we captured and sent North to be rationed there over 6,100 prisoners. Forty pieces of artillery, over seven thousand stand of small arms, many caissons, artillery wagons, and baggage wagons fell into our hands. The probabilities are that our loss in killed was the heavier, as we were the attacking party. The enemy reported his loss in killed at 361; but as he reported his missing at 4,146, while we held over 6,000 of them as prisoners, and there must have been hundreds, if not thousands, who deserted, but little reliance can be placed upon this report. There was certainly great dissatisfaction with Bragg, on the part of the soldiers, for his harsh treatment of them, and a disposition to get away if they could." Grant also said that Bragg made several grave mistakes which facilitated the overwhelming defeat inflicted by the Federal army. "First, in sending

The results.

away his ablest corps commander [Longstreet] with over 20,000 troops; second, in sending away a division of troops[1] on the eve of battle; third, in placing so much of a force on the plain in front of his impregnable position."

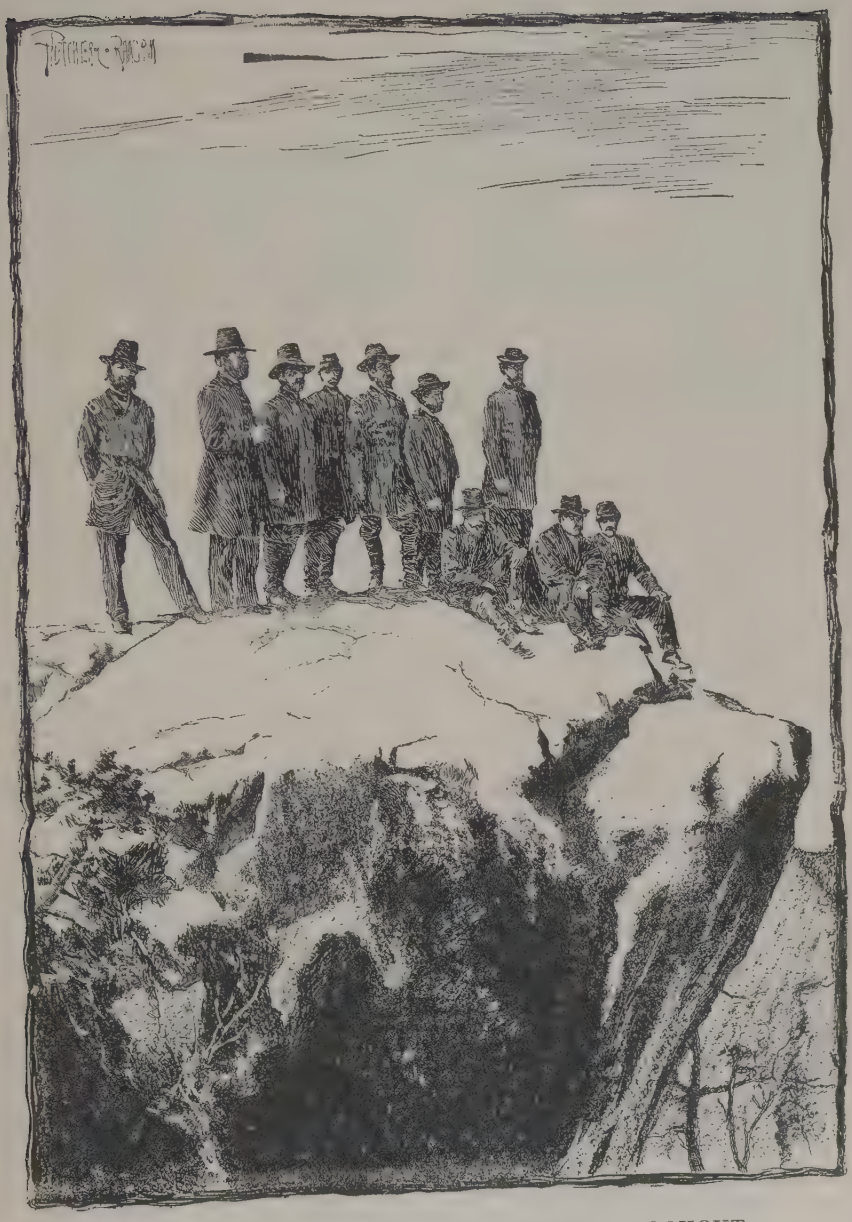
The victory of Chattanooga added greatly to Grant's fame, and the loyal States were once more brightened by the war spirit, now that it appeared that the heart of the insurrection was within striking distance of the armies of the Union. The dejection and consternation within the Confederate lines were correspondingly deep. On his way to and from Bragg's headquarters, Jefferson Davis had entertained the people with roseate pictures of the anticipated annihilation of the "invading army." The great expectations of the confiding listeners to these glowing sentences had been cruelly disappointed. Bragg sullenly withdrew to a fortified camp at Dalton, Georgia, followed by the reproaches of many who should have blamed Davis, and not Bragg, for this signal disaster. A series of changes in the Confederate army rapidly ensued. Hardee superseded Bragg on the 2d of December; he was replaced by General Polk on the 23d of that month; and on the 27th Polk was succeeded by Joseph E. Johnston. Notwithstanding his misfortunes, Bragg remained to the last a favorite with Davis. In the following year he was "charged with the conduct of the military operations in the armies of the Confederacy."

Knoxville relieved.

After winning the battle of Chattanooga, Grant, on the 28th, sent Sherman with a strong force to the relief of Burnside. "Seven days previously," says Sherman, "we had marched from our camps on the west side of the Tennessee, with only two days' rations, without a change of clothing, and with but a single blanket or coat to a man, from myself to the private inclusive. We had no provisions save what we gathered by the road, and were ill-supplied for a march. But twelve thousand of our fellow-soldiers were beleaguered at Knoxville, eighty-four miles distant, and they must be relieved in three days." It took twice three days, for the difficulties were great. Thus, on the 2d of December, when forty miles from Nashville, the Little Tennessee had to be crossed. The river was not fordable, and it took till the 4th to build a bridge.

It had been at first intended that Burnside should reënforce Rosecrans when that general was beleaguered in Chattanooga; but the ardent and passionate protests of the people of East Tennessee, who had been at last relieved from the murderous terrorism to which they had been so long subjected, gave pause to the projected movement; and Burnside, who had several little local military plans of his own,

[1] Buckner's division was sent after Longstreet's corps had gone; but it reached Knoxville too late to be actively engaged.



GENERAL GRANT AND STAFF ON POINT LOOKOUT.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph made by J. B. Linn in 1863.

Military Bridge in course of Construction across the Tennessee River at Chattanooga.

Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph made by J. B. Linn in 1863.

unaccountably delayed the execution of the stringent orders which he received from Washington to go to the relief of Rosecrans. In the end it was proved that Burnside's cheerful optimism, which detained him in East Tennessee, served well the cause of the Union; his occupation of Knoxville, then and afterwards, was a source of great irritation to the Confederates; and it was this hold upon their lines of communication between the eastern and western divisions of their armies that induced Jefferson Davis to divide Bragg's forces in front of Chattanooga and thus make the defeat of that army easier to General Grant.

Burnside's situation.

While Longstreet was making his way from the southeast towards Knoxville, Burnside was harassed from various points around his position. In fact, although he maintained a tranquil mind and apparently regarded his dispositions and those of his foes with great equanimity, his situation was daily becoming more critical. His main fighting force was stationed along a line reaching from Kingston to Knoxville, intersecting part of the valley which lies between the Tennessee River on the west and the Great Smoky Mountains on the east. With much firmness and skill, he resisted the advance of Longstreet, contending every step of the way, and doing all in his power to delay his advance, in order that his own fortifications at Knoxville should be suitably strengthened, and putting off as far as possible an attack which, if precipitated, would only increase the perplexities of Grant's situation at Chattanooga.

Siege of Knoxville.

When Burnside finally fell back to Knoxville, prepared for a long siege, he had about 12,000 effective men, exclusive of an unorganized force of about 1,000 loyal Tennesseeans who had joined his command. Longstreet brought with him over 15,000 well-seasoned troops; and the two brigades of Buckner's division which came up later increased his force to about 20,000 men. Both armies suffered from scantiness of supplies and minor articles of equipment. During the siege, Burnside's army received provisions that were floated down the Holston River, on which Knoxville is situated, on rafts built and launched by the loyalists living above the city. The defences of the place extended in an irregular line from the Holston River, westward of the city, northward and eastward to the river bank above, making a line of complete circumvallation, with a strong salient, subsequently named Fort Sanders, on the northwestern side of the line. While these works were being finished, at the very last moment, General William P. Sanders, a graduate of the United States Military Academy, commanding the first division of Shackelford's Cavalry Corps, held the enemy in front of the fortification that afterwards bore his name; during the entire forenoon he was facing a fierce assault which was successful only when he fell, a heroic sacrifice for the final completion of the defences of Knoxville.

This assault was made on the 18th of November, and during the next succeeding days the besiegers strengthened their lines and made occasional sorties against the besieged, the operations partaking of the usual character of such an investment of a town. Although Fort Sanders was the strongest point on the Federal line, its capture would enable an enemy to take the entire system of works and hold the town at his mercy. Here Longstreet, on the morning of the 29th, made a furious charge under the cover of an artillery fire. The work was constructed with great skill and the ground was made more difficult by the interlacing of mazes of telegraph wires among the tree-stumps in front, as well as by the thin ice with which the surface of the earth was coated. Although two or three battle-flags of the Confederates were planted at one time on the parapet of the fort, the assault was a disastrous failure. Only one man reached the inside of the fort alive, and the ditch outside was filled with the bodies of those who were slain or wounded while making their brave and desperate attack. This assault cost Longstreet a thousand men; the Federal loss was less than twenty killed and wounded. When the broken and bleeding column returned to Longstreet's front, it was only to learn that Bragg had been defeated at Chattanooga and that the line of march must now be taken up to Virginia again. He abandoned the siege on the 2d of December, put his trains in

The siege abandoned.

motion, and on the 4th he passed to the northward of Knoxville with his face turned to the east. He did not, however, immediately return to Virginia, nor did he rejoin Bragg, as he had been at first ordered. Crossing the Holston above Knoxville, he turned southward and passed the winter in the midst of a fertile and well-stocked country. The failure to pursue him was an error of judgment the responsibility for which was never satisfactorily ascertained.

General O. M. Poe, by whose engineering skill the wonderfully planned defences were constructed, said of the gallant defenders: "The conduct of the men who stood in the trenches at Knoxville cannot be overpraised. Half starved, with clothing tattered and torn, they endured without a murmur every form of exposure and hardship that falls to the lot of the soldier. The question with them was not whether they could withstand the assaults of the enemy, but simply whether sufficient food could be obtained to enable them to keep their places in the line. That they were not reduced to the last extremity in this regard is due to the supplies sent in by the loyalists of the French Broad settlements, who took advantage of Longstreet's inability to invest the place completely, and under cover of the night-fogs floated down to us such food and forage as they could collect." The total Federal loss in the siege and prior engagements was 693; the Confederates lost 1,392.

The deliverance of Tennessee.

At last, long-suffering, much enduring Tennessee was delivered from the rough-riding hordes that had so harassed and lacerated the loyal population. The relief of Burnside was hailed as a good omen for the Union cause; but the deliverance of East Tennessee was greeted with real thankfulness by all whose hearts were enlisted in the general cause of oppressed humanity. On the 7th of December, President Lincoln issued a proclamation in which were given expression the sentiments of the loyal people of the United States. He said: "Reliable information being received that the insurgent force is retreating from East Tennessee, under circumstances rendering it probable that the Union forces cannot hereafter be dislodged from that important position, and esteeming this to be of high National consequence, I recommend that all loyal people do, on receipt of this information, assemble at their places of worship and render special homage and gratitude to Almighty God for this great advancement of the National cause." And on the following day he sent to General Grant a message tendering him and his command his thanks and "profoundest gratitude for the skill, courage, and perseverance with which" they had accomplished the ends and aims of the campaign which had now ended in the permanent occupation of Chattanooga and Knoxville.

CHAPTER V.

THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON.

MUSTERING THE BLACK SOLDIERS. — GREAT EXPECTATIONS OF THE MONITOR FLEET. — DESTRUCTION OF THE CONFEDERATE CRUISER NASHVILLE. — ATTEMPT OF THE CONFEDERATES TO RAISE THE CHARLESTON BLOCKADE. — ADMIRAL DUPONT'S REPULSE. — OTHER INEFFECTIVE NAVAL OPERATIONS. — DESTRUCTION OF "THE LADIES' GUNBOAT." — DAHLGREN SUCCEEDS DUPONT. — DISASTROUS FEDERAL REPULSE AT FORT WAGNER. — INVESTMENT AND CAPTURE OF THE FORT. — "THE SWAMP ANGEL." — FEDERAL OFFICERS PUT UNDER FIRE IN CHARLESTON. — DIFFICULTIES OF EXCHANGING PRISONERS. — A LONG AND INEFFECTUAL SIEGE.

Colored troops.

ALTHOUGH there had been several tentative efforts towards raising colored troops for service in the Federal armies, it was not until the early part of 1863 that much progress was made in that direction. In April of that year, the adjutant-general of the army, General Lorenzo Thomas, was sent to the West and Southwest charged with the duty of enrolling and organizing for service the so-called "contrabands," or black fugitives that had found their way into the Union lines. The experiment was not immediately successful, owing to the pressure of other military questions upon the energies of the generals commanding in those fields. In the free States, where there were large numbers of colored persons, born in the North, the work of enlisting negro soldiers was taken up tardily. Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island, asked and obtained permission to raise a colored regiment as early as September, 1862; and this led Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, to declare that other States should contribute to the work of raising regiments of colored men, the black population of Rhode Island being insufficient to meet the necessity. Accordingly, in a general order for the enlistment of volunteers, sent to Governor Andrew, "persons of African descent" were, at the governor's suggestion, included. He provided at once for the raising of two regiments of Northern blacks. In May, the 54th Massachusetts — Robert G. Shaw, colonel — was reviewed on Boston Common, and embarked for South Carolina. A second, the 55th — Colonel Norwood Hallowell — was soon after ready to take the field. If the question of inefficiency was not settled at the

Colonel Robert G. Shaw.

moment of the embarkation of the 54th, it certainly was two months later, when Colonel Shaw led his regiment in a night assault upon Fort Wagner in Charleston Harbor. The post of danger was given him at his own request; at the head of his men, under a tremendous fire, the parapet of the fort was gained and the colors of the regiment planted there, though it was only for a few moments; and at the head of his men he fell, with most of his officers, the mere fragment of the regiment that was left being led to the rear by a young lieutenant. The heroism that had braved the deep and bitter prejudice of the North, by taking command of this first colored regiment, and which proved the bravery and devotion of the blacks by their own splendid fighting, was not lost. Within six months there were 50,000 colored troops in the Union armies; within another year 150,000, notwithstanding the Confederate Congress decreed that all white officers of such troops should suffer death if captured, and some privates who were taken were instantly shot.

It was popularly believed that the Federal employment of colored soldiers in the South, especially in the watery and miasmatic regions so deadly to unacclimated persons, would be an efficient means of attacking the insurrection in its strongholds. Charleston had long been regarded as the cradle of secession, and sentimental reasons urged alike the Confederate authorities to defend and the National Government to attack that famous seaport just as soon as there was offered any opportunity that promised success. The Navy Department, already enthusiastically committed to the creation of a formidable fleet of monitors, was prepared, early in 1863, to hasten forward plans for the reduction of the forts and batteries around Charleston Harbor with the coöperation of the wonderful marine fighting machines to which the victor in the naval battle in Hampton Roads had given its name for a generic species.

Plans against Charleston.

Black troops on the land and monitors on the sea were hopefully regarded by the loyal people as the fittest instruments to be employed for the capture of the cradle of secession.

Admiral Dupont, who did not readily accept as final the judgment of the Navy Department in favor of the monitors as perfectly adapted for offensive purposes along shore, sent the first of the new contingent of his fleet to arrive, the *Montauk*, to practice on Fort McAllister, on Ossabaw Sound, fifteen miles below Savannah. Supported by four gunboats, Commander John L. Worden, who had won fame in the great fight of the iron-clads in Hampton Roads, now commanding the *Montauk*, opened fire on the fort. Although the fire of the assailants was reported to be terrible, and the monitor leading the attack was not materially injured by the return fire from the fort, no damage was done to the work that could not be repaired during the darkness of the ensuing night. This attack was begun January 27th; it was renewed on the 1st of February, but without any important result. A secondary object of Worden's errand was the destruction of the privateer *Nashville*, a swift blockade-runner which had been converted by the Confederates into a cruiser and was then lying in the stream above the fort, waiting for an opportunity to slip out to sea on a voyage of destruction. To render the position of this craft more secure, a line of piles and another of torpedoes had been fixed in the stream, above the fort, and behind these lay the waiting privateer. Worden, failing to make any impression on Fort McAllister, succeeded in destroying the *Nashville*. That unlucky craft, while manœuvring to get out of the range of fire, ran aground. Utterly unmindful of the iron hail that poured upon him from the fort, Worden opened on the *Nashville* at a distance of twelve hundred yards, across a marsh. So accurate was the firing of the *Montauk* that although a fog shut in and hid her target from view, the firing went on and the privateer was blown up, Worden thus snatching a brilliant success from the defeat which he had sustained in his effort to reduce Fort McAllister. A still more determined experiment with the monitors was resolved upon by Admiral Dupont, and three more of the new craft — the *Passaic*, the *Patapsco*, and the *Nahant* — were ordered to join the *Montauk* in an attack on the fort. The assault was conducted with great spirit, but the works remained unimpaired except for breaches in the walls which did not materially affect the usefulness of the fort for defensive purposes. One of the iron-clads, the *Passaic*, commanded by Captain Percival Drayton, was under the direct fire of seven guns on the fort; she was severely handled, though not in the least disabled; the other monitors drew off without serious injury.

Worden's expedition.

Review of Colored Troops.

The Confederates strained every nerve, meanwhile, to elude the blockade of Charleston and to create the impression abroad that this was only the "paper blockade" which they had from the first declared it to be. One of these ingenious efforts was the sudden foray of two of the Confederate iron-clad gunboats, the *Palmetto State* and the *Chicora*, which on the 31st of January pretended to have raised the blockade. The time was opportune; the two most formidable ships of the Federal fleet, the *Powhatan* and the *Canandaigua*, had gone to Port Royal to take on coals, and the only vessel of any strength left on the station was the *Housatonic;* all the other craft then on duty were merchant vessels char-

Naval fight off Charleston.

tered and armed for this work. On a foggy morning, while the sea was smooth, the two iron-clads slipped down and attacked the wooden vessels, the *Mercedita* and the *Keystone State* being the immediate objects of their attentions. Both of these vessels were temporarily disabled by the iron-clads, and one of them, the *Mercedita*, lowered its flag and was "paroled" by the officer commanding the Confederate ram. The captain of the other Federal vessel also lowered his flag, but, being reënforced by a sister ship, and the Confederate still continuing to fire into him, he hoisted his colors and resumed the fight. By this time, the *Housatonic*, attracted by the sound of the guns, emerged from the fog and attacked the two rams. They turned and ran under the cover of the fortifications of Charleston, and the raid was over.

The two disabled vessels of the blockading fleet were not so badly damaged that they were unable to make their way to Port Royal, where they were repaired and returned to duty. But the purpose of this raid on the blockading squadron was soon apparent. General Beauregard, commanding at Charleston, and Commodore Ingraham, the Confederate naval officer at that port, assembled some of the foreign consuls and procured from them a certificate that the blockade had been raised; they even took the precaution of going out in the fog and making a solemn observation which showed that "not a Federal sail was visible." Upon this, although the two iron-clads had not sunk or captured anything, and had ingloriously retreated before the guns of the Federal gunboat, the Confederate authorities issued a swelling proclamation declaring that the blockade had been "raised by a superior force of the Confederate States from and after this date, 31st day of January, A. D. 1863." It was intended and expected that this formal notification to the world would result in a resumption of commercial intercourse with the port of Charleston, and that the Federal fleet would retire and permit peaceable merchant ships of foreign nations to go and come with cargoes as of old. The amusing fanfaronade of Beauregard and Ingraham met with no response from beyond the seas, except in the fervid protestations of foreign sympathizers with the insurrection, who were naturally swift to echo the declarations of the ingenious gentlemen who had contrived this paper fracture of the blockade; the wary foreigners did not accept the invitation to visit the blockaded port of Charleston.

The harbor of Charleston was believed to be thickly sown with torpedoes and other obstructions, and the land batteries and forts were of the most formidable character. The guns brought to bear on an attacking fleet were sixty-nine in number, some of them being ten-inch

Rear-Admiral John A. Dahlgren.

columbiads. The fleet assembled for the attack and siege were nine iron-clads, all but two of them being of the monitor type, with a small fleet of wooden gunboats and tenders which did not participate in the assault. It was well known that these preparations were for an attempt to reduce the port of Charleston, and for months the Confederate general commanding, Beauregard, had been in a state of high nervous excitement, his proclamations and manifestoes being of the most hysterical character. He importuned the Confederate authorities at Richmond for more troops, although his own reports showed that he had a total effective force of 32,217 men; and he issued a glowing appeal to "Carolinians and Georgians" to rush to arms. "Be not exacting in the choice of weapons," he adjured them. "Pikes and scythes will do for the exterminating of your enemies; spades and shovels for protecting your friends." The Governor of South Carolina fulminated a proclamation against the "Abolitionists" who were about to invade the sacred soil of the Palmetto State with a ruthless and powerful army.

The Charleston forts attacked.

The attack, which was ordered for the 7th of April, was purely a naval affair, in which the land forces, under General Hunter, were to be silent but deeply interested spectators. It was Admiral Dupont's intention to form a column of iron-clads, and, passing up the main channel, between Fort Moultrie on the right and Fort Sumter on the left, take a position to the northwest of the last-named work and reduce it by a furious fire, silence its guns and then go up to the city. The monitor *Weehawken*, leading the line, received the fire of Sumter and Moultrie just before three o'clock in the afternoon, and the other vessels were soon, with her, under a terrific cross-fire from the two forts. Some confusion was created in the line of iron-clads, nine in all, by manœuvres to avoid the obstructions. The *Keokuk*, an iron-clad not of the monitor type, was in this way exposed to the fire of the Confederate forts and was struck ninety times, some of the shot riddling her turrets and others piercing her hull. She was withdrawn from the fight; and next morning she sunk off Morris Island. The Admiral's flagship, the *New Ironsides*, another iron-clad not of the monitor pattern, was for a time directly over a torpedo, or submarine explosive, charged with two thousand

pounds of powder; but the electric wires had been accidentally severed and the torpedo was not exploded.

The short winter day came to a close before the fight could be finished as the admiral had expected it should be; and about five o'clock in the afternoon he gave the signal to withdraw, expecting to renew the fight next day. The attack had begun two hours later than had been fixed in the orders. When the commanders of the iron-clads reported to the admiral, that night, their accounts of the day's disasters were most disheartening. Possibly some of them beheld the fight and the prospect of its renewal under a light made more gloomy by their fixed belief in the impracticability of the monitors. The novel and distressful conditions in which these fighting machines involved the brave men who fought with them were such as to baffle and exasperate even the sturdiest. Men were confined in an iron cavern, well-nigh air-tight, from which they could not see their foe, and in which they were exposed to a fire of bolts and other missiles detached from the interior of their own ship, under the impact of the shot of the enemy. Justly or unjustly, the prejudice against the monitors was at that time very deep. The admiral reconsidered his decision to attack; and the naval demonstration was over. This ended one of the most costly and portentous naval enterprises of the war. Its failure profoundly depressed the authorities in Washington; and it delighted and fired the zeal of the Confederates. It was a signal defeat for the Federal cause; and its effect was long observable among the people of the loyal States.

Fort Putnam near Charleston Harbor.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

While the expediency of renewing the attack on Charleston was on the point of being determined negatively, Admiral Dupont received a message from the Navy Department informing him that the condi-

tion of military affairs on the Mississippi was such that it had been determined to abandon all operations on the Atlantic coast where iron-clads were necessary, until some future time; but it was hoped that the success of the attack on Charleston would be so well assured that iron-clads could be despatched to the Gulf of Mexico. There were several obscurities in these orders, and Admiral Dupont conceived himself to be under censure from Washington; he wrote asking to be relieved from his command by some officer who, in the opinion of the Navy Department, would be able to succeed where he had had the misfortune to fail. The termination of the naval engagement off Charleston at this time excited a lively debate among experts concerning the efficiency of vessels of the monitor class. It is worthy of note that most of the naval officers who had up to that time fought these strange craft were united in their prejudice against them.

The episode of "The Ladies' Gunboat" at this time created a diversion in favor of the monitors and gave a little fillip to the flagging spirits of the men in the blockading squadron. A blockade runner, the Clyde-built steamer *Fingal*, having arrived at Savannah, found her exit so securely barred that it was determined to make her over into a ram of the class made famous by the *Merrimac*. She was accordingly cut down and widened amidships and then covered with an iron-clad casemate, fitted with a ram, a spar torpedo, and a formidable battery of 7-inch and 6-inch guns. The cost of the vessel, when completed, was largely defrayed by contributions from ladies all over the Confederate States. Romantic interest was awakened in the building of the ram by means of letters and the publication of lists of donations, some of which were the humble clock-weights of village dames, and others the rings and pins of ladies of enthusiastic patriotism; brass kettles and scrap iron, says one of the Confederate historians, were sent from distant parts of the Southern States to aid in the good work.

"The Ladies' Gunboat."

"The Ladies' Gunboat," now named the *Atlanta*, came out from Savannah to disperse the blockading squadron, June 17th, accompanied by several excursion steamers decorated with holiday flags and carrying parties of ladies and gentlemen who expected to see the Federal fleet scattered and the *Atlanta* go to sea to carry death and destruction to Northern ports. The two Federal iron-clads, the *Nahant* and *Weehawken*, which were to meet the Confederate ram, were to be towed back to Savannah by the excursionists. The monitors turned seaward, alluring the *Atlanta* to her doom. There was more room for manœuvring off the end of Wassaw Island, whither the over-confident Confederate commander was now enticed. The

Atlanta, on coming into range, fired a rifled shell which struck the water beyond the *Weehawken*. That vessel, commanded by Captain John Rodgers, fired a solid shot which knocked a big hole through the *Atlanta's* casemate, wounding sixteen men and prostrating about forty. Four more shots were fired from the *Weehawken*, the fifth crippling her so that the stupefied spectators saw the colors go down and a white flag fluttering in its place. The *Atlanta* fired eight shots, none of which struck the monitors. A prize crew was put on board the ram and she was carried to Port Royal and repaired. Subsequently she was sent to the North and exhibited as a curiosity for the benefit of a patriotic relief fund.

Defeat of the *Atlanta*.

Admiral Foote had been named as the successor of Admiral Dupont in the command of the South Atlantic blockading squadron; but death cut short the career of that brave and admirable sailor, and Admiral Dahlgren was appointed in his place. On the 3d of June, General Quincy A. Gillmore, an accomplished engineer officer, was designated to take the place of General Hunter, relieved from command of the Department of the South. With Dahlgren on the sea and Gillmore on the land, popular expectations in the loyal States were once more raised. Gillmore's plan was to approach the defences of Charleston by the way of Folly Island, a long, low, swampy island lying directly south of Charleston, with an outer shore which has a general direction from northeast to southwest, and which is outside of an intricate system of islands and inlets below the city of Charleston. Here, hidden by a growth of trees, he threw up a series of powerful batteries commanding the lower end of Morris Island on the north and separated from Folly Island by Lighthouse Inlet. The upper end of Morris Island was occupied by a Confederate battery known as Battery Gregg; and lower down towards Folly Island on the same strip of land was Battery Wagner, more commonly known as Fort Wagner, a strong and well-armed earthwork, only 2,600 yards from Fort Sumter, which lies due north, with Battery Gregg on the extreme point (Cummings Point) of the island, between Sumter and Wagner. On the evening of July 9th, a demonstration was made against James Island, up the Stone River and to the north and west of Folly Island, in order to distract and deceive the enemy and prevent reënforcements being sent to Wagner. The trees in front of Gillmore's batteries were suddenly removed and on the evening of July 9th a small brigade, commanded by General George C. Strong, was sent across in rowboats to the south end of Morris Island. Under cover of a fire from Gillmore's batteries and the monitors, the assault was successful, General Strong's force capturing all the Confederate works on the lower end

Land attack on Charleston.

of the island, with eleven pieces of artillery; and three fourths of the island was now in possession of the Federals, with skirmishers within musket range of Fort Wagner.

An assault was made on Fort Wagner next day; but it was repulsed with considerable loss. A more determined attack was made on the evening of the 18th, after a vigorous fire from the Federal batteries and monitors. The advance was led by the 54th Massachusetts colored troops before referred to, under Colonel Robert G. Shaw. The men marched steadily in the face of a murderous musketry fire, crossed the ditch waist-deep in water, and even scaled the rampart. But the iron rain was too severe, and the ranks were speedily reduced to a skeleton of a regiment. The mortality was very great among officers and men; General Strong, Colonel Chatfield, Colonel Putnam and Colonel Shaw being among those who were killed or mortally wounded. In that bloody fight some fifteen hundred of the attacking party were slain; the Confederate loss was only about one hundred. When they buried the dead in a pit in front of Fort Wagner, the Confederates covered the body of the brave young colonel of the 54th Massachusetts with the slain of his command; and when a flag of truce was sent for the body, the Confederates replied, "We have buried him with his niggers."

The assault on Fort Wagner.

The Swamp Angel in Position.

Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

A View of Charleston after the Bombardment. Looking up Meeting Street from the top of the Mills House.

Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

Taking of Fort Wagner.

Fort Wagner was not to be taken by direct assault, but by regular approaches, and to the construction of these General Gillmore now addressed himself. By the 23d of July two parallels were established and fire was opened from heavy siege guns upon the earthworks of Wagner and even upon Fort Sumter. In this way, gradually creeping towards the upper end of Cummings Point, by means of these zigzag trenches, working mostly by night to avoid the fire from the Confederate works on the islands, twelve breaching batteries were established, and on the 17th of August they all opened fire upon Fort Sumter; and that famous fortification was speedily reduced to a mass of masonry in crumbled ruin. Its guns were dismounted and its value as an ordnance fort was gone. Sentiment, rather than strategic requirements, induced the Confederates to remain in the ruins and maintain a show of resistance. Fort Wagner was industriously bombarded by sea and land; shells were dropped continually inside the works, making them untenable except for troops confined in bomb-proofs where they were not able to work

their own guns with any degree of efficiency. By night, powerful calcium lights on the Federal intrenchments were turned upon the Confederates, who were blinded by the glare, and repairs could not be made. Finally, on the night of September 6th, just as an attacking column was ready to dash upon Fort Wagner, it was evacuated by the Confederates. The captors took with it eighteen pieces of artillery; and in Battery Gregg, which was abandoned at the same time, eight guns were captured. Only two boat-loads of prisoners were taken by the Federals. Morris Island was now wholly in the possession of the Federal troops, and Fort Sumter lay directly under the guns of the captured works.

The "Swamp Angel."

Meanwhile, a novel battery had been constructed by Gillmore on the western edge of Morris Island, about five miles from the city of Charleston. The ground was a swamp, and in order to build a platform on which to mount a gun it was found necessary to drive down piles twenty feet into the sand substratum below the mud. The officer ordered to the construction of the work, being told that his duty must be performed, and that any requisition for the apparently impossible task would be honored, made a requisition for a detail of "twenty men eighteen feet long to do duty in fifteen feet of mud." By ingenious engineering, the platform was constructed and on the 17th of August an eight-inch 200-pounder Parrott rifle gun was transported across the marsh and mounted in the new battery. It was immediately christened the "Swamp Angel" by the soldiers in the camps. The gun was given a great elevation, and early in the morning of the 22d fire was opened upon Charleston. The sound of bells and steam whistles which was immediately heard in the region bombarded gave token of the consternation created by this unexpected visitation.

Before opening fire, however, Gillmore sent word to Beauregard demanding the surrender of the works on Morris Island and Fort Sumter, and notifying him that unless the demand were complied with, he should open fire upon Charleston four hours after the notice were received. No notice was taken of the message, and after waiting fourteen hours, Gillmore began to throw shells into Charleston from the "Swamp Angel." Beauregard then broke out with a vehement protest against this "inexcusable barbarity," the fact that the marsh battery was quite five miles distant from the city having apparently added to the savagery of the fire. A long and acrimonious correspondence ensued, and Gillmore suspended firing long enough to permit the removal of non-combatants from the city. At the expiration of this time, the "Swamp Angel" resumed operations, pouring a fire of shells into the heart of the city. Still protesting

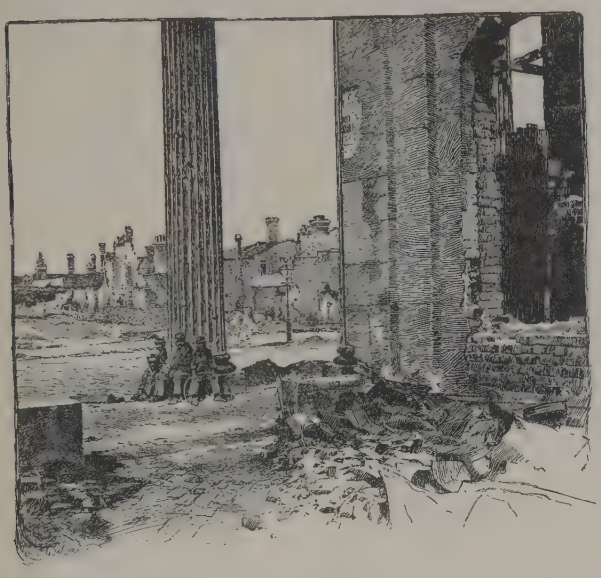
that the fire upon the city was a flagrant violation of the laws of war, the Confederate authorities selected fifty officers from their Federal prisoners and placed them where they would be under the fire of the guns trained upon the city then and afterwards. At that time a serious deadlock in the interchange of prisoners had occurred, and the complication was likely to be a very trying one; for the time being, the Federal general solved the difficulty by placing fifty Confederate officers under fire from the guns of their friends; the result was an abandonment of the practice begun in Charleston. On its thirty-sixth discharge, the great gun in the marsh battery burst, and it was not necessary to replace it by another; the capture of the Confederate works on Morris Island had now brought the guns of the besiegers nearer to the city than the "Swamp Angel" had been. Repairing Fort Wagner and Battery Gregg, Gillmore turned his fire upon Charleston and kept up a bombardment for several weeks.

Unsuccessful attack on Sumter.

A naval attack on Fort Sumter was planned for the night of September 8th, but it was not a surprise, the enemy having learned of the proposed assault and made ready for it. About two hundred men from the Federal fleet, in rowboats moving in five divisions, were towed by steam tugs as near the fort as was expedient; but, through some misapprehension of orders, the boats did not preserve the lines of advance assigned to them, and, with some confusion, they approached the fort, where they were received with a heavy fire of musketry, shell, and hand grenades. The mountain of débris to which the fort had been reduced was difficult of access; the batteries of other forts opened fire upon the assailants, and the attack was disastrously repulsed. In this affair, the Federals lost 13 officers and 102 men, killed or captured. Some of these officers were subsequently put under fire in Charleston during the bombardment of the city.

Although the active siege of Charleston was kept up until near the end of this year, and the blockade was rigorously maintained until the end of the war, the city was not reduced to surrender by operations on its line of water defences. It fell only when General Sherman, later in the war, swept into South Carolina after marching through Georgia. General Gillmore did not believe that he had land forces in sufficient number to warrant a more direct attack upon Charleston than those which he made. From first to last, the effective forces employed by the Federal commander on land ranged from 11,000 to 16,000; the losses during these operations were 2,318. Admiral Dahlgren did not think it possible for him to move his seven well battered iron-clads into the harbor and engage the forts without the coöperation of a large land force. It is possible that the

formidableness of the torpedoes and other obstructions in the harbor was greatly exaggerated; the final capture of the city did not reveal any such network of deadly submarine explosives as had been expected to be discovered. It was the evident policy of the Confederates to magnify the dangers of navigation in Charleston harbor while it was invested by the besiegers; and those dangers were systematically described as something very terrible and extensive. The troops engaged in the defence of Charleston ranged in number from 6,500 to 18,000. They were posted to great advantage on the islands which numerously dot the harbor, and on the shores indented by the rivers debouching into the bay.



Ruins opposite the Circular Church in Charleston, after the Bombardment.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

During this year, as above suggested, the difficulties attending an exchange of prisoners greatly increased; and the action of the Confederate authorities in putting Federal captives under fire at Charleston created much excitement in the loyal States, where many families were represented in the prison pens of Andersonville and Salisbury, in the insurgent States. This question of exchange had from the first been difficult, the claim of the insurgents being that they were really an independent nation and entitled to the same consideration in all negotiations preliminary to an exchange of prisoners as that which would be given to any sovereign power at war with another. Their demands, accordingly, were framed so as to entrap their enemy, if possible, into a *quasi* recognition of their belligerent rights. Some of these demands were preposterous; for example, they insisted that seamen taken in insurgent privateers should be exchanged on the same terms as peaceable sailors captured by insurgent cruisers from Federal merchant ships; they refused to

Exchange of prisoners.

exchange soldiers of the regular army of the United States on equal terms with Southern volunteers in the hands of the Federals. It was also claimed by the Confederate authorities that officers and soldiers who had been paroled by them were illegally sent to guard the western frontier of the United States during an outbreak of the Indians in that region. From the beginning, the Confederate government refused to regard colored soldiers taken with arms in their hands as other than slaves in rebellion and subject to death. This attitude of the insurgents further complicated the situation and added to the terrors purposely held up to discourage the employment of negro soldiers in the Federal armies, even though the colored men so employed may have been born in free States. The butchery of colored captive soldiers was therefore made logically legitimate.

Of the other complications which arose to distress the country, it may be said that the capture of Colonel A. D. Streight, in the raid previously referred to, is a fair sample. It was claimed that Streight and his officers were engaged in inciting a servile insurrection among the slaves of Alabama, as colored men were found in their train. They were imprisoned as felons, and would have been executed under local laws if the capture of John H. Morgan and his men, on a raid in Ohio, had not given the Federal government an equivalent in the case; so nothing came of the threat to treat the Federal raiders as inciters of servile insurrection. Private persons of political prominence in the loyal States were held back from exchange on various pretexts, and the exchange of the correspondents of an active Republican newspaper was absolutely refused and the captives were treated with excessive severity. The rations and the general treatment of Federal prisoners in Confederate hands were apparently calculated to destroy the unhappy prisoners and reduce their numbers by death. One Northrop, the Confederate Commissary-General at Richmond, has been described by a Confederate writer[1] as a monster of cruelty and greed. To a subordinate who applied to him for information regarding rations for the Federal prisoners, he is reported to have said: "I have not the will or the time to speak with you. Chuck the scoundrels in the river!" Under such instructions and influences as these, the most shocking barbarities were possible in the insurgent treatment of prisoners. The prison pens were crowded with captives who hailed death as a great deliverance from the noisome, shelterless, and pestilential grounds in which they were confined. In one stockaded prison, that at Andersonville, 33,000 men were confined in a space which gave four feet square to each man; and of the 49,500 sent to that place, nearly 13,000 died. Mr. Robert

Southern prisons.

[1] E. A. Pollard.

Ould, the Confederate commissioner for the exchange of prisoners, on the Virginia line, inadvertently revealed a sinister reason for the starvation of the Federal prisoners when, in a letter to his superior officers in Richmond, he said: "The arrangement I have made works largely in our favor. We get rid of a set of miserable wretches, and receive some of the best material I ever saw." The well-fed insurgents released from Federal prisons were good fighting material.

A curious phase of the long and exasperating controversy between the authorities at Richmond and the Government of the United States was developed in the appearance of General B. F. Butler at Fortress Monroe, in December, 1863, charged with the exchange of prisoners at that point. The Confederate government, ever ready to interpose with subtle objections to fair exchanges, gave notice that Butler, for his alleged barbarities in New Orleans, was under a perpetual sentence of outlawry, and that no communication could be had with him by any agent of the Confederate government. This feeble objection, however, did not result in the substitution of another Federal officer in the place of the highly objectionable Butler; and, after some further demur, the exchanges went on without much obstruction, although the advantage continued to be largely in favor of the Confederates. For a time the difficulties of the United States Government in these regards were very great, the general mass of the loyal people clamoring for bitter retaliation in kind for the insurgent treatment of Federal prisoners, while the friends and families of captives who languished in Southern prisons were piteous in their constant application for immediate and unconditional exchanges of prisoners. The Confederate authorities profited by this condition of things. The authorities in Washington tardily brought the Confederates to their senses by infusing a spirit of sternness into their negotiations with the Confederate agents.

Butler at Fortress Monroe.

Camp of the 2d and 118th Illinois Cavalry and Mounted Infantry just below Baton Rouge.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph by A. D. Lytle, hitherto unpublished.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RED RIVER EXPEDITION.

ACTIVITY OF THE FRENCH IN MEXICO. — ANXIETY OF THE FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION. — ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE THE NATIONAL AUTHORITY IN TEXAS. — THE BLOCKADE OFF THE COAST. — AN EXPEDITION PLANNED TO PENETRATE TEXAS BY THE WAY OF THE RED RIVER. — GENERAL BANKS IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY. — THE BATTLE OF MANSFIELD. — FAILURE AND RETURN OF THE EXPEDITION. — BAILEY'S DAM SAVES THE NAVAL CONTINGENT. — BANKS VIRTUALLY SUPERSEDED BY CANBY. — POLITICAL EFFECT OF THE FAILURE OF THE EXPEDITION. — THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN LOUISIANA.

The Gulf.

AFTER the fall of Vicksburg in July, 1863, and the consequent opening of the Mississippi River, the attention of the leaders of the naval and military operations of the United States was naturally turned towards the capture of Mobile. This important port on the Gulf coast had been blockaded with strictness; but it was still possible for blockade runners to slip in and out without detection. In January, 1863, the Confederate privateer *Florida* (built and sent out from an English port as the *Oreto*) eluded the vigilance of the blockading squadron for a second time and escaped from Mobile, having gone into that harbor during the previous September. Grant, Farragut, and Banks had urged a movement against Mobile while the operations around Chattanooga were being carried on, as a diversion in that direction would lend an efficient support to the prosecution of the campaign in the northern part of Alabama and on the southern boundary of Tennessee. But other reasons actuated the Administration to attempt the restoration of Federal authority in Texas, where

an anomalous condition of things existed, and where it was now thought a demonstration should be made to check the possible ulterior designs of the French in Mexico.

Under Marshal Bazaine and General Forey, the French army had finally made its way into the capital of Mexico on the 10th of June. President Juarez, with the skeleton of a republican form of government around him, transferred his headquarters to San Luis Potosi, where he maintained the dignity of the state with as much impressiveness as possible. The diplomatic managers of the French invasion proceeded to organize a provisional government, in which a few renegade Mexican notables were made prominent for the sake of the effect which their names and influence might have upon the powers of Europe. In due time a convention of notables was assembled, and, upon orders from Paris, this extraordinary body, by a vote of 250 to 20, resolved to adopt an hereditary monarchical government, under a Roman Catholic Emperor of Mexico, and to invite the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, eldest brother of the Emperor of Austria, to accept the imperial throne and title.

The French in Mexico.

The provisional government now assumed the title of "The Regency of the Mexican Empire," and established itself in the national capital, pending the acceptance of the throne by Maximilian, to whom an imposing delegation was sent in August, bearing the invitation of the assembly of notables inclosed in the handle of a golden imperial sceptre. It had been arranged by the guiding hand of the French Emperor that these things should be done precisely as they were done; and a part of the programme was that in case the Archduke should decline to take the new Mexican throne, the delegation of notables should offer it to any prince whom the Emperor of the French might designate. The Emperor also directed his military agents in Mexico to submit the action of the assembly of notables to a popular vote; as if an honest and fair election could be had in a country distracted by the operations of an invading army, the lawful head of the government in hiding, and the people — naturally timorous — under the terrorism of foreign arms, or widely scattered over a sparsely settled territory.

These events were viewed with much concern by the people of the United States. They beheld the invasion of a friendly and neighboring republic by an imperial European power, the setting up of an unfriendly monarchical government on their immediate frontier; and all this was seen with something like alarm; for it was now notorious that the French Emperor favored the cause of the Southern Confederacy, not because he fancied that a just cause, but it suited his ulterior plans and purposes that the American Republic should be

Marshal Bazaine.

curtailed and diminished in territory and power by the successful secession of some of its States. Various expedients were resorted to, then and afterwards, to induce the Government of the United States to recognize the provisional and the imperial government of Mexico. No semblance of such a recognition was extended, from first to last. On the contrary, although President Juarez was a fugitive and his government peripatetic, the Government of the United States constantly maintained the theory, at least, that his was the only legitimate government of Mexico.

French and Confederate relations.

In any case, the authorities and people of the United States had occasion to dread the setting up of an imperial government in Mexico; but in this case it was also well known that the French Government was ready to assist the insurgents in the Southern States, as far as possible, in order to hasten the final dismemberment of the Federal Union. For a time, the Southern leaders were deluded into a belief that the friendship of the French Emperor was disinterested, although his hypocrisy was apparent to them; for he connived at the building of Confederate cruisers in French dockyards while he protested affection and good-will towards the Federal Union. But the Confederate leaders must have been greatly shocked when, in 1862, they discovered that the French consul in Texas, M. Theron, had addressed a confidential note to the Governor of that State in which he artfully suggested the secession of Texas from the Confederacy and the reëstablishment of the republic of Texas. It must be confessed that it was rather early for the seceded States to be confronted with a suggestion of the right of secession for one of their own number; and, with some wrathfulness and alarm, the meddlesome envoy was ordered out of the limits of the Confederacy. Meanwhile, however, the French Government at home maintained the most intimate and friendly relations with the Confederate envoys. It was perfectly well known to the representatives of the Federal Government in Paris that the Emperor appeared to sympathize fully with the cause of the Southern insurgents and that he personally suggested to Mr. Slidell, who represented the Confederacy in France, ways and means to elude the show of vigilance which France, as a neutral power, was obliged to keep up in regard to all

attempts to use French soil as a base of warlike supplies for either of the two belligerents. And it was only natural and logical that while this state of things lasted, the Confederates should regard with favor the invasion of Mexico and the attempt to set up an imperial throne so near to the borders of their own republic. This platonic affection was not enduring; but while it lasted, it was very sincere, — at least on one side.

On the coast of Texas.

The blockade of the coast of Texas was at that time even less efficient than that of Gulf ports farther to the eastward; but there was less apparent occasion for maintaining the strictness of a blockade which was required at the great ports on the more frequented coast of the Southern States. The Administration had entered upon the policy of appointing military governors where States, or parts of States, had been brought under the National flag by military operations. One of these appointments was that of Andrew J. Hamilton, to be military governor of Texas; and as soon as the National authority was reëstablished in that State, he was to occupy the capital. The attempt to accomplish these ends resulted in a serious naval and military disaster to the Federal arms early in 1863. The port of Galveston had been occupied by a small Federal force since the preceding October; but no precautions were taken against surprise, and the troops were too few in numbers to attempt to penetrate the interior. On the first of January, 1863, General Magruder, commanding the Confederate forces in Texas, made a

The Cook and Mess Tents at Baton Rouge.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph by A. D. Lytle, hitherto unpublished.

vigorous attack on the city, which had been feebly manned and poorly defended. At the same time that the land assault was begun an attack was made on the Federal flotilla lying in the stream. In the fight that ensued, Commander Wainwright, of the *Harriet Lane*, was killed, and the rest of the flotilla was dispersed, some of the vessels being captured and others destroyed. The land forces, consisting of some 260 men, under Colonel Burrell, were taken prisoners by Magruder. For the time, the blockade was raised, and Magruder made

Hospital Tents at Baton Rouge.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph by A. D. Lytle, hitherto unpublished.

solemn proclamation to that effect on the 4th of January. On the 8th, however, Commodore Bell, with the frigate *Brooklyn* and the gunboats *Hatteras*, *Cayuga*, and *Scioto*, resumed the blockade. On the 11th of January, the Confederate privateer *Alabama* hovered off the coast with the expectation of intercepting some of the transports employed in General Banks's operations against Texas. By the adroit use of sails, the commander of the *Alabama* was able to decoy one of the blockading fleet out to sea, the privateer seeming to be a sailing bark endeavoring to escape notice. When the *Hatteras*, which was a frail sidewheel merchant steamer converted into a gunboat, had been lured within hailing distance of the *Alabama*, that ship replied, in answer to a hail, that she was the "Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Petrel*." Then, getting herself in position, the privateer opened fire upon the little *Hatteras* and soon sent her to the bottom. The officers and crew of the gunboat were taken on board

the privateer and carried to Port Royal, Jamaica, as prisoners of war. These disasters created a profound sensation in the loyal States, where the depression at that time was deeper than at any period during the war.

When the fall of Port Hudson had released a considerable number of the troops in Banks's command, in answer to the political demands already hinted at, the general took up the question of permanently reëstablishing the National rule in Texas. His first expedition was against the forts defending Sabine Pass, the entrance into Sabine Lake, lying just on the boundary line between Louisiana and Texas. It was intended to take Galveston from this point, first striking the railroad and following its line northward and westward by the way of Houston. The expedition met with dismal failure. Two of the five convoying gunboats were compelled to surrender after a heavy fire from the Confederate forts; and, after a considerable loss, the troops were withdrawn.

Banks's first expedition.

The next attempt was made upon the other extremity of the coast-line, and on the 2d of November a naval escort under Commander J. H. Strong landed a small body of Federal troops at Brazos; and the towns of Brownsville, Corpus Christi, and Aransas were captured and held. No further operations were undertaken at that time, owing to the smallness of the forces occupying the points indicated. These opening manœuvres, however, were a part of the programme of General Banks, who had accompanied the expedition. It was his intention to seize and hold all the passes which connect the Gulf of Mexico with the long lagoons, or sounds, that interlace the coast of Texas from the Rio Grande to the Sabine. His success was complete as far as he went, and he was making preparations to conduct a campaign for the conquest of the Confederate positions on the coast at the mouth of the Brazos and at Galveston when he received from Washington orders to organize a naval and military expedition up the Red River. This was a renewal of previous orders that had been recalled only because at the time of their first being issued the stage of water in the rivers and bayous would not permit the Red River route to be taken with fair prospect of success. Banks was opposed to this expedition; he undertook it in obedience to orders.

The Red River Expedition.

The expedition was apparently predestined to failure. In order to insure its success, General Banks said that several specified conditions were necessary; and these conditions were so distinctly disregarded by the military authorities in Washington that no reasonable man could have looked for anything but failure. The immediate objective of the movement was Shreve-

The land and naval forces.

port, on the Red River, in the extreme northwestern corner of Louisiana, with an advance into Texas as the ultimate in view. Banks, with 17,000 men, was to take the route from Atchafalaya Bay northwestward by the way of the Bayou Teche to Alexandria, which is some fifty miles above the mouth of the Red River, in a direct line, but much farther by water, owing to the crookedness of the stream. A fleet of gunboats under the command of Admiral Porter was to convoy 10,000 men to be furnished from General Sherman's department; and General Steele, then commanding at Little Rock, Arkansas, was to coöperate with 15,000 men, marching down to join the forces brought up by land and by river from Vicksburg and New Orleans. Thus two armies, and a fleet with a third military force, were to approach each other from widely separated points, uniting on a fixed date at a point within the enemy's lines — Alexandria. As a matter of record, the official returns showed an effective force of 31,303 officers and men, all told. The officers in command under Banks were General Thomas E. G. Ransom, with a detachment of the Thirteenth Corps; General Andrew J. Smith, with the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Corps, detached from the Army of the Tennessee; General Joseph A. Mower and General T. Kilby Smith, respectively, commanding these two corps; General W. B. Franklin, commanding the Nineteenth Corps; and Colonel W. H. Dickey, commanding the Corps d'Afrique. To repel this triple invasion, the Confederate commander had about 25,000 men; and it was obvious that by attacking with his whole force, or with a major part of it, the invading columns in detail, the Confederate general would be stronger than either one of the columns so attacked.

Porter's fleet of gunboats and transports entered the mouth of the Red River on the 12th of March with the detachment of men furnished by Sherman. One day later, the army under the command of General A. J. Smith landed at Atchafalaya and began the march overland to the rendezvous at Alexandria. These two columns, moving on the river and on the land, were able to clear the way of all obstructions; they arrived at Alexandria and occu-

Major-General Nathaniel P. Banks.

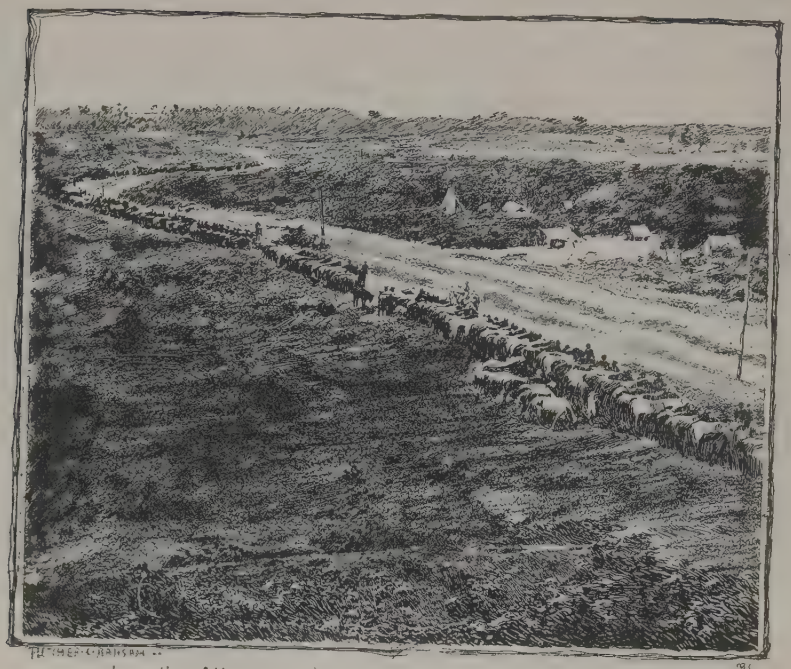
Ruins in Baton Rouge after the Battle.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph by A. D. Lytle, hitherto unpublished.

pied the town three days before the time appointed — which was March 17th. Steele, who was to have appeared from the northward, was still far away and not within communicating distance. A portion of the land forces under General Franklin did not reach Alexandria until the 19th, and his entire command was not all in until the 26th. Banks was detained at New Orleans to carry out orders from Washington to assist in setting in motion the newly organized provisional government of Louisiana, a governor having been appointed and a convention being called to frame a State constitution. This new government was afterwards known as the "Free State Government of Louisiana." Banks established his headquarters at Alexandria on the 24th of March, before the arrival of the last of the force that had marched up by the Bayou Teche route.

Meanwhile, a great change had taken place in the military direction of affairs in Washington. On the 17th of March, General Grant, having been appointed lieutenant-general, assumed command of all the armies of the United States, and General Halleck was thereby displaced from his position as general-in-chief and was made chief-of-staff to the President. Thus the ill-starred Red River expedition, ordered by General Halleck, was no longer under his direction or control; and the commanding general

Grant appointed lieutenant-general.



Inspection of Horses at Baton Rouge. 118th Illinois Mounted Infantry.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph by A. D. Lytle, hitherto unpublished.

of all the armies of the United States, who had come into his place since the expedition had started, had strenuously opposed that movement long before coming into general command. Grant's new plans required A. J. Smith's command for coöperation in a campaign against Atlanta, and Banks was to march upon Mobile. So, if Shreveport were not taken by the 25th of April, A. J. Smith's command was to be returned to Vicksburg, subject to the orders of Sherman, who had now succeeded Grant in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi. In the twenty-six days left to Banks after he received these orders, he had to capture Shreveport, or give up the expedition, this being the final alternative offered him.

Just above Alexandria the river passes over a series of rapids, to overcome which the fleet of gunboats and transports were considerably delayed. Even then, only a portion of the flotilla was able to get above the rapids, and it was necessary to leave one division of the army, 4,000 men, to guard the vessels left below with stores and supplies of ammunition. At the same time, the Marine Brigade, 3,000 men, was ordered back to Vicksburg to the Seventeenth Corps, commanded by General McPherson. But the columns began their line of march, and on the 3d of April were concentrated near Natchi-

toches, on the old bank of the Red River, which had shifted its bed some distance to the north. Here the expedition was overtaken by a positive order from Sherman for the return of A. J. Smith's corps to Vicksburg by the 10th of April. As the army was now within four days' march of Shreveport, it was agreed to go on, and, leaving a division to guard the gunboats that had come up the river to Grand Ecore, the expedition, now reduced to less than 26,000 men, pushed on.

Incessant skirmishing, with some heavy fighting, had accompanied the march up to this point; and on the 5th, General Richard Taylor, with a Confederate force of about 16,000 men, confronted Banks's advance, which was stretched out for the length of one day's march, on a single narrow road through a pine forest. Taylor, posted at Mansfield, covered the road to Shreveport and to Marshall, Texas. On the morning of April 8th, he marched out in line of battle and awaited the approach of the Federals in a good position to offer resistance. After some desultory reconnoitring and skirmishing, a general engagement was suddenly brought on in the afternoon, the Federal forces accepting battle with the head of their column, which was already drawn out twenty miles in length. Their artillery, posted in the woods, was powerless, and the Federal line, vigorously assaulted by a greatly superior force, was crushed in with frightful loss. A panic among the teamsters of the cavalry train, which was close behind, aggravated the disaster, and the battle of Mansfield, or Sabine Cross-roads, resulted in a complete victory for the Confederates. The panic was checked and a complete rout averted by the skilful interposition of General W. H. Emory's division of the Nineteenth Corps. All hope of reaching Shreveport was now abandoned and a retreat was ordered by General Banks. Emory and A. J. Smith covered the retreat, the Confederates following in force.

The battle of Mansfield.

On the 9th was fought the battle of Pleasant Hill, where Emory's corps again distinguished itself by stemming a torrent of fugitives driven in by the Confederate advance, and protecting the road to the river, where it was expected to unite the army and the transports and gunboats of the expedition. Not only this, but A. J. Smith, advancing his entire line in a bold charge, overthrew the too confident enemy; the Confederate line fell back in confusion, and the day was lost for them. Kirby Smith, commanding the Confederate forces engaged in the defence of the Red River, had now arrived at the front, and he determined to move against Steele, who was yet in Arkansas, on his way down to coöperate with Banks. He accordingly withdrew his infantry to Mansfield, leaving his cavalry to watch and harass the Federal army. Banks's forces were reunited at Grand

Pleasant Hill.

Ecore, on the Red River, April 11th, and by the 15th, after a succession of engagements with the enemy, the army and the fleet were once more brought together and the return to Alexandria began. The vessels were overtaken by many disasters on their way down the river, and the retreating force was annoyed by the enemy, who hovered along the banks of the stream; that portion of the army that marched by land to Alexandria was also obliged to fight its way downward; but Alexandria was reached on the 25th and 26th without serious loss. Here Banks was met with a positive order from General Grant to bring the expedition to a close without more delay. The order was brought by General Hunter, who was understood to be Grant's choice for Banks's place; but no change in command was made at that time. It was, however, impossible to withdraw the expedition at once. The naval contingent was now divided into two parts, one being above the rapids and another below; the water was falling, and an active and watchful enemy was hovering around on both banks of the stream. For a time it looked as though the navy would suffer capture or destruction at the hands of the elated Confederates.

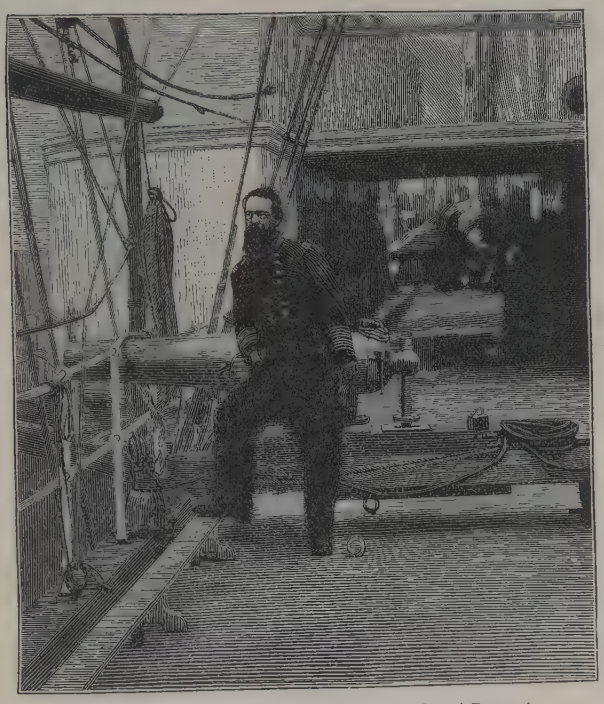
Failure of the expedition.

This misfortune was averted by the skill and genius of Lieutenant-colonel Joseph Bailey, of the 4th Wisconsin regiment, then serving as chief engineer on General Franklin's staff. The rapids had been ascended with difficulty when the fleet went up the river, one month before; now the water was so low that the rocks were bare for a mile and a quarter along the passage, and there were but three feet and four inches of water in the channel through the rapids; the larger boats required seven feet. Colonel Bailey designed and constructed a series of wing dams extending from each bank part way across the river and confining the water in a narrow channel at the point selected for running the rapids. On the north side of the stream he built two of these dams and on the south side a stone crib; these were subsequently added to when the first experiment proved that the larger boats could not pass through with safety. Eventually, the whole current was turned into one narrow channel, the total rise of water effected by these means being six feet six inches. The armor was stripped from the gunboats in order to lighten them, and the whole fleet was soon reunited in safety below the dam, the feat of shooting the rapids being accomplished without damage or loss. The naval contingent now steamed out of the Red River, where the only laurels gained were those gathered by Colonel Bailey in the unique engineering work which saved the country from a great disaster and made the name of "Bailey's Dam" long famous. For this peaceful victory, achieved in the midst of war, Bailey received the thanks of

Bailey's dam.

Congress, a commission as brigadier-general, and a sword of honor from the officers of the naval squadron of the Mississippi.

The fleet being on the way back to Vicksburg, the army marched out of Alexandria to Simsport, on the Atchafalaya, about fifty miles in a southeasterly direction. Here Bailey won new plaudits by the



Admiral Porter on the Deck of his Flagship at Grand Ecore, La.

skilful construction of a bridge of steamboats across the river, allowing the column to pass over with celerity and safety by the 19th of May. Before this was accomplished, however, the rear guard, under General Mower, had had a severe encounter with the pursuing Confederates on Yellow Bayou, in which the enemy lost 452 killed and wounded and the Federals lost 267. At Simsport, Banks met a third messenger from the War Department — General E. R. S. Canby, who had been assigned to the command of the newly created department of Trans-Mississippi, leaving Banks with the barren honor of the command of the Department of the Gulf. General A. J. Smith's troops were embarked for Vicksburg on the 22d day of May, forty-two days after the date assigned for their return, and too late for them to be engaged in the operations of Sherman against Atlanta. Banks's army was consolidated into one corps, the Nineteenth, and

sent to the Army of the Potomac, the expedition against Mobile being now out of the question. Of General Steele, who was expected to coöperate with General Banks, it is only necessary to say here that he was at Camden, Arkansas, ninety miles from Shreveport, in a northeasterly direction, on the 15th of April. At that time, Banks was at Grand Ecore, on his return to Alexandria. Steele was soon driven back by Kirby Smith, who had left Taylor to take care of the Federal force under Banks. Confronted by a superior force, Steele fell back upon Little Rock. For the remainder of the civil war, Louisiana and Texas remained in the hands of the insurgents without further serious disturbance, only the points in those States which were in possession of the Federal authorities at the beginning of the Red River expedition being retained under the National flag. Banks lost in this expedition 2,000 men, 18 guns, 130 wagons, and 1,200 horses and mules.

Cotton scandals.

The political effects of the expedition were lasting and influential to a degree not at all commensurate with its military importance. On the Confederate side a bitter quarrel sprang up between Kirby Smith and Taylor (who was the son of General and President Zachary Taylor); and a long and acrimonious dispute between Admiral Porter and General Banks ensued; while Franklin, Banks's chief-of-staff (Charles P. Stone), and Albert L. Lee (commanding the cavalry division of the Nineteenth Corps), gave up their commands and quitted the department in great dudgeon. A plentiful crop of scandals was reaped in consequence of the alleged

Building the Dam on Red River which released the Fleet.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

Colonel Joseph N. Bailey.

speculations in cotton which were to be promoted by the Red River expedition, according to popular rumor. By this time, the failure to send to the world's markets the usual supply of cotton had created something like a cotton famine wherever mills and factories, shipping and exchanges were to any degree dependent upon that commodity. It was the scarcity of cotton for the milling districts of England that was relied upon by the insurgents and their foreign sympathizers to hasten negotiations to end the rebellion by the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. It was known that vast amounts of cotton were stored in the extreme southwest, especially in the Red River region, awaiting opportunity for safe shipment; and one of the accusations brought against Banks, who was stigmatized as a "political general," was that he was in league with producers and speculators inside the Confederate lines, and with political favorites in the Federal lines, to get out great quantities of the coveted article, on which handsome profits were to be made. It was even charged that Kirby Smith, the Confederate commander of that portion of the State, was in league with the speculators.

As a matter of fact, the cotton captured by the military arm of the Red River expedition was accounted for with scrupulous accuracy. That captured by the navy, about 6,000 bales, according to Admiral Porter, was taken out and sold, the proceeds being divided as prize money among the naval officers, according to the laws of war. Kirby Smith could not have known of the advance of the Red River expedition until after it was fairly under way; and as soon as he was assured of its approach, he ordered the burning of all cotton within striking distance of the enemy; the total value of the amount thus destroyed was estimated at sixty millions of dollars. It is more than likely that the calumnies circulated in the Department of the Gulf at that time were set in motion by civilians who followed the expedition in the hope of reaping a rich harvest when the long continued blockade of the cotton-producing region of Louisiana should be broken and the much-desired stores of cotton should pour forth; they were disappointed men. During the war, the cotton trade, which followed hard upon the advance of the Federal armies, was a prolific source of scandal; and the chances for securing rich

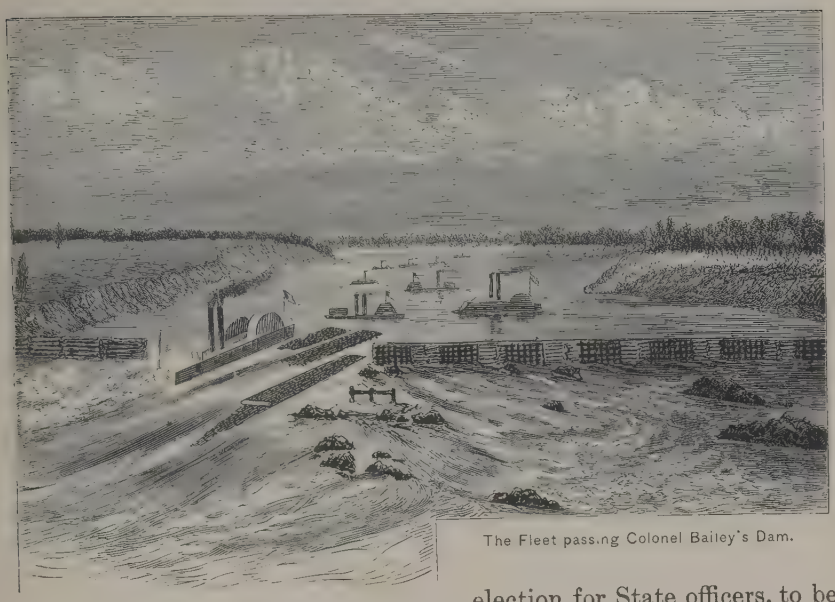
Their falsity.

returns by purchasing or seizing condemned "rebel cotton" and selling dear, were regarded with eager cupidity by men who besieged the National authorities for permits to engage in these enticing speculations.

The political programme in Louisiana was interrupted more than once by military operations. Much hostile criticism was levelled at General Banks for the incongruity of his duties, civil and military, in New Orleans; and much of this criticism eventually reacted upon those who made it; and the President himself ultimately became the object of angry Unionists who sought for some one responsible for the failure of the Red River expedition. The attempts to reconstruct a civil government in Louisiana were the most difficult and delicate of any of the so-called reconstruction measures. The precedent of appointing military governors in States where the National authority had been partly or fully reëstablished was that of Andrew Johnson, appointed as military governor of Tennessee, with the rank and pay of brigadier-general, on confirmation by the Senate, March 4th, 1862. The next case was that of Edward Stanley, who was appointed in the following May military governor of North Carolina. The third instance was that of Colonel George F. Shepley to be military governor of Louisiana, soon after the capture of New Orleans, when the foothold so obtained promised to be permanent. Colonel Shepley was an officer in the army of General Butler and had been appointed already by that officer to be mayor of New Orleans. Subsequently (in December, 1862), Shepley, under the direction of the President, ordered an election for Congressmen in the districts that were wholly inside of the military lines of the National Government; and the two Representatives so chosen were admitted to their seats in the House on a report from the Committee of Elections, which, among other things, said that the election under which these men claimed seats had been conducted with every essential of a regular election in a time of profound peace, except that the proclamation calling for it had been issued by a military, instead of a civil, governor of the State.

Affairs in Louisiana.

In course of time, there arose some contention and disagreement between Military Governor Shepley and Department Commander Banks regarding their respective powers in the civil affairs of Louisiana. This contention was finally quieted by the dictum of President Lincoln, who assured General Banks that he had all along intended that the general should be "master, as well in regard to reorganizing a State government for Louisiana as in regard to the military matters of the department." Accordingly, before the organization of the Red River expedition, Banks had proclaimed an



The Fleet passing Colonel Bailey's Dam.

election for State officers, to be held on February 22d, 1864. At that election, Michael Hahn received a majority of the 11,411 votes cast; and he was duly inaugurated on the following 4th of March.

On the 11th of that month, General Banks ordered an election of delegates to revise and amend the State constitution, the intention being to strike from that instrument the clauses establishing and recognizing human slavery. The convention assembled early in April; and it was in session when Banks departed on his expedition up the Red River. His detention in New Orleans until after the army and navy had gone on their way was due to his having certain important duties to perform in regard to the setting in motion of the new civil government, as already intimated. A faction of the population of New Orleans, having been organized into the so-called Free State Party, had run B. F. Flanders as their candidate for governor, and had been defeated. This faction received the sympathy of politicians in Washington who were known as Radical Republicans, and who were generally opposed to the political policy of President Lincoln. The failure of the Red River expedition was seized upon by these persons as a pretext for severe criticism of the President, whose endowment of General Banks with plenary powers in Louisiana was deeply resented by the friends of the unsuccessful candidate, Mr. Flanders, and was stigmatized by persons in Washington as an unjustifiable interference which had really hastened the disasters overtaking the ill-starred expedition.

Later on in the course of the war, when these asperities had divided the Republicans of the country into hostile camps, — Conservative and Radical, — and the opposition to Mr. Lincoln's reëlection had become somewhat pronounced, an unfriendly congressional committee investigated the whole subject of the Red River expedition, the political condition of Louisiana being thereto correlative; and this investigation was so manipulated that the President and the Secretary of State were indirectly censured for ordering the Red River expedition (Secretary Seward's anxiety relative to the French occupation of Mexico and the necessity for the Federal occupation of Texas being well understood), while most unjust and cruel imputations were thrown upon General Banks for his supposed share in cotton speculations.

CHAPTER VII.

SUNDRY CIVIL EVENTS OF 1863.

FINANCIAL LEGISLATION BY CONGRESS. — ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM. — THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF THE NATION UNPAID. — MORE GREENBACKS ISSUED. — A $900,000,000 LOAN AUTHORIZED. — NATIONAL AND CONFEDERATE DEBTS. — SOME OF THE CONFEDERATE EXPERIMENTS IN FINANCE. — LETTERS OF MARQUE AND REPRISAL AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS. — POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO THE WAR. — LINCOLN'S REPLY TO VALLANDIGHAM'S SUPPORTERS. — ULYSSES S. GRANT MADE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL. — HE TAKES COMMAND OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

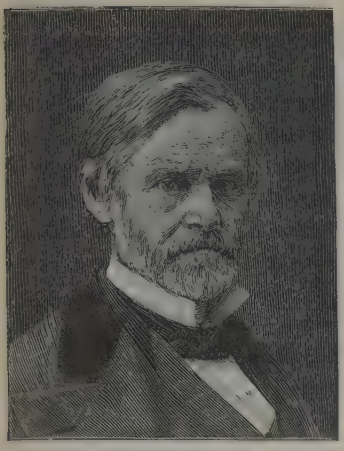
ONE of the most important acts of Congressional legislation during the period now under review was the enactment of the National banking law. In his first annual report (December, 1861), the Secretary of the Treasury had recommended the establishment of a system which should give to the Government complete control of the currency. In two annual reports he had recommended a tax on bank circulation. He believed that this circulation prevented, or at least embarrassed, the funding process by which alone the bonds of the United States could be absorbed. He proposed to tax the existing banks out of existence and to organize a permanent system designed to establish and maintain a uniform National currency based upon the public credit, limited in amount, and guarded by all the restraints which experience had proved necessary. Such a system was provided for in the bill which was introduced in Congress, in January, 1863, by Senator John Sherman, a brother of General W. T. Sherman. Mr. Sherman had long served in the House as a Representative from Ohio, having first been elected to that body in 1854; and he was now in his first term in the Senate, having been chosen to succeed Salmon P. Chase when Mr. Chase accepted the appointment of Secretary of the Treasury under Abraham Lincoln, in 1861. Financial legislation.

The proposition had been fully discussed before the introduction of Mr. Sherman's bill; and its details were now determined in that scheme of law. As finally enacted and approved by the President (February 25th, 1863), the National banking law established a bureau

in the Treasury Department, at the head of which is the Comptroller of the Currency, appointed by the President and acting under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury. Under the general supervision of the Treasury Department, associations for banking purposes may be formed by any number of persons not less than five, and the amount of stock subscribed may not be less than $50,000; in cities not under 100,000 population the stock shall not be less than $100,000. Every banking association organized under the law is required to transfer to the United States Government interest-bearing bonds of the United States to an amount not less than one third of the capital stock paid in, for which circulating notes, or currency, to the value of ninety per cent. of the current value of such bonds are returned to the bank making this deposit. It was provided that the notes issued should not exceed $300,000,000 in total volume, which was about twice the amount of the volume of the bank currency then in circulation. Other details of the law provided for the apportionment of the new bank circulation among the States and Territories, for the printing of the notes and the custody of the plates by the Treasury Department, and so on.

The National banking law.

The bill did not become a law without opposition. The banking institutions of the country naturally regarded some of its provisions as hostile to their interests; and objections to its enactment were urged by those to whom the mere suggestion of any scheme that recalled the United States Bank of an earlier time was deeply repugnant. Those who were jealous for the maintenance of State rights saw in this proposition another step in the direction of centralization, made easier, as they averred, by the seizure of extreme and arbitrary powers by the Administration of that time. It was also objected that the National banking law required, as a basis of its operations, that the National debt should be permanent; for without governmental obligations as security for circulation, the banks could not exist as National institutions. The proposition to tax out of existence the banks already doing business under local laws excited much opposition; and this was only partly modified by inserting a clause which enabled State banks to become National institutions without serious inconvenience or loss. When the law was finally enacted, the Treasury Department sought to impose upon all the institutions organized under the statute the title of First, Second, etc., National bank of the place in which they were situated. This was resisted by State banks which were about to come under the National system and were unwilling to surrender the titles which were to each like the good name of a man, won by honest and fair dealing. The Secretary of the Treasury, at first unwilling to allow any departure from his



John Sherman.

ruling, finally consented that the State banks should retain so much of their original title as should preserve their identity while assuming the dominant designation of "National."

The very first report of the Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. Hugh McCulloch, was largely devoted to an exposure of the defects of the new banking law; and these were remedied by the next sessions of Congress, one of the most important being the removal of the limit of the whole amount of circulation; and another was a provision for the redemption of the currency of certain National banks by others in large cities, and one for the establishment of a general clearing house to be selected by the banks themselves. Other modifications were intended to meet the objections of bank managers to what they regarded as a too general surrender of the old titles of their institutions. The States now enacted laws by which the State banks were aided to reorganize under the National system; and these institutions rapidly came into the new system. The first National bank to be incorporated was established in Springfield, Massachusetts, February 20th, 1863; the first authorized to begin business was organized in Philadelphia, and ready June 20th, 1863. There was some delay in the printing and delivery of the new notes; these first appeared in circulation December 21st, 1863. The first National bank authorized to do business without a numeral forming part of its name was the National Exchange Bank of New York City, in March, 1864.[1] It was thus that the popular bugaboo of "barbaric uniformity" was removed.

National banks.

During the early part of 1863, the Government found itself greatly embarrassed by the scarcity of funds with which to pay the soldiers and sailors who were engaged in the service of the country. Complaints were loud and general, and the Secretary of the Treasury, who had already asked for authority to raise a new loan, was requested by Congress to explain why the requisitions of army and navy paymasters were not filled. In his reply, the Secretary deplored the existing condition of things, which he said was largely due to the slowness with which the United States bonds (the so-called five-twenties), had been bought in the market. The Secretary had

[1] Bolles's *Financial History of the United States.*

construed the law requiring him to sell the bonds "at the market value" to mean that they should not be sold below their par value. Others, however, contended that "market value" was the price they would bring in the market when offered for sale. Leaving this proposition for the time, Congress at once authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to issue $100,000,000 of legal tender notes; and the existing volume of legal tenders was accordingly increased by this amount, by a mere joint resolution of Congress. By another and preceding resolution, Congress had declared that in paying the creditors of the Government, preference should be given to the army and navy; for this purpose $60,000,000 were required.

Increase of legal tenders.

This action was taken by Congress before the enactment of the National bank law; and its consideration was availed of by the Secretary to urge upon Congress his favorite scheme. He said, when replying to the demand of Congress for an explanation of the failure to pay the soldiers and sailors: "No measure, in my judgment, will meet the necessities of the occasion, and prove adequate to the provisions of the great sums required for the suppression of the rebellion, which does not include a firm support to public credit through the establishment of a uniform National circulation, secured by bonds of the United States."

Bond issues.

The loan bill, before referred to, became a law in March, 1863. By it the Secretary was authorized to issue, from time to time, as the exigencies of the public service might require, $900,000,000 in bonds, of which $300,000,000 were to be issued during that current year, and the remainder, if needed, during the next year. These bonds, payable in not less than ten, nor more than forty, years, from date, were popularly known as the ten-forties; the previous issue gave the five-twenties; and these two classes of bonds became the recognized and best-known securities of the United States. In the language of Senator Sherman,[1] the sale of these at par, "in connection with treasury notes of different forms, furnished the United States the money to carry on the war." This loan became very popular; before the close of the fiscal year, $168,880,220 of the bonds had been taken by the people; and before the end of January, 1864, the entire amount of bonds had been absorbed at par value, and at least eleven millions more were asked for by the people. Congress subsequently authorized the issuing of this additional amount. The popularity of the loan, it may be asserted, has never been paralleled in the financial history of any nation beneath the sun.

The statement of the public debt of the United States, which showed the startling item of nearly $60,000,000 due and unpaid the

[1] John Sherman's *Recollections*, vol. i. p. 301.

Interior of Slave Pen at Alexandria.

soldiers and sailors of the United States, made an exhibit of a total indebtedness, funded and unfunded, of $783,804,252. The army appropriation for that year (ending June 30th, 1863), was $729,861,898. At that time, the debt of the Confederate States was $556,105,062, of which nearly three fourths was in the form of notes. The management of the Confederate finances was not founded upon any system; it was a series of temporary expedients, from first to last. The earliest loan was a popular one; calling for $5,000,000 in the first flush of their new independence, the insurgent managers secured a loan from the people of $3,000,000 more than that amount; and the whole sum was taken, $8,000,000 in Confederate bonds being readily placed at eight per cent. After this, there was no popular response for money at any rate of interest whatever.

The public debt.

One of the experiments of the tyros in finance who managed the Richmond government was the so-called Produce Loan. It was proposed that the producers of the Confederate States, more especially those of cotton and tobacco, should agree that when the crop of the staple was sold, the seller (whether factor or commission merchant) should invest a certain specified proportion of the proceeds of sale in Confederate bonds at eight per cent. interest. The planter was not to part with or mortgage his crop; he was

The Confederate finances.

merely to promise that a portion of its avails should be invested in public securities; and the subscriptions of these producers were to be used as credits by the government on which to base its circulation of current notes. The scheme looked well on paper; but beyond paper it never reached any tangible point. Under the pressure of governmental canvassers and fervid appeals to their patriotism, the people subscribed liberally, $50,000,000 being set down as the amount of the first year's subscriptions. But by the end of 1861 the Produce Loan had vanished like the baseless fabric of a dream. The blockade, which some dreamers had hailed as a blessing in disguise, had destroyed the cotton and tobacco markets, and without markets those commodities were valueless as a basis of credits. There was no certainty, no obligation, of sale; and the government had no power to enforce the contract implied in the planters' subscriptions to the proposed loan. The scheme was abandoned as an utter failure.

The Cotton Purchase.

The Cotton Purchase was another device for raising money for the use of the Confederacy; but, although this had great possibilities, it was not well received and it ultimately came to grief likewise. It was proposed that the Confederate government should purchase from the cotton planters their crops, export to England by blockade runners, and realize on the transaction a clear profit which, calculated on the then ruling prices at home and abroad, would amount to the magnificent sum of at least $600,000,000; and even this dazzling result might be enhanced in bigness as the price of cotton advanced. But the Secretary of the Confederate Treasury was opposed to the scheme, which he denounced as "soup-house legislation;" and the paper money of the Confederate treasury, having no security behind it, daily grew more and more worthless. The only other expedients for bringing money into the treasury of the insurgents were taxation and two forms of sequestration. In the loyal States the policy of confiscating the property of insurgent citizens of the United States had been resorted to as a punitive measure; in the Southern States this was employed as a source of revenue. One form of confiscation was applied to debts due to citizens in the loyal States from citizens of the insurgent States. It was ordered that the Southern creditors should pay these debts into the Confederate treasury; and it was believed that the handsome sum of $200,000,000 would be realized from this novel device to compel the enemy to pay part of the costs of the war against him. The "sequestration law" was aimed at the property interests of Northern men, existing inside the limits of the insurgent States, and at the property of such malcontents as might have fled from the Confederacy after the beginning of hostilities. One Confederate writer[1] says that it was esti-

Further expedients.

[1] E. A. Pollard's *Life of Jefferson Davis.*

mated that the property and interests of Northern men in the city of New Orleans alone, falling under the operation of this law, would amount to some $30,000,000. But this scheme also broke down. There were not many business men in the insurgent States who were willing to cheat their lawful creditors by paying to the Confederate treasury the debts due to others. Southern agents of Northern property-owners resented the inquisitorial proceedings of the Confederate agents who sought to discover these ownerships, even to the extent of defying the law as a breach of the constitutional and traditional rights of the people, subjecting them as it did to a surveillance and an inquisition most revolting to free men. At the end of 1863 only about $2,000,000 had been realized from the sequestration law; and this sum did not represent proceedings regarded with complacency by honorable citizens of the insurgent States. In short, although the agents of the Confederacy in Europe managed to secure some money on bonds sold abroad, at a ruinous expense for maintaining the market, the main reliance of the government was upon the issue of paper money without any pretence of security behind it. In this way, the currency was inflated fantastically, and far beyond the wants of the community. The result was an enormous depreciation in the value of the notes of the Confederate government; in the summer of 1863 these suffered a discount of 400 per cent. and from this point they went downward until, during the last days of the war, $6,000 in Confederate paper would be exchanged for one dollar in gold. Under such a state of things, it were idle to quote prices of commodities, or salaries and rates of compensation, as indicative of anything but the worthlessness of the currency in which these payments were made.

Exterior of Alexandria Slave Pen.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

The Cotton Purchase scheme was replaced in England by the

famous Confederate Loan, negotiated by Baron Erlanger and Mr. Slidell. This loan was put on the London market in March, 1863, with every appearance of a brilliant success, five millions sterling being subscribed on the first day of its appearance. Before the subscriptions were closed, the books showed a total amount of sixteen millions sterling, taken by eager buyers from various parts of Europe. But the certificates of stock soon began to fall in price, and although the Erlangers and the Confederate agents attempted to bolster up the drooping market for their certificates by buying in those securities secretly, the prices went down until the military disasters sustained by the Confederates during the summer of 1863 dealt a deathblow to the short-lived credit of the Confederate States of America. A diverting illustration of the ignorance, or credulity, of the French promoters of the Confederate Loan was their proposition that the Confederate agents revenge themselves for Vicksburg and Gettysburg by making solemn proclamation in Europe that the Confederate States would never recognize or be liable for a single dollar of the United States loans! The wiser (and sadder) representatives of the Confederacy declined to take this method to "destroy the credit of the United States abroad," and the deluded German investors, undeterred by the representations of Mr. James M. Mason, continued to buy United States securities at thrifty rates.

Foreign Confederate loan.

Battle-flag of the 99th Pennsylvania Regiment.
(Carried through thirteen pitched battles by Color-sergeant Munsell.)

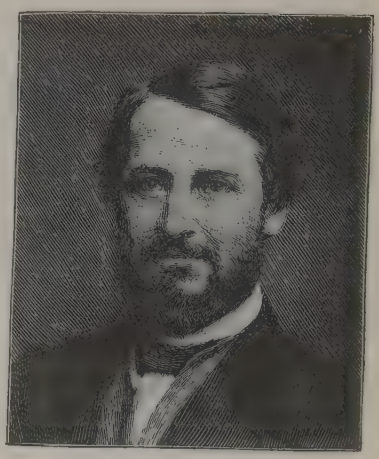
Very early in the civil war (April 17th, 1861), Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation offering letters of marque to privateers which might sail the seas and ravage the commerce of the enemy under the seal of the Confederate States. In his proclamation of a blockade of the Southern ports, issued two days later, President Lincoln declared that captured offenders under the pretended letters of marque would be treated as pirates. It was found more expedient for the Confederates to employ their resources in a so-called navy (which was a fleet of privateers), than to create a commercial navy of their own to be employed against the enemy as an armed foe. The proceeds of foreign loans were therefore absorbed by the needs of the various ship-building enterprises undertaken for the Confederacy by its foreign agents; and very little money for military and other

Privateering.

domestic uses was sent home to the Richmond government. There were a few adventurous persons in the loyal States who thought that the granting of letters of marque and reprisal by the United States Government might induce the building and equipment of swift cruisers to hunt down and destroy blockade runners and Confederate privateers. The Federal Congress, accordingly, passed a bill in March, 1863, authorizing the President to issue letters of marque "in all domestic and foreign wars" of the United States, and to make all necessary rules and regulations for the adjudication and disposal of prizes and salvages that might be made by vessels sailing under such letters; the law was expressly limited in its operation to a period of three years. No persons availed themselves of the privileges proposed in this statute; and nothing in the attitude of the Government at that time encouraged any one to apply for letters of marque.

Lincoln's Message of December, 1863.

Although the depression of the people of the loyal States, at the beginning of the year 1863, was very great, the progress of events later in that year induced the President to turn the popular attention to the possibility of a return to loyal allegiance of some of the citizens of the Republic who had been in arms against it. Accordingly, in his annual message to Congress, December 8th, 1863, the President urged the justice and expediency of extending clemency to those engaged in rebellion who were willing to take an oath to support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Union of the States under it, the acts of Congress passed during the rebellion, and especially the proclamations of the President concerning slaves. A proclamation of amnesty, framed on these general lines, was annexed to the message; and in the message it was argued that some such device must be resorted to if the loyal or penitent elements of Southern society were to be relied upon in the reconstruction of the civil machinery of those States which were then in rebellion. Exception was to be made against those who had left the civil or military service of the United States to engage in insurrection, and of those who had occupied places of peculiar trust under the insurgent government. And the President justified the peculiar conditions of the oath under which amnesty was to be granted by saying: "An attempt to guarantee and protect a revived State government, constructed in whole or in preponderating part from the very element against whose hostility and violence it is to be protected, is simply absurd. There must be a test by which to separate the opposing elements, so as to build only from the sound; and that test is a sufficiently liberal one which accepts as sound whoever will make a sworn recantation of his former unsoundness."



Clement L. Vallandigham.

In a few luminous sentences, the President showed that an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and the laws passed thereunder must logically include the laws and proclamations in regard to slavery. Those laws and proclamations were put forth for the purpose of aiding in the suppression of the rebellion; to abandon them now would not only be the relinquishment of a lever of power, but a cruel and astounding breach of faith. And he added these weighty words: "While I remain in my present position, I shall not attempt to retract, nor modify, the Emancipation Proclamation; nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation, or by any of the acts of Congress." This declaration gave great comfort to those of feeble faith who were afflicted by fears that in some way a compromise might ultimately be effected by which the Union could be restored and slavery saved.

Politics in 1863.

During this year, party feeling in the loyal States ran high, and the depression which prevailed among the supporters of the Federal Union, at the beginning of the year, was offset by a correspondingly great exultation in the ranks of the opposition. When Congress adjourned on the 3d of March, military events had brought popular confidence in the war policy of the Administration to a low ebb; and the Federal defeat at Chancellorsville, in May, encouraged the opponents of the war to greater boldness and aggressiveness than they had heretofore exhibited. The violent speeches of Mr. Vallandigham, which had brought him into conflict with the military power of the Government (as narrated in a previous chapter), were justly regarded as in the nature of a party challenge of the policy of the President and his advisers. The anti-slavery policy of the Administration, it was alleged, was more prominent and active than any plan or movement for the restoration of the Union. The conduct of the war was denounced as impotent, leading only to failure; and wily demagogues harped incessantly on the theme of "an abolition party," the looming proposition that the slaves must ultimately be free now affording them a promising and fruitful theme for argument. To such lengths did the opponents of the Administration go in this direction, that the nomination of Vallandigham for

governor was made by the Peace Democrats of Ohio as a direct defiance to the Lincoln Administration, under whose direction that mischievous agitator had been sent out of the country. The leaders of the party evidently felt themselves strong enough to invite a direct issue before the people, Vallandigham standing for peace to be secured at any price, and the Administration standing for a prosecution of the war to the bitter end.

The cause of the exiled Vallandigham was taken up with eagerness by Peace Democrats in other States than Ohio, and a very strong and admirably constructed protest, among other declarations of the same sort, was presented by a large meeting of Democrats assembled in Albany, New York, to consider this incident. President Lincoln replied to the resolutions of the Albany meeting in a letter dated June 12th, 1863, in which he furnished the loyal people of the Nation with a trenchant argument in favor of the Administration's course. He said that Vallandigham was arrested because he was damaging the army, upon the existence and vigor of which the life of the Nation depended. Alluding to the proclaimed fact that the assembly which had formulated the protest against the treatment of Vallandigham was in favor of suppressing the rebellion by military force, he said: "Long experience has shown that armies cannot be maintained unless desertion shall be punished by the severe penalty of death. Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier-boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of the wily agitator who induces him to desert? This is none the less injurious when effected by getting father, or brother, or friend into a public meeting, and there working upon his feelings until he is persuaded to write the soldier-boy that he is fighting in a bad cause, for a wicked Administration of a contemptible government, too weak to arrest and punish him if he shall desert. I think that in such a case to silence the agitator and save the boy is not only constitutional, but withal a great mercy." Arguments like this, appealing as they did to the common-sense and the deeper feelings of the people, were powerful in their effect on the popular judgment and the popular heart. The tide turned against these protestants when another delegation, appointed to represent the Peace Democrats of Vallandigham's own State, was answered in cogent terms by President Lincoln. To these gentlemen, many of whom had been Representatives in Congress, the President said that Mr. Vallandigham should be restored to all the privileges of citizenship if they would subscribe to three simple propositions to this effect: That there is now on foot a rebellion to destroy the National Union, and that an army and navy are the necessary and constitutional means for the suppression of that rebellion; that

The Vallandigham case.

none of the subscribers would do anything which, in his judgment, would impair the efficiency of the army and navy while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion; that each one of the said subscribers would in his sphere do all he could to have the men of the army and navy, while engaged in the effort to suppress the rebellion, paid, fed, clad, and otherwise supported and provided for. This simple agreement was submitted to the protesting delegation for their signatures. Of course, they could not consistently sign it; they made a lame rejoinder to the President; but the great mass of the people saw that Mr. Lincoln had made a palpable hit; and the men who could not subscribe to these three conditions without justifying the arrest of Vallandigham were exposed to popular derision. The people of Ohio subsequently defeated his party at the polls by one of the most tremendous majorities scored at any time during the war by any political organization.

The prevailing dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war, on account of its alleged slowness, which was conspicuous in the early part of 1863, usually found expression in severe criticisms of General Halleck, the difficulties of whose position were very great — greater because the limits of his influence and authority were never very clearly understood by the people. Meade's campaign in Virginia, after the battle of Gettysburg, had been inconclusive. As a corps commander he had been highly successful, but when he was promoted to the chief command of the Army of the Potomac and that organization had lost two other of its best corps commanders, — Hancock by wounds and Reynolds by death, — the army was in a bad plight. The Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, one of the powerful factors in the management of the war, recommended Meade's dismissal and the recall of Hooker, who, since his brilliant success in the West, had regained much of public confidence; but the committee were willing to accept any general whom the President might select. The removal of Meade appeared to be determined upon.

At this juncture, however, all eyes had been turned to Grant as the coming man. It was generally felt that he might achieve further and greater successes if he were given command of all the armies in the field. Accordingly, in the winter of 1863–4, a bill was introduced in Congress to revive the grade of lieutenant-general, which had lapsed on the death of General Scott, who had been the last to hold that rank and title, but then only by brevet. The proposition did not arouse much enthusiasm among Congressmen, some of whom affected to believe that Halleck, and not Grant, would be given the honor promised in the revival of the grade.

Grant's appointment as lieutenant-general.

General U. S. Grant.

Influential men in the House of Representatives opposed the bill on grounds various but not satisfactory to the country, which by this time had begun to regard Grant as the greatest and only thoroughly successful military man whom the long war had developed. Finally, the bill became a law on the 29th of February, 1864, and on the 2d of March he was formally appointed by the President lieutenant-general. A few days later, he visited Washington for the first time during the war, and was received everywhere with great and enthusiastic acclaim. Henceforth the control of military affairs was to be in the hands of a soldier, free from the dictation of civilian authority, whether President or Secretary of War. From this time forward, the commander of the armies of the United States had his headquarters in the field, with his troops and his subordinate generals. There was grim satisfaction at seeing Halleck relegated to the routine duties of chief-of-staff and military adviser to the President. Meade had shown high capacity, but not the highest. At Grant's request he was continued in the immediate command of the Army of the Potomac. Grant bore emphatic testimony to his fitness for this position. He said: "Commanding, as I did, all the armies, I tried, as far as possible, to leave General Meade in independent command of the Army of the Potomac. My instructions for that army were all through him, leaving all the details of execution to him. The campaigns which followed proved him to be the right man in the right place."

Grant and Sherman.

There was between Grant and Sherman a warm and enduring friendship which may be aptly likened to that of David and Jonathan, and when in later years these two warriors printed their personal recollections, their letters to each other, written at this period, evinced the depth of feeling with which they both regarded Grant's elevation to the full rank that had been held only by Washington. Grant wrote: "While I have been eminently successful in this war, in at least gaining the confidence of the public, no one feels more than I how much of this success is due to the energy, skill, and the harmonious putting forth of that energy and skill, of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying subordinate positions under me. There are many officers to whom these remarks are

applicable to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their abilities as soldiers, but what I want is to express my thanks to you and McPherson as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success. How far your advice and suggestion have been of assistance, you know. How far your execution of whatever has been given you to do entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you cannot know as well as I do. I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction. The word *you* I use in the plural, intending it for McPherson also."

In a similarly generous and magnanimous strain Sherman replied: "You do yourself injustice and us too much honor in assigning to us so large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. . . . You are now Washington's legitimate successor and occupy a position of almost dangerous elevation; but if you continue as heretofore to be yourself, simple, honest, and unpretending, you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends, and the homage of millions of human beings who will award to you a large share for securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability. I repeat, you do General McPherson and myself too much honor. . . . I believe you are as brave, patriotic, and just as the great prototype, Washington; as unselfish, kind-hearted, and honest as a man should be; but the chief characteristic in your nature is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in his Saviour. This faith gave you victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also, when you have completed your best preparations, you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga — no doubts, no reserves; and I tell you that it was this that made us act with confidence. I knew, wherever I was, that you thought of me, and if I got into a tight place you would come, if alive."

These personal tributes, written in the privacy of intimate friendship, unwitting of the possibility of their publication to the world in later years, may be regarded as the fittest and most truthful exhibition of the prominent traits of the two men who were thus in honor preferring one another. At that time, both of these soldiers were in the flower of their manhood. Grant was forty-two years of age; and Sherman was about two years older. By his swiftness of movement, his courageous audacity, and his skilful handling of men, Sherman had won the admiration of the people; and his assignment to the special charge of military operations in the West was highly popular. His brightest laurels were yet to be gathered.

Confederate Winter Quarters at Manassas.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

CHAPTER VIII.

GRANT IN VIRGINIA.

PREPARATIONS FOR A FORWARD MOVEMENT OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. — SUMMARY OF THE MILITARY SITUATION IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY. — THE FEDERALS CROSS THE RAPIDAN. — IN THE WILDERNESS ONCE MORE. — DESTRUCTIVE FIGHTING. — DEATH OF GENERAL SEDGWICK. — FAILURE OF BUTLER'S SHARE IN THE CAMPAIGN. — SHERIDAN'S FAMOUS RAID AROUND THE CONFEDERATE ARMY. — THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC CROSSES THE JAMES RIVER. — THE INVESTMENT OF PETERSBURG.

THE arrangements for the spring campaign of 1864 were made upon the assumption that the Federal armies would have a numerical strength of not less than one million men. On the 1st of May they nominally came within 30,000 of that number; but only 660,000 men were reported "present for duty." Of these, 310,000 were in Virginia and the Carolinas, where the Confederates had not more than 125,000. There the immediate contest was to be between those two old-time gladiators, the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia, so often pitted against each other in deadly combat and now to meet for the last struggle. The numerical strength of the Army of the Potomac was nominally 140,000 men. In reality, its fighting strength was far less than that.

The forces in the spring of 1864.

On the 1st of June, after the muster at Cold Harbor, the rolls showed the actual number present for duty to be only 103,875. The Confederate reports showed Lee's effective force at that time to be 65,000 ; and to this number were subsequently added reënforcements to the number of 14,000 men, which brought his army up to a total of 79,000 for the campaign. This included Longstreet's corps, which had returned from the West, after its ineffectual attempt against Burnside at Knoxville.

The Army of the Potomac was now organized into three corps, designated as the Second, Fifth, and Sixth. Hancock, having recovered from the wound received at Gettysburg, was placed in command of the Second, the Fifth was given to Warren, Sedgwick retained the Sixth. Besides these was the newly-organized Ninth Corps, under Burnside, which contained many colored troops. It had been intended to send this corps to North Carolina, but the exigencies of the campaign rendered it necessary to add it to the Army of the Potomac. Burnside waived his nominal superiority in rank, and cheerfully served under Meade, who only a few months before had been his subordinate. Besides the nominal 140,000 of the Army of the Potomac, there were 42,000 in and about Washington, 31,000 in Western Virginia, 59,000 in what was styled the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, of whom 25,000, known as the Army of the James, under Butler, were supposed to be available for service in the field. In South Carolina, Georgia, and other minor departments were about 38,000 more. All these constituted the 310,000 under Grant,[1] opposed to the 125,000 Confederates in the same region.

Officers' Mess at Bralton, Va.

Drawn by Victor S. Perard from a photograph.

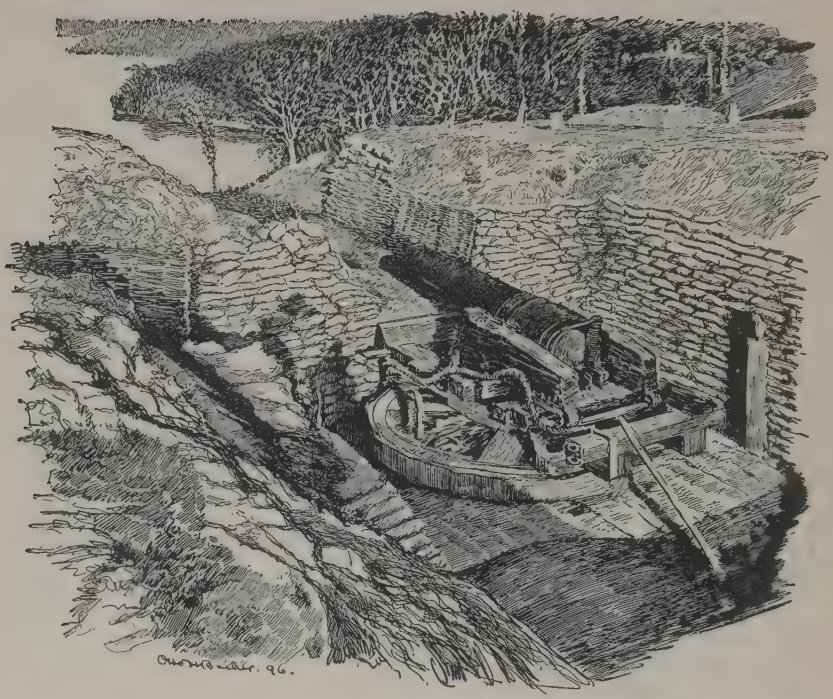
In October, 1863, a call for recruits had been

[1] General A. A. Humphreys, chief-of-staff of the Army of the Potomac, an accurate and painstaking historian, says in his history of the Virginia campaign, that the numerical strength of the Army of the Potomac, present for duty, April 30th, 1864, was 122,146, which included Burnside's corps, the Ninth, of 22,708 men.

Embarkation of the Ninth Army Corps at Acquia Creek Landing in February, 1863.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

issued by the President; and another was made February 1st, 1864, the total number required by these two calls being 500,000 men. But, including the number secured by the draft of 1863, only 317,092 men had been furnished; though on the principle that the payment of commutations was equivalent to a corresponding number of men furnished, the total number (including the commutations) was 369,380. Still another call was made in March, 1864, this time for 200,000 men to fill up the incompleted tally of 500,000. The response was gratifying; various causes had operated to infuse a new spirit of determination and patriotism into the hearts of the people, and the actual number of men furnished exceeded the quota required. The recruitments were 259,515 men; and the commutations made were for 32,678, making a grand total of 292,193, under the last call in that spring for the 200,000 men. These were all three-years men.

The military situation in the whole country, at the beginning of



Confederate Battery Dantzler at Howlett's, Trent's Reach, James River, Va.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

The situation.

the spring campaign, was summed up at that time by General Grant as follows: The Mississippi was guarded by Federal troops from St. Louis to its mouth; the line of the Arkansas was held, thus giving us all the Northwest north of that river. A few points in Louisiana, not remote from the river, were held by the Federal troops, as was also the mouth of the Rio Grande. East of the Mississippi the Federals substantially held all north of the Memphis and Charleston road as far east as Chattanooga, thence along the line of the Tennessee and Holston rivers, taking in nearly all the State of Tennessee. West Virginia was in their hands, and also that part of old Virginia north of the Rapidan and east of the Blue Ridge. On the sea-coast they had Fort Monroe and Norfolk in Virginia; Plymouth, Washington, and Newbern in North Carolina; Beaufort, Folly Island, Morris Island, Hilton Head, and Port Royal, in South Carolina; Fort Pulaski in Georgia; Fernandina, St. Augustine, Key West, and Pensacola in Florida. The remainder of the Southern territory, an empire in extent, was in the hands of the enemy.

Grant, knowing his great preponderance in numbers, and yet fully

appreciating some advantages of the enemy in position, had decided upon his plan of campaign. "I was impressed," he says, "with the idea that active and continuous operations of all the troops that could be brought into the field, regardless of the season and the weather, were necessary to a speedy determination of the war. The resources of the enemy and his numerical strength were far inferior to ours; but, as an offset to this, we had a vast territory, with a population hostile to the Government, and long lines of communications to protect, to enable us to supply the operating armies. It was a question whether our numerical strength and resources were not more than balanced by these disadvantages. I therefore determined to use the greatest number of troops, and to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but equal submission with the loyal sections of our common country to the Constitution and laws of the land." There were two great Confederate armies to be met and crushed, — that of Lee in Virginia, and that of Johnston in Georgia. The latter task was committed to Sherman. Grant instructed him "to move against Johnston's army, break it up, and go into the interior of the enemy's country, as far as possible, inflicting all the damage that can be done upon their war resources." The instructions to Meade were of like tenor: "Lee's army is to be your objective point; wherever that goes, you must go." The series of operations contemplated in this plan was to be commenced simultaneously, and as nearly as possible on the 1st of May.

Grant's plans.

The Confederate Army of Northern Virginia had lain in winter quarters along the south bank of the Rapidan, the lines stretching about twenty miles. The position, naturally strong, had been skilfully fortified. In front, rifle-pits commanded every ford, and intrenchments crowned every hill-top. An assault in front was neither apprehended by Lee nor intended by Grant. The attack

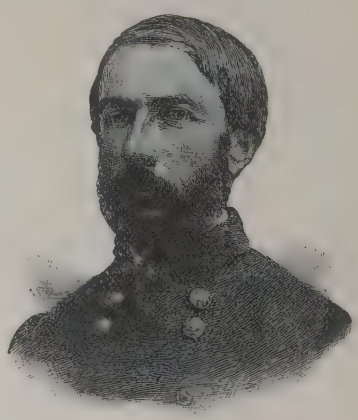
Pontoon Boats at Berlin, Va.

Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

would be by turning the line either on the right or the left. Lee supposed that this would be made upon his left, and had massed the bulk of his force in that direction. The corps of Ewell and Hill lay behind the defences of the Rapidan, their centre being at Orange Court House; while Longstreet's corps was at Gordonsville, thirteen miles farther to the southwest. But Grant decided to move by Lee's right. He hoped, that after forcing the enemy from his intrenchments on the Rapidan, he might bring him to battle somewhere north of Richmond; but failing in that, he meant to follow him wherever he should go.

General Grant's plan of operations, it will be noticed, was not unlike that which President Lincoln had long before formulated, but which he had vainly urged upon his generals. In the first of his series of "general orders," issued January 27th, 1862, while McClellan was in full command in the East, the President ordered "That the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces. That, especially, the army at and about Fort Monroe; the Army of the Potomac; the Army of Western Virginia; the army near Munfordville, Kentucky; the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico, be ready to move on that day." To provide for later possible contingencies, it was further ordered that all other forces, on land and sea, should remain under their existing orders for the time, holding themselves in readiness to obey later instructions. This was substantially the plan which the President had all along hoped and expected would be adopted by the generals in the field. He greatly desired that all the forces of the United States should move at once, coöperating by the mere effect of their

Major-General Lafayette McLaws, C. S. A.



Lieutenant-General Daniel H. Hill, C. S. A.

Federal Earthworks on North Bank of North Anna River.
(The Confederates were just across the river on the south bank.)
Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

simultaneous movement. We know how effectually that plan was blocked by the immobility of General McClellan in 1862, and by the general sluggishness of military operations later on in the war.

Now came a man at the head of military affairs who had a plan of his own which very nearly corresponded to that of Mr. Lincoln, and who was given the materials and the men with which to work out that plan. The armies were to move as nearly as possible at the same time and towards a common centre. Banks had an army of about 40,000 men in Louisiana from which he was to spare 25,000 as soon as his operations in that State were finished, and with them was to move on Mobile; Sherman was to strike for the heart of Georgia, with Johnston's army for his immediate objective; Sigel was to drive out the enemy from the Shenandoah Valley and cut the railways supplying Richmond from the southwest; Gillmore's troops were to be brought up from South Carolina, and, with another corps under General W. F. Smith, added to the Army of the James, now commanded by General B. F. Butler, who had received this new assignment in November, 1863. Butler's army was to operate against Richmond from the south side of the James; and, finally, the newly organized Ninth Corps, under Burnside, was to rendezvous at Annapolis, Maryland, where it could be added to the Army of the Potomac, or sent to the James River by means of transports. It may be said here that some of the details of this plan fell out of their proper place; but the main scheme was carried out as proposed. Banks's Red River expedition failed through

The movements proposed.

Camp of the 150th Pennsylvania Infantry near Falmouth, Va.
Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

no fault of his, and, to Grant's great chagrin, 40,000 veteran troops were withheld from the grand movement ordered. Sigel did not fulfil the expectations entertained of him; and General Hunter, who succeeded him in the command, was not able to accomplish the work as fully as was desired. Of the failure of Butler's part in the campaign mention will be made later on in this chapter.

The passage of the Rapidan.

Before daylight on the morning of May 4th, the Army of the Potomac marched in two columns for the lower fords of the Rapidan. Such a movement could not escape observation, and as the columns neared the river signal fires gave notice of their approach. But the crossing was to be made ten miles below the extremity of Ewell's line, as much farther from the centre of Hill's corps, and thirteen miles more from Longstreet's position; so that Lee was unable, had he been so disposed, to dispute the passage of the river. He may not have cared to do this; for in a few hours the Federal army would be entangled in the Wilderness, where its great superiority in numbers would be of little moment. During the winter Lee had caused accurate surveys to be made of the region, so that every rood of it, every road and by-path, were known to him, while his opponent must necessarily know little of the character of that wild region. With his 65,000 men, Lee believed he could overmaster twice that number if brought against him.

Battle of the Wilderness.

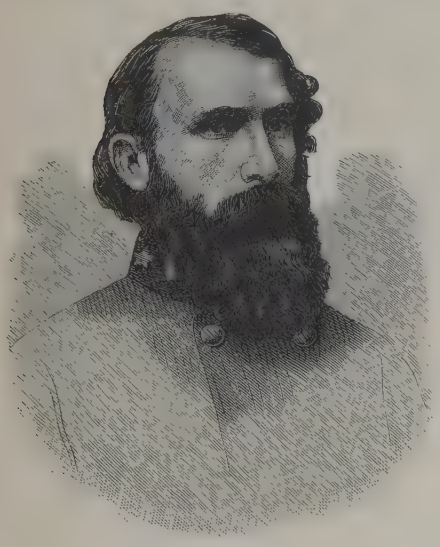
On the evening of the 4th of May the headquarters of Grant and Meade were at a roadside inn near the centre of the Wilderness. Through the Wilderness from north to south, starting from Germanna Ford, runs a tolerable road. Nearly parallel

with this, half a dozen miles distant, is another road, passing near Chancellorsville. These two roads, after many windings, come together near Spottsylvania Court House. By these, neither of them very good, Grant proposed to unite his two columns, after they had got clear of the Wilderness. But running east and west through this region are two other good roads, starting from Orange Court House, running nearly parallel, about three miles apart, until they unite at Chancellorsville. They thus cross, nearly at a right angle, the roads by which Grant's columns must advance. Moving by these, Lee proposed to strike upon the flanks of Grant's long columns, with the hope of cutting them in two, and routing them.

When, therefore, Lee learned that the Federal army was heading for the fords of the Rapidan, he put his columns in motion. At nightfall the advance of Ewell's corps lay within three miles of the Federal headquarters. Hill, having farther to go, was some distance behind. Longstreet, still farther off, was ordered to come up with all possible speed. Grant anticipated no attack, and his plan for the next day was to move leisurely on by the different roads. If there had been no interruption, the whole Army of the Potomac would have cleared the Wilderness that day.

Warren moved early on the morning of May 5th. By way of precaution, a body of cavalry on the preceding afternoon had ridden some distance down the turnpike and found no enemy, for Ewell was still some miles away. On this morning other cavalry were sent down the road, up which Ewell was now moving. These troops came in contact, and the Battle of the Wilderness was begun. Still the Federal commanders anticipated no real battle. Meade said, "They have left a division here to fool us." At the outset the Confederates were forced back for a space; but they were continually reënforced, and then the Federals were driven back. An hour before noon Grant was convinced that the enemy was in force and meant to fight. He ordered Sedgwick to support Warren, while Hancock, who was some miles ahead, was

May 5.



Lieutenant-General Ambrose P. Hill, C. S. A.

to move back and join Warren at the junction of the roads. The fighting here was close and furious until four o'clock in the afternoon, with little advantage on either side. Both then drew back, and intrenched themselves.

Each commander planned to attack the other early in the morning.

May 6. Lee was a few minutes the quicker, throwing Ewell against the Federal right. This movement, which was only a feint, was repelled, without delaying the assault which Grant had ordered Hancock to make upon the Confederate right, where Hill was driven back for a mile and a half. Longstreet's veteran corps stayed the flight. A flank movement had been planned for him; but while preparing to execute it, he was severely wounded by a mistaken fire from his own men, and the command of his corps devolved upon R. H. Anderson. Both sides were much broken up during the morning; but not long after noon Lee flung the corps of Hill and Longstreet upon Hancock, who had intrenched himself behind a breastwork of logs. No impression was made upon this until four o'clock, when a fire which had sprung up in the dry forest reached these works. The wind blew the smoke and flames full in the faces of the defenders. The Confederates swarmed over, but were soon driven back to their own lines. This virtually closed the battle, although after dark Ewell made an unexpected attack on a portion of Sedgwick's corps, cutting off and capturing two brigades, numbering 3,000 men, with hardly any loss to himself. The two days' battle was fought almost entirely by musketry, for the nature of the ground precluded any effectual use of cavalry or artillery, and rendered manœuvring impossible. The losses on both sides were great. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was about 15,000, besides 5,000 prisoners. The Confederates lost about 10,000 killed and wounded, and few prisoners. Still the real advantage was on the side of Grant, for Lee had failed in his bold and skilful attempt to repeat the success of Chancellorsville.

The 7th was spent in reconnaissances, which convinced Grant that Lee was in no condition to attack, and that, though quite willing to be assailed in his intrenchments, he could be flanked out of that strong position. In the evening the Federal army moved toward Spottsylvania Court House, fifteen miles to the southwest, by different roads. Lee moved toward the same point, reaching it a little in advance, thus gaining time to intrench himself upon a commanding ridge from which he could be forced only by hard fighting. Monday, May 9th, was spent in preparations. A heavy fire was kept up from the Confederate lines upon every point where Federal batteries were being erected. At one of these points the brave and skil-

ful Sedgwick was killed by a rifle-bullet while placing a battery in an exposed position. The next two days there was much sharp but indecisive fighting, and the general result seemed to Grant to presage success. On the 11th he sent to the War Department a despatch, some sentences of which have become historic. "We have," he says, "now ended the sixth day of very hard fighting. The result to this day is much in our favor. Our losses have been heavy, as well as those of the enemy. I propose to fight it

Battles of Spottsylvania.

The Death of General Sedgwick.

out on this line, if it takes all summer." The work, however, was done on a quite different line, and took not only all summer, but all autumn and winter, and reached far into the next spring. Grant's final report, written a year later, has a somewhat different tone. In this he says: "The 9th, 10th, and 11th were spent in manœuvring and fighting, without decisive results." The Federal loss during these three days was about 10,000 in killed and wounded. The Confederates, fighting behind intrenchments, suffered far less.

The Phillips House, at Stafford, Va., on Fire.
Drawn by B. J. Rosenmeier from a photograph made in February, 1863.

Lee's left had been found impregnable; but there appeared to be a weak point in his centre, and upon this a strong assault was made. In the gray dawn, and under cover of a dense fog, Hancock's corps dashed upon this point, which was a salient angle thrust forward from the main line. Without firing a shot, the Confederate pickets were swept back; the abatis was passed, and the breastworks carried. Here was Johnson's division of Ewell's corps, numbering 4,000 men, three fourths of whom were made prisoners. But this salient was only an outwork of no great importance, for half a mile behind it a second line had been laid out and partly fortified. Here Ewell took firm stand, and was speedily reënforced by Hill and Anderson. The position was a vital one for the Confederates, for if it were carried, their line would be severed. The fierce fight which ensued, lasting all day and far into the night, was one of those of which even the combatants themselves can give no clear account. The greater part of both armies were engaged. They charged and countercharged, each in turn being driven back. In the end, the Federals retained the salient which they had won in the morning, while the Confederates held their line close behind it, so that their position was not really weakened. The Federal losses were not far from 10,000 in killed and wounded. The Confederates lost fewer in killed and wounded, but more in prisoners. The fight at this salient was one of the bitterest and most destructive of the entire campaign, and those who witnessed it ever after spoke of

May 12.

The "Bloody Angle."

"The Bloody Angle," as it was called, with bated breath. The dead lay upon the ground in deep windrows, and many of the Confederates were buried in the trenches by the masses of earth which were turned over upon them from the works that they had constructed. During the fight, the Confederates occasionally displayed flags of truce, under cover of which they deserted into the Federal lines. One of the remarkable features of the fighting was the employment of artillery at close range by the Federal troops, an unusual proceeding in an assault on defensive works.

Grant had struck a heavy, but not a crushing blow. For another week he tried to find a weak point in the Confederate line, but was everywhere confronted by intrenchments too strong to be assailed. During this time he received reënforcements fully equal to his losses. He then resumed his flanking movements. Lee, to counteract these, ventured an attack upon Grant's right flank which was repelled with no little loss. But on the morning of the 22d, Lee saw before him no trace of the great army with which he had been fighting. He could not be mistaken as to the direction in which it had gone, and the purpose which it had in view. So he broke up his camps and hastened to throw himself again across its line of advance toward Richmond.

Flanking movements.

Two days of quick marching, through a region as yet untrodden by armies, brought Grant to the North Anna. Lee, having a less distance to go, was there before him, on the opposite bank. His settled policy was not to oppose seriously the passage of a river in his front, choosing rather to intrench himself a little behind it, and await an attack. Grant sent the corps of Hancock and Warren across the river, at points four miles apart. Lee thrust the bulk of

Fairfax Court House, Va.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

his force like a wedge between the two columns, securing a chance of striking one of them when it could not be supported by the other. Grant, appreciating this manœuvre, brought back his columns, and on the 26th resumed his turning movements, which were within a few days to bring both armies to their old fighting-ground on the Chickahominy. While on the North Anna, Lee was reënforced by about 15,000 men, — hardly half as many as he had lost; so that, relatively to his opponent, he was weaker than at the opening of the campaign. Lee had been able to receive these reënforcements because of the utter failure of others to execute a part of Grant's plan of campaign.

Minor operations.

Sigel was to operate in the valley of the Shenandoah. On the 15th of May he encountered Breckinridge, and was badly defeated. He was removed from the command, which was given to Hunter, who met with no better success, and retreated by a wide detour, leaving Breckinridge free to join Lee.

General Butler's share in the campaign was even less fortunate.

Butler's position.

He had embarked with his troops at Fort Monroe, with the exception of his cavalry and some artillery, which were sent up the south bank of the James. By moving up Chesapeake Bay and York River, Butler contrived to give the enemy an impression that he intended to take Lee's army in the rear, but, after night had fallen, his fleet silently turned down stream and descended the James, and before daylight he had seized Bermuda Hundreds (an irregular triangle between the James and the Appomattox rivers) and City Point, the southern extremity of this territory. Butler had been instructed to secure a foothold as far up as possible on the south side of the James, Richmond being his objective point. His position between the two rivers, with gunboats commanding the defensive line that he had constructed across the peninsula, was practically impregnable.

Beauregard, who had been placed in command of the Department of North Carolina, had lately had his command extended so that it included that part of Virginia which is south of the James; he flew to the relief of Petersburg. Although Butler made several raids on the railroads above and below Petersburg, he neglected to attack the city, which, at that time, was well-nigh defenceless. Nor did he make any great effort to cut the road between Petersburg and Richmond, so that for a long time the Confederates were able to shift troops backwards and forwards over the short piece of railroad between the two cities, as the exigencies of the case might require either point to be more vigorously defended. Beauregard, although Butler had telegraphed to the War Department that Grant need not fear that any more reënforcements would be sent to Lee from below

Petersburg, very soon brought up his forces, and, having Petersburg now fully fortified against attack, he crowded Butler down the peninsula of Bermuda Hundreds, where he was shut up in his intrenchments. The Army of the James having ceased to be an active factor in the campaign, Grant ordered the Eighteenth Corps (W. F. Smith's), and two divisions of the Tenth Corps, to join the Army of

House at Fairfax Court House used as Headquarters by both McClellan and Beauregard in June, 1863.

Drawn by B. J. Rosenmeier from a photograph.

the Potomac. Previous to making this disposition of the troops, Grant sent his chief engineer, General J. G. Barnard, to examine Butler's position. Finding that Butler was held securely in the lower part of the peninsula of Bermuda Hundreds by Beauregard's lines, parallel and above the Federal lines, Barnard reported to his chief that the position was like a bottle, and that the line of intrenchments across the neck of the peninsula represented the cork. Butler was perfectly safe, but "the enemy had corked the bottle, and with a very small force could hold the cork in place." The felicity of the figure took the fancy of Grant, who adopted it in his official report to the War Department; and the phrase had a great popular success, much to Grant's regret, as he willingly paid a tribute to Butler's personal and patriotic services.

Another striking feature of this campaign was the long ride of the gallant commander of the cavalry of the Army of the Potomac — General Philip H. Sheridan. He was verbally ordered by General Grant to cut loose from the army at Spottsylva- Sheridan's raid.

nia, pass around to the left of Lee's forces, and attack his cavalry; to cut the roads running west and southwest in the rear of Lee, and finally move down to Butler's army and draw rations and forage for his troops. This raid was undertaken on the 9th of May, and was very successful. Sheridan was away from the Army of the Potomac sixteen days, and during that time he passed entirely around Lee's army. He drew the Confederate cavalry away from its harassing movements against the Army of the Potomac; defeated that cavalry in four brisk engagements; recaptured four hundred Federal prisoners; killed and captured many of the enemy; destroyed miles of telegraph and railroad, and seized or destroyed vast quantities of supplies and munitions of war. Among the slain on the Confederate side was the redoubtable General J. E. B. Stuart, a brave and knightly soldier. Sheridan's force numbered 10,000 men; his losses were inconsiderable. At one time he was within the environs of Richmond and, as he said, could have taken the city, but could not have held it long, as he was entirely unsupported.

Major-General Franz Sigel.

Grant's turning movement brought him at the close of May to the Chickahominy, near the place where the battle of Cold Harbor had been fought two years before. Lee was already there, and the position had been strongly fortified. Grant resolved to attack the Confederates in their intrenchments; for if they were defeated here, they could only escape by going up the river, while Sheridan's cavalry might probably gain their front, cutting off their retreat. Preliminary operations were begun on the 31st of May. But the real battle was on the 3d of June. In the gray dawn, and under a drizzling rain, F. C. Barlow's division of Hancock's corps struck the first line of the Confederate intrenchments, and carried it. A hailstorm of lead was poured upon them from an interior line. They faced this for a quarter of an hour, and then fell back behind a low ridge, leaving half their number behind them. Gibbon's division met with no better success; Smith's division, of the Army of the James, fought a little longer upon another point, with equal and equally unavailing valor. But the whole battle lasted hardly an hour, when the attack was abandoned. It had cost the Federals not less than 7,000 men; the Confederates lost less than half as many.

Second battle of Cold Harbor.

That battle decided that the campaign must take the form of a siege of Richmond. Two courses were open to Grant. He might invest the city from the north, or, crossing the Chickahominy and the James, besiege it from the south. The latter plan was chosen. For a few days longer the armies lay watching each other on the Chickahominy, Grant gradually extending his intrenchments to the south, Lee extending his works in the same direction, the two lines being so close together that men on each side were picked off by sharpshooters while working in the trenches. The continuous skirmishing was interrupted only on the 7th of June, when there was a brief truce to enable each side to bury its dead.

On the Chickahominy.

The movement to the James was fairly begun upon the 12th, when Warren's corps crossed the Chickahominy, by the Long Bridge, fifteen miles below the Cold Harbor position, masking the movements of the other corps, which marched by longer routes; Smith's division of the Army of the James went to the Pamunkey, whence it sailed down the York and up the James, rejoining Butler at Bermuda Hundreds on the 14th. Lee could not be long ignorant of this movement, which he was unable to obstruct. He supposed that it was Grant's purpose to move upon Richmond by

The march to the James.

General Alfred Pleasonton's Headquarters at Castle Murray, near Auburn, Va.

Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph made in November, 1863.

the north bank of the James. He therefore crossed the Chickahominy, and fell back to the strong intrenchments in front of Richmond. His army there, including those which Beauregard had brought from North Carolina, numbered 70,000. Grant's force, including Butler's Army of the James, numbered 150,000. The Federal columns moved rapidly, and on the evening of the 13th came in sight of the James, across which a pontoon bridge, two thirds of a mile long, had been laid, over which, and by means of boats, the army crossed; the passage occupied three days. It was soon in the position from which Grant proposed to conduct the investment of Richmond, although it took the form of the siege of Petersburg, eighteen miles distant, and on the opposite side of the James River. This change of base was one of the great movements of the war. Within a few days, an army of more than 100,000 men had been marched fifty miles and transported with all its impedimenta across two rivers and set down before the enemy's capital.

Between the battle of the Wilderness and the close of the fighting on the Chickahominy was a period of thirty-seven days, during which Grant lost 54,551 men, of whom 9,856 were reported as "missing." Lee lost not far from 42,000, of whom about 8,500 were prisoners. Besides these were considerable losses in the engagements between Butler and Beauregard near Bermuda Hundreds, and in minor operations in various portions of Virginia. Probably not fewer than 100,000 men, on both sides, were killed, wounded, or captured within a little more than five weeks.

The situation in June.

In a despatch to Halleck, dated June 5th, Grant thus described the existing situation: "My idea from the start has been to beat Lee's army, if possible, north of Richmond; then, after having destroyed his lines of communication on the north side of the James River, to transfer the army to the south side and besiege Lee in Richmond, or follow him south should he retreat. I now find, after over thirty days of trial, the enemy deems it of the first importance to run no risks with the armies they now have. They act purely on the defensive behind breastworks, or feebly on the offensive immediately in front of them, and where in case of repulse they can instantly retire behind them. Without a greater sacrifice of human life than I am willing to make, all cannot be accomplished that I had designed outside of the city." Summing up, he said: "The feeling of the two armies now seems to be that the rebels can protect themselves only by strong intrenchments, whilst our army is not only confident of protecting itself without intrenchments, but that it can beat and drive the enemy wherever and whenever he can be found without this protection." These pregnant sentences not

only give a correct view of the situation, as subsequent events proved it to be, but they furnish a key to all that came afterwards in that long campaign. It had not been common for the Washington authorities, before this time, to hear from the commander of the Army of the Potomac that the enemy was in a condition feebler than its antagonist; the day of overrating the enemy and "falling back" had apparently gone.

While the Federal armies were moving around Richmond, the spirit of the people in the loyal States rose and fell with the report of each day's doings. During the awful fighting in the Wilderness, although men were moved to admiration of Grant's dogged persistence and pertinacity of hold, the heart of the Nation was deeply stirred by the vastness of the sacrifice of human life which was required to hold Lee to the work. Congress adjourned on July 4th, and the popular feeling of depression over the frightful losses was expressed in a joint resolution requesting the President to appoint a day of public fasting, humiliation, and prayer, "that the effusion of blood may be stayed, and that unity and fraternity may be restored, and peace established throughout all our borders." The proclamation was issued on the 7th of July, and the day of fasting was appointed for the first Thursday of the following month. Earlier in the Wil-

General Grant and his Family at City Point.
Drawn by Lawrence Hague from a photograph.

Review of the 17th New York Regiment at Miner's Hill, Va.
Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

derness campaign, a very different spirit had prevailed; and when the army finally got out of the Wilderness and had confronted the foe at Spottsylvania, the President issued an address to "The Friends of Union and Liberty," informing them that enough was known of the military operations before to warrant a feeling "of special gratitude to God;" and he recommended that all the people should unite in thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God.

A new call for troops.

Several of the Northwestern States volunteered to furnish the Government with militia to serve one hundred days, owing to a call for more men which became most urgent during the latter part of April, 1864. Of these men there were mustered into service, between April 23d and July 18th, 83,612, of which Ohio furnished 36,254, the quota of that State being 30,000. July 18th, 1864, the President issued his call for 500,000 men. This produced a profound sensation throughout the country. It was felt that it was expressive of a determination that the war should be prosecuted to its end, provided the people were willing and able to sustain the army by furnishing recruits, moral aid and comfort, and the material assistance which was necessary. Under that call, after deducting all allowances for commutations and excess of credits on previous calls, the total number furnished was nearly 400,000. The one-hundred days men were utilized for the time being by manning the forts at all points where garrisons were necessary, and the veterans thus released were sent to the armies in the field.

CHAPTER IX.

SHERMAN IN GEORGIA.

BICKERINGS AMONG THE CONFEDERATE MILITARY AUTHORITIES. — SHERMAN'S PLAN OF OPERATIONS. — FIGHTING ALL THE WAY FROM DALTON TO THE CHATTAHOOCHEE. — JOHNSTON'S MASTERLY RETREATS. — HE IS RELIEVED BY HOOD. — THE SIEGE OF ATLANTA. — DEATH OF GENERAL MCPHERSON. — HOOD'S INEFFECTUAL ATTACKS ON THE FEDERAL LINES. — FALL OF ATLANTA. — THOMAS LEFT IN COMMAND OF TENNESSEE. — BATTLE OF NASHVILLE AND FINAL ROUT OF HOOD'S ARMY.

AFTER their defeat in the latter part of November, 1863, the Confederate Army of Tennessee retreated to Dalton, thirty miles to the southeastward, just below the northern boundary of Georgia. This place was not chosen for its strategic advantages, but because it was the most convenient point at which the shattered army could sit down and rest. On the 18th of December, Bragg was recalled from the command of the army and was succeeded by Joseph E. Johnston. In his instructions to Johnston, Jefferson Davis expressed a desire that the Army of Tennessee should begin aggressive operations as soon as possible, driving the Federals out of Tennessee. Johnston's reply to this unreasonable suggestion doubtless angered Davis, who had his favorites, one of whom Johnston was not; to Bragg, however, Davis clung through evil report and good report. There is an irreconcilable difference among the Confederate authorities relative to the strength of Johnston's army at that time. But, according to the most accurate and careful[1] estimate, his army numbered 84,328 available men, between April 30th and June 10th, 1864.

Bragg superseded.

Sherman, for the great campaign now laid out before him with Atlanta for an objective point, was in command of three military organizations comprising a total force of 98,797 men and 254 guns. This formidable battle array was divided as follows: the Army of the Cumberland, under General G. H. Thomas, 60,773; the Army of the Tennessee, under General J. B.

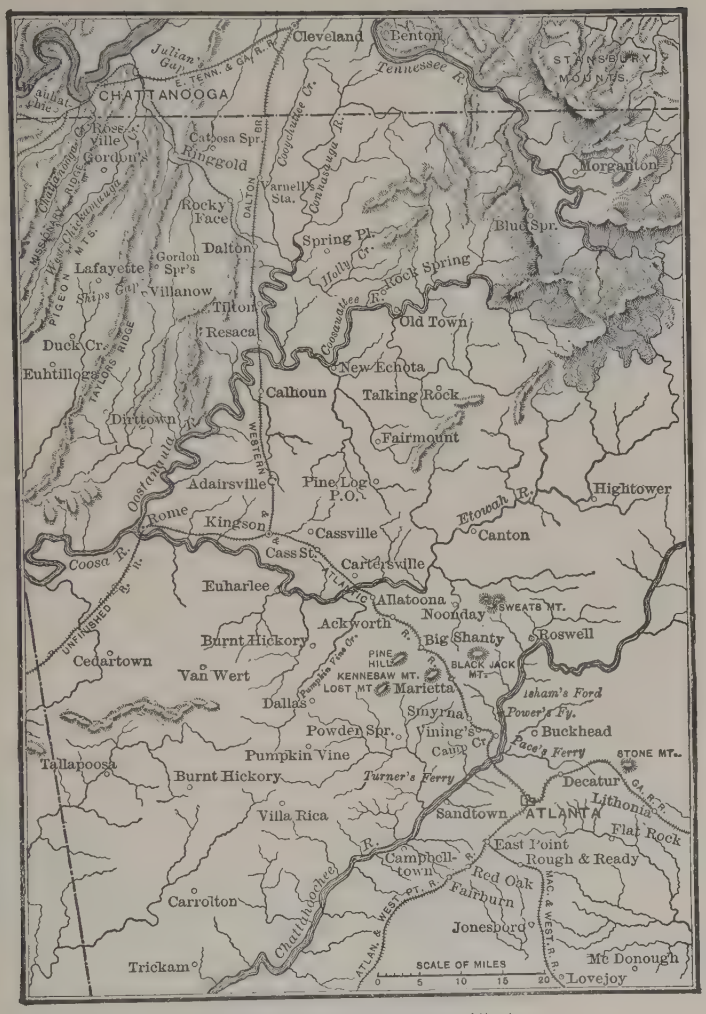
Sherman's three armies.

[1] See *Battles and Leaders*, vol. iv. p. 281. But Jefferson Davis, in his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, says that Johnston had 68,620 men at his disposal at Dalton and within easy reach of the town.

McPherson, 24,465; the Army of the Ohio, under General J. M. Schofield, 13,559. During the next month some cavalry and two divisions of infantry joined Sherman, so that on June 1st his total effective force numbered 112,819 men; this was far short of the number which Sherman, earlier in the war, had declared necessary for the campaign in this region, thereby giving occasion for the remark that the extravagance of his figures (200,000 men) showed that he was not of sound mind.

In explaining his plan of operations, he wrote to Grant: "The most difficult part of my problem is that of provision. But in that I must venture. Georgia has a million of inhabitants. If they can live, we should not starve." He estimated that his army would require 130 carloads of ten tons each to reach Chattanooga, daily, to supply food and forage for the march. In response to the clamor of the railway managers whose rolling stock he had seized, and of the people of Tennessee, who were thus deprived of the means of procuring food, Sherman replied that the railroad could not supply the people and the army too; and he added: "One or the other must quit, and the army don't intend to unless Joe Johnston makes us." He ordered that the soldiers should divide their rations with the suffering people; and he suggested that the inhabitants, whose homes and farms he was endeavoring to save and defend, should resort to wagoning, as they had done before the railroad was built. Stripped

Atlanta.



The Country from Chattanooga to Atlanta.

of every item of superfluous material, Sherman's army moved with the precision of machinery, May 5th, 1864.

From Dalton to Atlanta the distance in a direct line is about eighty miles, but considerably more as measured by the roads actually traversed. Both armies had to depend for supplies upon what could be brought by railway. Sherman drew his by way of Chattanooga, from Nashville, and even Louisville, hundreds of miles away, by a single line of railway, liable to be broken at any point. Johnston received his supplies likewise by a single railway line, from Atlanta. If that were to be interrupted in his rear, his army would

in a few days be starved out. The campaign from Dalton to Atlanta took the essential form of a continuous movement by Sherman upon Johnston's line of supply, and the consequent falling back by Johnston from every position as soon as it was likely to be turned. Both generals perceived that this was likely to be the shape which the opening campaign would take. Each knew very nearly the force which his opponent could bring against him.

Resaca.

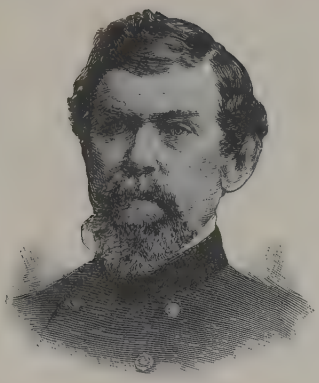
Sherman had no intent to attack Johnston at Dalton, but undertook to turn him out of it by a movement upon Resaca, fifteen miles to the south. Polk's corps from Alabama was already there, and on the 13th the Confederates fell back from Dalton to Resaca. The operations during the remainder of May presented almost uniform features. Johnston fell back from position to position as he found himself outflanked. "All this time," says Sherman, "a continual battle was in progress by strong skirmish lines, taking advantage of every species of cover, and both parties fortifying each night by rifle trenches, many of which grew to be as formidable as first-class works of defence. Occasionally one party or the other would make a dash in the nature of a sally, but it usually sustained a repulse."

Progress of of the campaign.

The early days of June were occupied by both armies in manœuvres against each other, the result of which was that on the 10th the Confederates were found strongly posted upon three contiguous hills, west of Marietta, known as Kenesaw, Pine Mountain, and Lost Mountain. "On each of these hills," says Sherman, "the enemy had signal stations, and fresh lines of parapets. Heavy masses of infantry could be distinctly seen, and it was manifest that Johnston had chosen his ground well, and had prepared for battle; but his line was at least ten miles in

Destroying a Railroad near Atlanta.
Drawn by William McNair from a photograph.

General John B. Hood,
C. S. A.



Lieutenant-General William J. Hardee,
C. S. A.

extent — too long, in my estimation, to be held by his force, then estimated at 60,000."

Death of General Polk.

It was here, while reconnoitring the enemy's position, that Sherman (June 14th) unwittingly gave an order that caused the death of General Leonidas Polk, of Johnston's army. Observing a knot of general officers inside the works on Pine Mountain, with their field glasses looking over into the Federal lines, Sherman directed that a battery near him should fire a few volleys at them. Riding on, he was soon overtaken by the information that the Federal pickets had read a Confederate signal message from the station of Pine Mountain to Marietta, "Send an ambulance for General Polk's body." The knot of officers on the mountain crest were Johnston, Polk, and Hardee; and a shot from the Federal battery had cut Polk in two. He was a graduate of the United States Military Academy, fifty-eight years old at the time of his death; but at the outbreak of the civil war he had been for twenty years the Protestant Episcopal bishop of Louisiana.

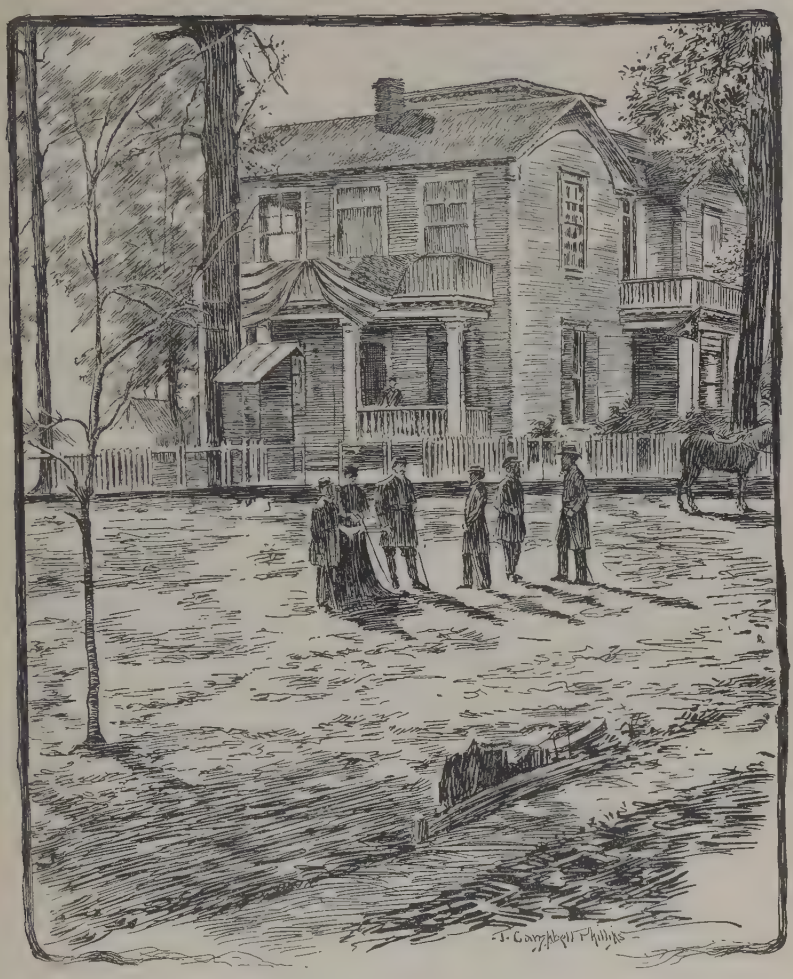
Three weeks were here occupied in movements and counter-movements; and then Sherman determined to attack the fortified lines of the enemy. The attack was made on the morning of June 27th. Both commanders agree as to the gallantry of the assault and the completeness of the repulse. Johnston, speaking of the decisive point, says: "The Federal troops pressed forward with the resolution always displayed by the American soldier when properly led. After maintaining the contest for three quarters of an hour, they retired unsuccessful, because they had encountered intrenched infantry, unsurpassed by that of Napoleon's Old Guard, or that which followed Wellington into France, out of Spain." Sherman says: "This was

the hardest fight of the campaign, up to that date. About nine o'clock the troops moved to the assault, and all along our lines for ten miles a furious fire of musketry was kept up. At all points the enemy met us with determined courage and in great force. By 11.30 the assault was in fact over, and had failed. We had not broken the rebel line at either point, but our assaulting columns held their ground within a few yards of the rebel trenches, and there covered themselves with a parapet." The Confederate loss in this engagement was 808 men, killed and wounded; the Federal, about 3,000. The direct attack had failed; but simultaneous movements compelled Johnston to evacuate his strong position, abandoning the mountain region, and falling back into the level country watered by the Chattahoochee, wherein Atlanta is situated, the intrenchments of which, says Johnston, had for a month been strengthened by the labor "of all the negro laborers which could be collected."

Sherman's resolution now was to abandon temporarily his line of supply and move his whole army southward by the right flank and seize upon Johnston's line of communication below Marietta. This was accomplished in a series of strategic movements which were repeated again and again during that and subsequent campaigns of the armies under this consummate strategist. As soon as Johnston, who was a watchful and wary general, saw what Sherman was doing, he abandoned his strong position and fell back upon the Chattahoochee River; and thus was he continually flanked out of the positions which he repeatedly took up and relinquished. A thousand slaves had been at work for a month upon the line of fortifications behind which Sherman now found Johnston on the Chattahoochee. But the Federals were soon across the river above and below these costly works, and once more Johnston was forced out of his stronghold, and by the 17th of July Sherman's entire army was across the river; and on the following day it was swung around by the right wheel towards Atlanta, the Gate City of the South, ten miles from the Chattahoochee.

Johnston relieved of his command.

Still Johnston was nowise disheartened. His army, on the 10th of July, after all its losses, numbered something more than 50,000 effective men. Besides these, Governor Brown of Georgia promised to give him within ten days 10,000 State militia. On the 17th of July, Johnston was surprised by the receipt of an order from the Confederate Secretary of War relieving him from command and appointing Hood in his place. The curt message relieving Johnston said: "As you have failed to arrest the advance of the enemy to the vicinity of Atlanta, far in the interior of Georgia, and express no confidence that you can defeat or repel him, you are



Hood's Headquarters at Atlanta.

Drawn by J. C. Phillips from a photograph.

hereby relieved from the command of the Army and Department of Tennessee." In his reply to this order, Johnston said that the enemy before him had advanced into Georgia much more slowly and much less deeply than that which had pressed Lee back into Virginia. Yet Lee had received the thanks of the Confederate Government for his masterly tactics. It was charged that the removal of Johnston was the result of an intrigue in which Jefferson Davis and General Bragg were prime movers, and Hood, Johnston's subordinate in command, was an active factor. Eager inquiry was made in the camps of the Federals for information concerning the temperament and char-

acter of the newly appointed commander in front of them. The verdict was that he was a bold, rash fighter, and frequent sallies must now be looked for in place of the cool and watchful course of Johnston. A Confederate writer,[1] who says that the order removing Johnston from command was "the death-warrant of the Confederacy," also says that Hood was described in Richmond as having "a lion's heart and a wooden head." His subsequent career, if it was guided

The Spot where General McPherson was killed.

Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

by his own judgment, illustrated the aptness of this description. Sherman says: "I inferred that the change of commanders meant 'fight.' This was just what we wanted; that is, to fight upon open ground, on anything like equal terms, instead of being forced to run up against prepared intrenchments; but at the same time, the enemy, having Atlanta behind him, could choose the time and place of attack,

[1] E. A. Pollard.

and could at pleasure mass a superior force on our weakest points. Therefore we had to be constantly ready for sallies."

From the south of Atlanta, Sherman swung around finally to the east and north of the city, his plan of investing it being apparently more practicable from that direction. On the 20th of July was fought the battle of Peachtree Creek, when Hood, sallying from the intrenchments which Johnston had prepared for defensive purposes, on the north of Atlanta, made a fierce assault upon the army commanded by Thomas, the brunt of his attack falling upon Hooker's corps, the Twentieth. The Confederates were driven back with heavy loss; and they abandoned the Peachtree line that night. On the 22d, Hood again sallied out and fell upon Sherman's left, which was held by McPherson's army and which crossed the railway to Augusta. It was here, due east from the city, that was fought the battle of Atlanta, in which the advantage was largely on the Federal side; but here fell General McPherson, in the young prime of his life, a gallant and greatly beloved commander, a graduate of the United States Military Academy, only thirty-four years old at the time of his death. In the confusion of reforming his lines to meet an attack in his rear, McPherson rode directly into a line of advancing Confederate skirmishers; he was called upon to surrender; but raising his hat in salute, he turned to gallop away, when he was shot dead by a volley of musketry. His body was immediately afterwards recovered, and his equipments and his orders of the day were soon after captured on the persons of the Confederate skirmishers. The total Federal loss in this battle was 3,521; that of the Confederates was estimated to be about 10,000.

Death of General McPherson.

The death of the lamented McPherson made it necessary to assign a new commander to the Army of the Tennessee, Logan having temporarily succeeded to the command, as senior corps commander. Hooker, the commandant of the Twentieth Corps, was the senior of both Sherman and Thomas; and he naturally expected the promotion. But he and Sherman had never been able to get on together comfortably, and recent incidents had further strained their relations. Logan and Blair, both reckoned "political generals," were in the line of promotion, but were set aside, and General O. O. Howard, then commanding the Fourth Corps of the Army of the Cumberland, was assigned to the post made vacant by McPherson's death. As Howard, commanding the Eleventh Corps of the Army of the Potomac at the battle of Chancellorsville, had incurred the deep and lasting displeasure of Hooker, the latter looked upon this assignment as a personal affront. He asked to be relieved, and was subsequently sent to posts far within the boundaries of the loyal States,

Hooker's retirement.

where he had no more opportunities for fighting. He died not long after the end of the war, his last days embittered by his reflections upon the wrongs which he believed he had suffered at the hands of the great commanders of the Federal army.

The battle of Atlanta, fought on the 28th of July, may be regarded as the third of the several general engagements which Hood drew upon himself by his endeavors to carry out the instructions of the Confederate President. The failure of the last attempt to begin an aggressive campaign and "drive the enemy" was due to the splendid organization of Sherman's veteran army and the grand strategy with which the forces were handled; and Hood's chagrin, naturally seeking some other explanation of the defeat, spent itself unjustly upon Hardee, who was held responsible for the failure of the attack on the Federal left. The Confederate troops fought with magnificent courage, winning the admiration of their antagonists by the vigor and steadiness with which they moved upon the foe. But the veterans of McPherson's army, against whom their charges were vainly dashed, now proved themselves to be actually proof against panic; they could not be driven away.

The carnage in this and other engagements was so terrible that Hood must have been well-nigh induced to return to the despised "Fabian policy" of his predecessor; but he could not so soon vindicate that policy by imitation, although his own army now regarded these repeated attacks as useless. It was even reported that officers with drawn swords were required in front of Confederate troops of some of the commands, in order to compel an advance.[1] In the good-natured chaffing between pickets which often took place in intervals of fighting, a Confederate soldier, in reply to the question, "Well, Johnny, how many of you are left?" said, "Oh! about enough for another killing." A month later, when Sherman, having accomplished his purposes north of Atlanta, again began his march by the right to the west and south of the city, the Confederate Government, apparently appalled by the fearful loss of life entailed by Hood's execution of his instructions, admonished him that the carnage was too great. Jefferson Davis wrote to Hood, on the 5th of August, "The loss consequent upon attacking him in his intrenchments requires you to avoid that, if practicable." And this, too, from the man who had censured Johnston because he had failed to check the advance of Sherman and would not express confidence in his ability to defeat or repel "the invader."

Meanwhile, Sherman had sent out several cavalry expeditions to destroy the enemy's railroad communications to the south and south-

[1] General J. D. Cox's *Atlanta*, p. 185.

west; but none of these proved eminently successful. They moved with much celerity, but the damage they wrought was so slight that the Confederate troops, who had acquired great skill in repairing these breaks, were able to have their trains running again in a few hours after the enemy had fled. On the 26th of July, General Stoneman set out on a railroad-destroying raid, his ultimate object being to push on to Andersonville and Macon to release the great number of Federal prisoners confined there in the infamous prison pens whose horrors had deeply stirred the indignation of the loyal people of the North. The raid was successful so far as the destruction of railroad material was concerned; but the command was surrounded; and Stoneman, believing the force of his pursuers to

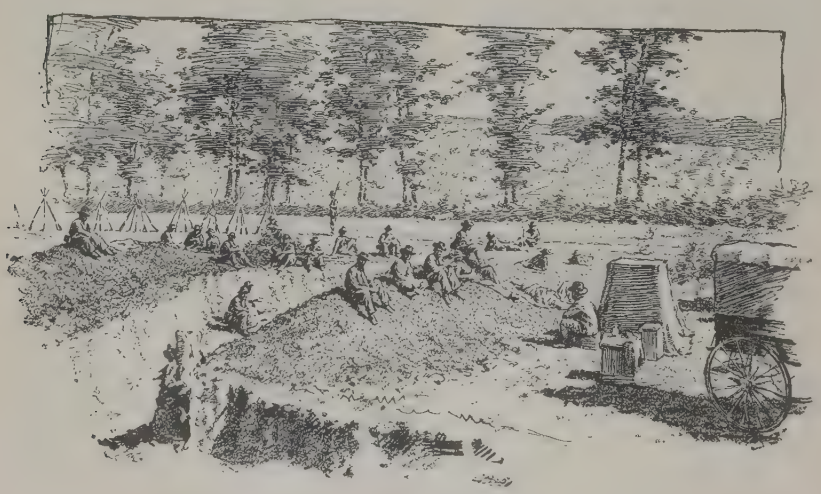
Attempt to reach the Confederate prison pens.

General Sherman at Atlanta.

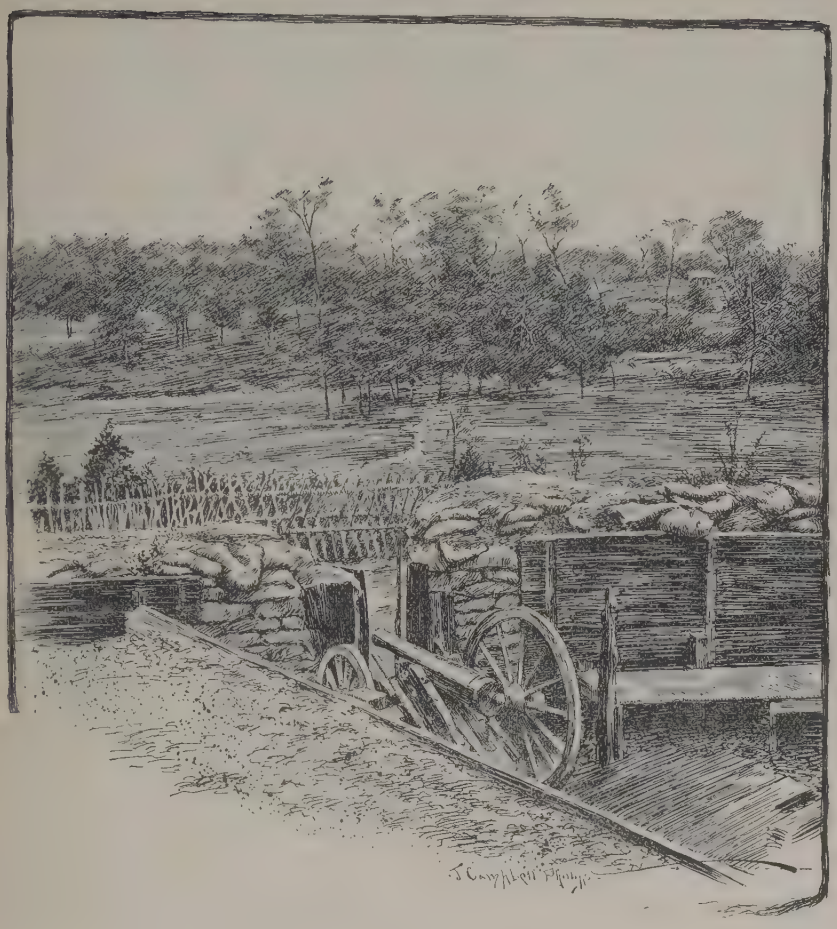
Drawn by Martin Borgord from a photograph.

be greater than it really was, allowed himself to be captured in order that the rest of his men might escape. The attempt to reach Andersonville failed; happily, perhaps, for the brutal jailer in command, General Winder, had given orders that the sentries should fire upon the prisoners in the stockade, on "receiving notice that the enemy has approached within seven miles of this post."

The movement of Sherman's army below Atlanta by the right flank continued with great skill and secrecy. Leaving a single corps to guard the passage across the Chattahoochee, to the westward of the town, Sherman moved directly upon the railroad lines south of Atlanta, his entire force, with the exception of the corps detached for duty on the west and north, being astride the railway at different points from twenty to thirty miles below the city. Hood, who appears to have lost his head by this time, made an ineffectual attempt to dislodge the enemy; but on the night of September 1st the sound of explosions in Atlanta told the Federal commander that the Confederate stronghold was being evacuated. Hood, having destroyed as much of the Confederate property as possible, fled eastward; and the next morning, Slocum's corps, the Twentieth, left its station at the Chattahoochee bridge and marched into the Gate City. Sherman telegraphed to Washington: "Atlanta is ours and fairly won." A few days later, after a long series of battles and skirmishes which had begun with the 1st of May, Sherman's armies were disposed in and around the city for a much needed rest, and Atlanta was prepared for permanent occupation.



View from the Confederate Works southeast of Atlanta.
Drawn by F. D. Steele from a photograph made in October, 1864.



Fort east of the W. & A. R. R. at Atlanta.
Drawn by J. C. Phillips from a photograph.

Rejoicing over the fall of Atlanta.

The fall of Atlanta and the successful termination of the great campaign was greeted with exultant cheers by the loyal people of the Nation. The end of the war now seemed nearer than it had for many a month; and although the investment of Richmond, complete though it was, had not yet satisfied the people that its fall would be speedy, the wonderful triumph of Sherman's arms in Georgia deepened the satisfaction of all who hoped and prayed for the coming of peace. Congress and the President publicly thanked Sherman and his army for the signal victory which they had secured for the National arms. President Lincoln, in his order, said that "the marches, battles, sieges, and other military operations that have signalized the campaign must render it famous in the annals of

war, and have entitled those who have participated therein to the applause and thanks of the Nation." Grant sent word to Sherman that, in honor of his famous victory, "a salute to be fired with shotted guns from every battery bearing upon the enemy" in front of the Army of the Potomac had been ordered. A great wave of rejoicing spread all over the loyal States, and the acclaim of a grateful people soon reached the war-worn veterans who rested awhile upon their hard-won laurels around Atlanta.

Losses in the campaign.

The entire Federal loss during the campaign from Dalton to Atlanta, occupying the months of May, June, July, and August, 1864, was 4,423 killed, 22,822 wounded, 4,442 missing, 31,687 in all. The Confederate loss was 3,044 killed, 18,962 wounded, 12,983 prisoners, a total of 34,989.

Defeat of Hood.

The capture of Atlanta had effected only a part of the object of the campaign, for Hood's army, still strong, had escaped; and although Sherman had fully twice as many men as Hood, he thought it useless to pursue. He therefore resolved to convert Atlanta into a purely military post, and ordered all the inhabitants to leave the town. Hood lingered in the neighborhood until the close of September, when he set out upon his fatal expedition to Tennessee; the original purpose being to destroy the railroads by which the Federal army was supplied. Sherman anticipated the movement, and sharp fighting took place about Allatoona. Hood pressed on until he reached Resaca about the middle of October. Thence he moved towards Nashville by a wide circuit. Thomas had already been sent to Nashville to guard the State against any possibility of invasion. He accepted the full command of the Departments of the Ohio and the Tennessee with reluctance; for Sherman had now cut loose from him and was on his way across Georgia to the sea. It was the dream of the Confederate authorities that Kentucky and Tennessee were longing to be rid of the presence of the Federals; and Davis fancied that an invasion of the last-named State would divert Sherman from his march through Georgia and drag him back to the relief of Thomas. Hood had quarrelled with Hardee, laying upon that able officer the blame for the great failure at Atlanta; and to compose the difficulties of the situation, Beauregard had been brought back to command Hood in Georgia and Richard Taylor in Alabama, Hardee having been sent to Florida.

Annihilation of Hood's army.

While Thomas, with his imperturbable coolness, was solidifying his forces at Nashville and waiting for favorable weather to begin his offensive operations against the over-confident Hood, the Washington authorities were in a fever of apprehension lest Hood should be able to challenge Thomas to a race for

the Ohio River. Grant shared in these fears to such an extent that he actually ordered details for the removal of Thomas, whose immobility he could not understand; General Logan, or General Schofield, was the most likely successor to the indomitable "Rock of Chickamauga." But before this calamity could come upon the country, all the conditions which Thomas craved were filled, and on the 15th of December he moved out against the Confederate army in his front. In a battle which lasted through two days of furious fighting, Thomas finally annihilated the Confederate army, and it never again appeared as an individual organization. The Confederates abandoned their artillery and fled southward in wild disorder and utter rout. During these two days, Thomas captured 4,462 prisoners, including 287 general and field officers, fifty-three guns, and many thousands of small arms. The retreat of the Confederates did not cease until they were in Tupelo, Mississippi, where the remnants of the army melted away, and Hood, at his own request, was relieved from command.

CHAPTER X.

SHERIDAN IN THE SHENANDOAH.

ANOTHER INVASION OF MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA. — THE NATIONAL CAPITAL THREATENED. — ALARM IN WASHINGTON. — EARLY FORCED TO RETREAT. — BURNING OF CHAMBERSBURG. — SHERIDAN IN COMMAND OF THE DEPARTMENT. — THE BATTLE OF WINCHESTER. — DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY IN THE VALLEY. — BATTLE OF FISHER'S HILL. — SHERIDAN RETRIEVES DISASTER AT CEDAR CREEK. — EARLY'S LAST FIGHT IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

THE failure of Sigel and Hunter to maintain themselves in the Shenandoah Valley greatly disconcerted Grant's plans. Up to midsummer, 1864, this valley was a facile and safe way for the invasion of the loyal States from the South. It lies in a general direction stretching from northeast to southwest, leading away from Washington for any army that might pursue the invader, and towards that city for the adventurous raider who might aim for the undefended rear of the capital. Moreover, walled in as it is by the Blue Ridge on the east and the North Mountain on the west, the valley is like a tunnel, with openings on the side next to the region in which Lee's army operated, so that reënforcements should be easily shifted from that army to an insurgent force in the Shenandoah and back again, by a short interior line, as the exigencies of the situation might require. To a very great extent, the inhabitants of the valley sympathized with the Confederate cause; and supplies, information, and shelter were readily furnished the raiders as they rode up and down the valley at their own sweet will. Grant's army was south of Lee's, leaving Washington more nearly defenceless than it had been at any time since the very beginning of the war.

Lee's able strategy.

On the other hand, Lee had every reason to long for an opportunity to strike once more for the Middle Northern States with Washington as a possible objective. Grant, with that dogged persistence which was one of his chief characteristics, held to Petersburg and Richmond, refusing to let go for an hour. Although neither of these cities was in a state of siege, some portions of their communications being open to the end of the campaign, they were so

Long Bridge at Washington.

closely beleaguered that the cooler heads in the Confederate Government knew that it was only a question of time, after Grant had crossed the James, when the capital must fall into his hands. Something must be done to attract Grant's attention to the undefended condition of the territory north of the Potomac. Lee advised the Confederate Government that a menace to the North would induce Grant to fly to its rescue; or, stung by such a threat, he would fling his forces desperately upon the impregnable defences of Petersburg and beat himself with disastrous fury upon works which Lee thought impossible of capture. At this time the presidential electoral campaign was in progress in the loyal States, and the military field was watched with close and anxious attention by the Peace Democrats, who hoped to find in the situation something to warrant them in the declaration that the war was a failure and should be stopped.

Lee's opportunity came early in July, when, General Hunter and General Sigel being virtually out of the way, the road to the Potomac was once more open through the Shenandoah Valley. The Federal forces were cut up into several small commands; and the total strength of these commands was small. There was constant interference from Washington; and it was bitterly observed that the previous campaigns in the Shenandoah were fought by a general in a richly carpeted office in the War Department, and not by military men in the camps. Starting northward with about 17,000 men, stripped of all impedimenta, and marching with great swiftness, General Jubal A.

Early soon drove Sigel from the valley, compelling him to take refuge on Maryland Heights, Harper's Ferry, where he was secure, but harmless to the invading hosts on both sides of him. Here he was finally relieved from his command, and General A. P. Howe was sent to take his place. As the invading hosts moved across the Potomac, the alarms that had preceded similar incursions were spread through all the country round about. As before, farmers were laid under contribution, stores and shops were looted, railways cut, and towns threatened with destruction if ransoms in ready cash were not instantly forthcoming. In this way, the raiders robbed the people of $200,000 at Frederick, Maryland; and a similar tribute was exacted of Hagerstown, $10,000 being the sum which that smaller community was compelled to pay for the sparing of their town from the torch. Later on (July 30th) one of Early's lieutenants, McCausland, levied a tribute of $100,000, gold, upon the citizens of Chambersburg; and as the money was not at once paid, the city was fired and about two thirds of the buildings were burned. This act of barbarism was justified by the raiders on the plea that the houses of several well-known Virginia secessionists had been destroyed by Federal troops. This excuse was pleaded whenever the Confederates burned a house, village, or town; and that was pretty often. The burning of the house of Governor Bradford, in the suburbs of Baltimore, was an equally flagrant infraction of the laws of war.

Maryland towns raided.

The main body of the Confederates, having passed as far north as Frederick, wheeled to the east and south and approached Washington, which had been left practically unguarded. General Lew Wallace, in command of the department, had a few troops in Baltimore and vicinity; gathering up these, and with a body of raw recruits, he went out to meet Early, not with the expectation of defeating his redoubtable and well-seasoned veterans, but hoping to check him long enough to enable reënforce-

The Monument at Chambersburg commemorating the Burning of the Town.

Drawn by Allen B Doggett from a photograph.

The Ruins of Chambersburg after the Burning.

Drawn by Allen B Doggett from a photograph in the possession of James A. Hamilton, hitherto unpublished.

ments to arrive for the relief of Washington. Grant was incredulous when informed that Early was actually on his raid; it was commonly believed in the Army of the Potomac that Early was still with Lee in Virginia. But Ricketts's division of the Sixth Corps was sent to the relief of the threatened capital as soon as Grant became convinced that Early was actually marching against it; and those troops marched out to support Wallace's devoted little band, holding the Monocacy, one of the affluents of the Potomac, which flows south and enters that river above Ball's Bluff. On the 9th of July was fought the battle of the Monocacy, an inconsiderable skirmish, if numbers alone are considered; but the engagement was of the very first importance in its effects — it saved the National capital. Wallace's total force, including the Sixth Corps division, was about 6,000, with which he handsomely met and checked the Confederates, who outnumbered him more than two to one. The battle was fought with fine strategic skill on the Federal side; Wallace lost about 1,800 men, half of whom were taken prisoners. The Confederate loss, according to Early, was between 600 and 700 men.

Fight on the Monocacy.

Early, having brushed Wallace's troops aside, marched on to Washington, thirty-five miles distant, and on the 12th he was within sight of the shining dome of the Capitol building. The States of New

York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts had furnished full quotas of one-hundred-days men, and these were hurried into the fortifications around the city. The District militia, a few Veteran Reserves (as the invalid corps was called), and a few squads of government clerks and employees were added to the defences. The panic in Washington was severe, the alarm being heightened by the crowds of fugitives who came streaming into the city from the outlying districts of Maryland. In the nick of time, the Nineteenth Army Corps, commanded by General W. H. Emory, arrived in Washington from Louisiana by sea, having been sent north after the return of the Red River expedition, of which it had formed a part. Two more divisions of the Sixth Corps, commanded by General H. G. Wright, arrived about the same time; and by midnight, July 11th, it was estimated that over 50,000 men were inside of the fortifications of Washington. Those fortifications were probably the most complete and most scientifically constructed of any in the United States, and were regarded as well-nigh impregnable when manned by an efficient force.

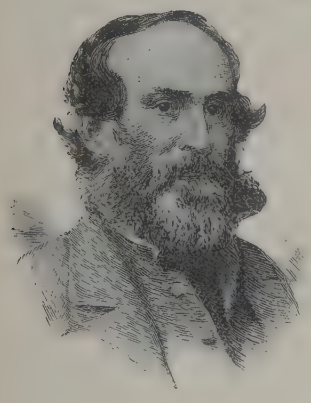
Washington menaced.

Early's golden opportunity was gone. The veterans of the Army of the Potomac manned the forts and occupied the picket lines around the National capital. During the 12th, skirmishing was carried on in front of the Federal works, the principal activity being confined to the space before Fort Stevens, on the westerly side of the northern angle of the District of Columbia, near the Silver Spring road. President Lincoln, whose summer residence was within striking distance of the invading forces, providing they had once got inside of the line of fortifications, had calmly gone out there as usual during the scare that prevailed, but had been ordered back to the White House by the peremptory Secretary of War. Actuated by a dread of the escape of the raiders, and not by fear of the capture of the capital, Mr. Lincoln now went out to Fort Stevens and watched with great anxiety the movements in front. It was not until an officer was killed within a few feet of him by a chance shot that he could be induced to find a safer place inside of the Federal lines.

Grant's distance from the scene of fight and Halleck's disinclination to take the responsibility of ordering pursuit prevented any serious attempt to chase and capture Early's retreating columns when, on the morning of the 13th, it was found that he had discreetly fled from the position which was now so full of peril. Wright followed, but Early had a long start of him, and, after a hopeless chase up the Valley of the Shenandoah, returned to Washington. Early's troops came in contact with the Federal detachments under Averell and Crook, and in one of these brushes by the way the gallant Colonel

Mulligan, whose defence of Lexington, Missouri, had won him deserved renown earlier in the war, was mortally wounded. Patriotic men, annoyed and humiliated by this successful escape of Early's raiders, found some consolation in the capture of the guns, wagon trains, and two hundred men from McCausland's incendiary corps, on their retreat. Averell's cavalry followed the Confederate force into West Virginia, and at Moorefield overtook and scattered them so effectually that Early was forced to admit that the affair had a very damaging effect upon his cavalry for the rest of the campaign. But the fact remains that the narrow escape of Washington and the destruction of homes and other property in Maryland and Pennsylvania greatly angered and depressed the loyal people. In the midst of these disasters, however, the President, to the great delight of his political enemies, who were in the midst of a virulent political campaign, issued a call for 500,000 men, to be drafted for if not furnished by the 5th of the following September.

It was now clear that something must be done to put an end to the misunderstanding and confusion which invariably prevailed whenever the Confederate forces, by advancing down the Shenandoah Valley, menaced the National capital or the States immediately north of the Potomac River. The President, in the tangle of authority which had caused the successful escape of Early's raiders, had resolutely kept his hands off. Although he saw the inevitable result of Grant's inability to comprehend the details of the situation and Halleck's unwillingness to assume the slightest responsibility in the ordering of the ample forces around Washington, he denied himself the luxury of demanding that the obvious thing to be done should be done. Grant suggested the consolidation of the four departments of the Susquehanna, Middle Virginia, West Virginia, and Washington under one commander. This was done, and on the 1st of August he made the fortunate choice of General Sheridan for the command of the new department. Detached from the command of the cavalry corps of the Army of the Potomac, Sheridan went to the Shenandoah followed by an additional division of his own cavalry and under the most vigorous instructions. Halleck was informed by the general-in-chief that Sheridan was sent there for temporary duty to expel the enemy from the Valley of the Shenandoah, and it was



Lieutenant-General Jubal A. Early, C. S. A.

added: "Unless General Hunter is in the field in person, I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself south of the enemy and follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes, let our troops go also." The President, on being shown this despatch, could not refrain from "interfering" to the extent of sending a message to General Grant asking this pertinent question: "Please look over the despatches you may have received from here ever since you made that order, and discover if you can that there is any idea in the head of any one here of 'putting our army *south* of the enemy,' or of 'following him to the *death*' in any direction. I repeat to you, it will neither be done nor attempted, unless you watch it every day and hour, and force it." This was not diplomatic; possibly it was a little irregular; but it was high time that the commander-in-chief, who had laid upon the general-in-chief the sole responsibility which was due his rank and station, should make the general understand that the War Department was also to be wholly subordinate to him so far as regarded the movements of troops in the field. That a hint was also dropped into Halleck's ear is obvious from the despatch which he sent next day to Grant, as follows: "I await your orders, and shall strictly carry them out, whatever they may be." The exasperating fiasco of July had not been wholly without good results. It had cleared the air in Washington headquarters.

Sheridan in command.

Sheridan's forces present for duty in the field now amounted to about 43,000 officers and men; besides these he had some 7,000 men in the garrisoned points of his department. This army was divided as follows: Sixth Corps of the Army of the Potomac, commanded by General H. G. Wright; Nineteenth Corps, under General W. H. Emory; Army of West Virginia, General George Crook; a provisional division under Colonel J. K. Kitching, and the cavalry corps commanded by General Alfred T. A. Torbert. The Confederate records, always imperfectly kept, do not give a consistent statement of the numerical strength of Early's army; but the best estimates put it at about 20,000 men of all arms; and from this number were taken nearly 4,000 men before the battle of Winchester, which took place September 19th.

Sheridan complained that there was no good military position in the entire Valley of the Shenandoah. For several weeks he and Early were apparently at a deadlock, each watching the other's movements with unceasing vigilance. Early had the advantage of positions from which he could not be readily driven; and reënforcements could reach him from Lee's army at short notice. During these weeks, so weary to the loyal people of the North and so

Discontent in the North.

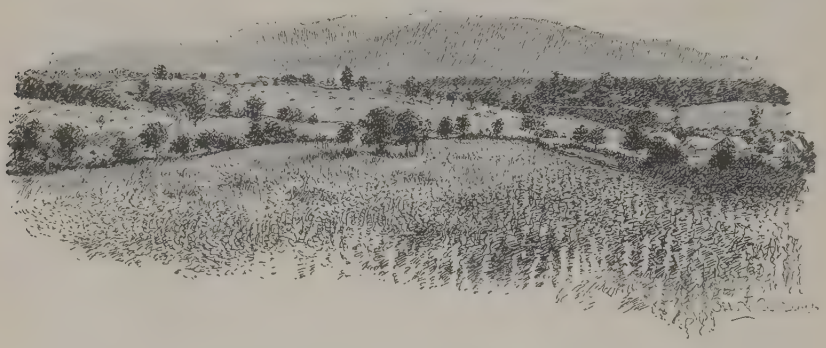
SHERIDAN RALLYING HIS TROOPS AT CEDAR CREEK.

full of trial to the farmers along the Potomac, exposed as they were to raiders from Early's army, there were repeated skirmishes between the two armies, and occasionally small raiding parties crossed the Potomac, carrying consternation along the border. The slumbering spirit of criticism in the cities of the North again awoke, and men began to think that Sheridan, "Cavalry Sheridan," was not the dashing fighter they had thought him to be. He was watching his opportunity, detained to some degree by Grant's impassive and patient waiting for favorable developments. Both generals knew that the increasingly offensive operations of the Army of the Potomac before Richmond and Petersburg, destructive as they were to the strength of Lee's forces, must sooner or later induce Lee to reduce Early's army to fill up the gaps in his own lines. The opportunity came on the 19th of September, when Lee withdrew part of the reënforcements which he had sent to Early in August. At this time, too, Early had sent away a considerable detachment of his force. Grant, realizing the critical condition of things, and anxious to let loose Sheridan upon the trail for which he panted, went to the young general's camp, looked over the field, listened to his eager statement of the situation, and then gave him the curt instruction: "Go in." Leaving Sheridan to his own plans and devices, Grant returned to his own post of duty.

The battle of Winchester, or the Opequan, was fought on the 19th, the fighting being for the most part in the open fields. The Confederate position was about two miles from Winchester in a northeasterly direction, the troops being posted in a belt of woods covering some rolling hills. Sheridan moved by a single road, and his advance was necessarily slow, which gave Early time to recall his detachment from Martinsburg, and he went into battle with all his forces about him. The battle began at noon, the engagement being general all along the line; it did not cease until dark. At first the advantage was largely with the Confederates, who succeeded in driving a force led by Rodes in between the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps, and proceeded to take the last-named corps in reverse; but a division of the Sixth Corps, led by General D. A. Russell, came up to fill the gap, and a desperate fight ensued in which both Rodes and Russell were slain. The Confederates were ultimately driven back with great loss, a large number of prisoners being captured by the Federal troops. Battle of Winchester.

Sheridan had held Crook's force in reserve, intending to send it around to the south to cut off Early's retreat, in case he should be forced back. He now brought it up and threw it upon the Confederate right with irresistible force. There was no withstanding the

impact of this fresh body of troops; and while the Federal cavalry under Torbert, Merritt, and Averell darted at and stung the Confederate left, pushing back his cavalry and getting into the rear of his infantry, a general advance of the whole Federal line of battle pounded the enemy, which gave way in all directions. In an old line of fortifications near the town the Confederates found respite for a few minutes, but they were soon driven out of these, and they fled up the valley in wild disorder as the darkness came on. In this



The Battle-field of Cedar Creek, looking southeast toward Three Top Mountain.
(The turnpike passes by the house on the right.)
Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

trying crisis Early coolly and skilfully organized a strong rear-guard, recalled his scattered battalions, and got away to Fisher's Hill, at a narrow point of the valley to the southward, where he rallied his forces.

This unexpected and unlooked-for victory electrified the people of the loyal North, coming as it did when men had grown weary of waiting for good news from the Shenandoah Valley. There was something of dash and cavalier freedom of speech in Sheridan's despatch, "We have just sent them whirling through Winchester, and we are after them to-morrow," which mightily tickled the popular fancy; and these phrases became common catchwords for many a day thereafter. At last it was felt that a hero was in charge of the army in the Shenandoah, and the day of deliverance from raids through that covered way was at hand. The President sent General Sheridan a warm congratulatory despatch, and Grant ordered one hundred guns to be fired from each of his two armies before Petersburg and Richmond.

Fisher's Hill.

At Fisher's Hill the Confederate position was strong for defence. The valley at that point is about four miles wide; and the Confederate right was sufficiently protected by a fork of the river on which it rested. While they were constructing defences on

their left, Sheridan came up and reconnoitred the position, deciding to repeat the tactics that had been so effective at Winchester. Early says that he expected Sheridan would be satisfied with the advantage he had gained and would not press it further. He reckoned without his host. Crook, with his army (known as the Eighth Army Corps), stole around with great secrecy in the woods that covered the flank of North Mountain, and, unseen by the Confederates, came upon their left and rear. A feint was made upon Early's front by the Sixth

The Valley Turnpike between Cedar Creek and Middletown.
Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

Corps, giving him an impression that an attack was to be made in that direction. The sun had set, and Early, discomposed by the prospect of an assault next day, but not dreaming of an immediate attack, gave orders for a retreat to be begun as soon as the darkness should come down. Suddenly, like a thunderbolt, Crook burst out of his cover and took the Confederate works in the rear, astonishing the enemy and so perplexing the men that they broke in dismay and fled in great confusion. Sixty guns were left behind by the Confederates in their headlong flight; and a thousand prisoners were taken by the elated Federal troopers. This fight took place on the 22d, and on the 25th Early had marched with great celerity up the valley, and, turning east, halted at Port Republic and Brown's Gap, where he waited for reënforcements. Stung by defeats, he complained to Lee that his cavalry were inefficient, and that his troops had been seized with panic at the idea of being flanked, "and without being defeated they broke, many of them fleeing shamefully." Early's flight.

The Federal troops remained in the valley, carefully fulfilling the orders given them to leave nothing that should aid in the subsistence of any army that might come over the ground after they had abandoned it. To use a vigorous phrase employed at the time, the de-

struction of food for man and beast was so complete that "a crow flying over the valley would have to carry his rations with him." The inhabitants of the region were always naturally sympathizers with the rebellion; and under their guidance and protection the insurgent bushwhackers, or guerrillas, wrought much mischief to the Union troops. Small parties, baggage trains, or single individuals were captured, and the men were killed on the spot. This fate overtook Lieutenant Meigs, Sheridan's chief of artillery, who was cut off and killed by bushwhackers.

Having thoroughly devastated the upper part of the valley, Sheridan began his retrograde movement on the 6th of October, leaving behind him nothing that could be of any value to the enemy. Early, now reënforced from Lee's army, bravely followed in pursuit, but at a safe distance. On the 8th, Sheridan turned on the Confederates, his cavalry, under Torbert, engaging and defeating Rosser and Lomax, who lost, as Sheridan said, "everything they had on wheels;" and they were chased twenty miles. Sheridan now went into camp on the north side of Cedar Creek, one of the affluents of the north fork of the Shenandoah; and, leaving General Wright temporarily in command, he hastened to Washington to take part in a military council for the discussion of future operations. On his return he

Rebuilding the Railroad Bridge across Cedar Creek, near Catlett's Station, destroyed by the Confederates during their retreat in October, 1863.

Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

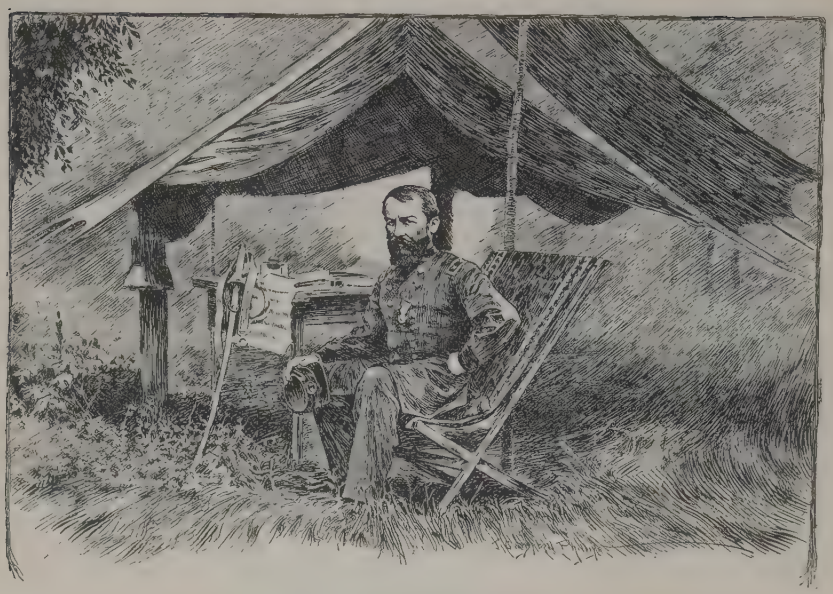
Major-General Philip H. Sheridan.

stayed over night at Winchester, twenty miles from his camps on the creek. Riding southward next morning, he was amazed by the appearance of a flood of fugitives who had fled disorderly from a fight then going on at the front.

Early, who warily followed the Federal army, had planned a night attack. Marching in perfect silence through the woods and fields, he separated his forces so that the Federal camps could be attacked on the right and left before daybreak. The surprise was perfect. Like a thunderbolt, Kershaw's division of Early's army burst in upon Crook's sleeping camp, on the Federal left, the pickets having been brushed away or captured in silence. At the same time, Rosser's cavalry made a victorious assault on Custer, at the Federal right, farther to the north. The assailants cut though the camps, and the startled sleepers found themselves surrounded by swarms of Confederate soldiers. At first fleeing with the natural instinct of mankind, they were soon rallied to make the best defence possible. The main attack had fallen upon Crook's army; and his veterans of the first division, commanded by Colonel Joseph Thoburn, were scattered by the first rush. The second division, commanded by Colonel Rutherford B. Hayes, stood firm after the first had been crumbled; and Wright, Crook, and Emory, roused by the noise of fighting (for the Confederates had captured seven cannon inside the intrenchments and had turned them on their owners), formed a line to resist the onslaught. At this moment Gordon's column came in from the rear and left of the Federal troops, and Crook's men fled, leaving the Nineteenth Corps, which was in the centre, with its left flank unprotected. The Sixth Corps, which had not been in the least disturbed, was ordered to the rear of the Nineteenth, where a slight rise of ground gave a foothold, and the Nineteenth fell back to the left of the Sixth; and that corps, taking the brunt of the fight, stood like a rock, and the tide of defeat was stayed for a time, although the Federal line fell back, bravely fighting every inch of the ground, before a final stand was made at a point just north of the village of Middletown.

A Federal surprise.

Early's troops, according to his own reports of the affair, were demoralized by their opportunities for plunder; and he accounts in this way for the slackness with which his orders were subsequently



Sheridan in Front of his Tent.

Drawn by J. C. Phillips from a photograph.

executed. There were charges and countercharges made, but Early's signal victory was not pressed. Sheridan arrived on the field about half past ten in the forenoon. When he heard the first reports of the disaster that had overtaken his army, he put spurs to his powerful black charger and rode with tremendous speed to the battle-field. On the way he cheered and encouraged the retreating soldiers to turn back. "Face the other way, boys!" he cried. "We are going back to our camps!" Thus inspiring the fugitives and stragglers with his own indomitable courage, he turned the tide towards Cedar Creek, and the news of his coming flashed through the army, electrifying the ranks with redundant life and cheer. In his own generous words, "hundreds of the men, who on reflection found they had not done themselves justice, came back with cheers." The scene is indescribable. Roars of enthusiasm rolled down the lines as the men were ranged in order of battle upon the plan which General Wright had already formed, and when Early made one more attack at noon, Sheridan was ready for him and repulsed him with heavy loss. But defeat was to be turned into victory, for Sheridan was not content to beat back his foe. Riding down the front of his lines, Sheridan was greeted with a tempest of cheers as he urged a forward movement. Emory with the Nineteenth Corps was on the right, Wright with the Sixth was on the left, and Crook's army was

Sheridan's ride.

held in reserve on the left of the centre, near the Winchester turnpike. The cavalry of Custer and Merritt were on the right and left flanks respectively. The massed line, now invincible and irresistible, advanced upon the foe. Early's men fought bravely, although smarting under defeat; he subsequently reported of his own troops: "Every effort was made to stop and rally Kershaw's and Ramseur's men, but the mass of them resisted all appeals, and continued to go to the rear without waiting for any effort to retrieve the partial disorder." The Confederate lines gave way, and the rout was utter and complete. The Federal army were soon in possession of their own camps, their cannon and equipments were recaptured, and the Confederates were in wild and disorderly retreat up the valley.

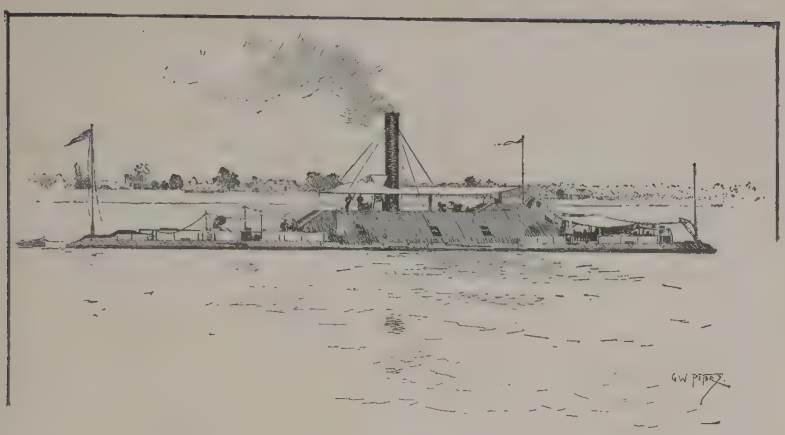
The battle, which Early had hoped would destroy the Federal army and deliver its dreaded commander a prisoner into his hand, cost him about 3,000 men, of whom more than one half were killed and wounded. Besides this he lost more than twenty guns and a number of caissons and ambulances. The Federal loss in all was 5,665, the proportion of killed and wounded being greater than that of the Confederates. As an army, that commanded by Early never again won a fight. It was not immediately disbanded, but was kept together for a while; but ultimately the greater part of it was transferred to Lee's army on the lines defensive of Richmond, where the decisive battles of the long war were to be fought.

The losses in battle.

The victory of Cedar Creek, the ride from Winchester, and the dramatic incidents of the day were all so full of romance and brilliance that they together formed one of the most picturesque and memorable episodes of the civil war. They were celebrated in song, pictorial art, and story; and they gave the final touch to the immense popularity which was ever after Sheridan's. In the confidence of his men Sheridan had always stood high; these incidents were to them full of wonderful memories; and with them Sheridan's was a name to conjure with. The Government never slackened in its perfect trust in the brave young general; and Congress and President gave him the fullest meed of thanks. By the resignation of General McClellan, about that time, a vacancy was made in the list of major-generals of the regular army. To fill this vacancy Sheridan was appointed, November 8th; and when the commission was issued, the President accompanied it by a message expressing his warmest appreciation of "the personal gallantry, military skill, and just confidence in the courage and patriotism of your troops, displayed by you on the 19th day of October, at Cedar Run, whereby, under the blessing of providence, your routed army was reorganized, a great National disaster

averted, and a brilliant victory achieved over the rebels for the third time, in pitched battle, within thirty days."

The campaign in the Shenandoah Valley was now virtually ended. It had resulted in the entire destruction of all ways and means for the further invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania and terrorizing the National capital. No longer could diversions from Lee's armies draw a Federal force from Grant's tightening hold on Petersburg and Richmond. But all this had been accomplished at great cost. During the campaign the Federal losses aggregated 1,938 killed, 11,893 wounded, and 3,121 captured or missing; a total of 16,952. The amount of the Confederate losses cannot be accurately stated. The customary looseness of the Confederate reports and accounts precludes all possibility of verifying their varying figures.



The Confederate Ram *Tennessee*, captured at Mobile, August 5, 1864.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

CHAPTER XI.

FARRAGUT IN MOBILE BAY.

The Assembling of a Formidable Federal Fleet. — Dread of the Confederate Ram "Tennessee." — Fortifications of the Bay. — The Terrible Fight. — Sinking of the Monitor "Tecumseh." — Farragut lashed in the Rigging. — Capture of the Confederate Ram. — Final Operations and Surrender of Mobile.

During the summer of 1864, Admiral Farragut, commanding the naval force on duty in the Gulf of Mexico, was extremely anxious that an attack of his fleet, supported by a land force, should be made upon the defences of Mobile; and he was especially urgent that his wooden vessels should be reënforced by some of the monitors employed off Charleston or in the Mississippi River. An attack of this sort was included in the general plan for 1864, formulated soon after Grant took command of the army of the United States. The military detachment for coöperation with the navy was to have been drawn from Banks's command in Louisiana; but the prosecution of the Red River expedition detained that expected aid, and, with a small force furnished by General Canby, who had succeeded General Banks in command in Louisiana, it was resolved that an attempt should be made late in July to capture the forts at the entrance of Mobile Bay. Four monitors were given to Farragut; these were the *Winnebago*, *Chickasaw*, *Manhattan*, and *Tecumseh;* it was the delay of the last-named monitor to arrive from Pensacola that detained the

movements of the attacking fleet so that the actual fight did not begin until August 5th.

Realizing, after the fall of New Orleans, that Mobile would be the next point to be attacked, the Confederate authorities had made formidable and hurried preparations for the defence of the place. Farragut's anxiety was deepened by knowledge of the fact that the Confederates were making ready a number of iron-clads intended to protect the bay against any possible invasion, and, if circumstances favored, to take the offensive and destroy the Federal fleet of wooden ships lying outside the bar and raise the blockade. Great expectations were entertained of the Confederate ram *Tennessee*, the most pow-

Lafayette and Corinth, Miss., Guards drilling at Mobile.
Drawn by Victor S. Perard from a photograph.

erful of the new Confederate iron-clads, a vessel constructed on the general plan which had been adopted in the reconstruction of the *Merrimac*. This craft was two hundred and nine feet long over all, had forty-eight feet beam, and drew over thirteen feet of water. Her main deck was nearly flush with the level of the water, and on this was built a casemate, eight feet high and seventy-eight feet long, and twenty-nine feet wide. This casemate was of solid timbers in vertical and horizontal layers, over which was laid an oak sheathing and an iron plating of five-inch metal. The ram had an armament of six rifled guns of large calibre, and was considered to be impregnable. She was commanded by Admiral Franklin Buchanan during the fight, her chief officer being J. D. Johnston, who fought the ship when Buchanan was subsequently disabled. Buchanan had com-

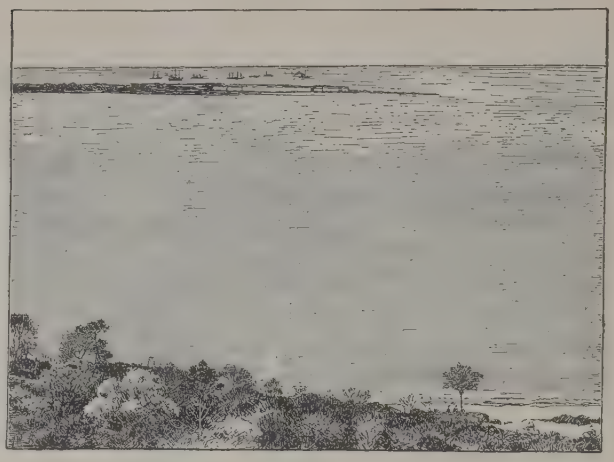
manded the *Merrimac* in her first fight with the original *Monitor* in Hampton Roads.

The Confederate ram had been brought down from Mobile, and, attended by three gunboats, the *Selma*, *Morgan*, and *Gaines*, was anchored inside the defences. On the west side of Mobile Bay is Dauphin Island, on which was constructed Fort Gaines, a brick work, manned by 864 soldiers, and now invested by General Gordon Granger, who had landed on the island, but whose position did not permit active participation in the Bay Fight. The main ship channel was commanded by Fort Morgan, a formidable work on the east side of the bay manned by a force of 640 artillerymen, commanded by General Richard L. Page. The fort had an armament of forty guns, some of them of large calibre; and in the water batteries were columbiads, rifled guns, and other powerful pieces. The entrance to the bay is narrow, and a double line of torpedoes extended across the ship channel from the westward side of the bay to a point within three hundred feet of the water batteries of Fort Morgan, their eastern end being marked by a red buoy. Between this buoy and the frowning guns of Fort Morgan, only three hundred feet distant, was a narrow passage left for the use of blockade runners. A double line of piles, driven into the bed of the bay, extended from the western end of the torpedo lines to Fort Gaines, effectually preventing the entrance of light-draught vessels in that direction.

Opening of the Bay Fight.

Farragut's fleet consisted of twenty-one wooden vessels and the four monitors before mentioned; of the wooden ships, the sloop-of-war *Hartford* (flagship, commanded by Captain Percival Drayton), the sloops-of-war *Richmond* and *Brooklyn*, were the largest. The attacking column was formed by lashing the ships two and two, side by side, a smaller ship being lashed to the side of her consort on the side farthest from the fort. The four monitors had the right of the line, the *Tecumseh* in the lead. The *Brooklyn* headed the column of wooden ships. Farragut was in the main rigging of the *Hartford*, second in the line. The column advanced steadily up the bay, passing directly under the guns of Fort Morgan, and the first shot was fired from the *Tecumseh* at 6.47 in the morning. Fort Morgan responded a few minutes later, and the entire fleet, passing up the bay, was soon engaged, the Confederate ram and gunboats immediately going into the fight with much spirit. The ram was handled with difficulty, however, as her rate of speed was low; but the gunboats did good execution.

The smoke from the tremendous firing soon covered the surface of the tranquil bay with a dense pall which prevented close observations being made, and Admiral Farragut almost unconsciously climbed the



Fort Pickens from the Top of the Light-house, showing the Federal Squadron at Anchor.

Drawn by Victor S. Perard from a photograph.

rigging higher and higher; and Captain Drayton, observing his dangerous position, sent a quartermaster with orders to lash the admiral to the rigging in spite of his protests that he was "all right." When he slowly climbed still higher, until he was close under the main-top, he lashed himself to the rigging and calmly regarded the fight from above the war-clouds that rolled beneath. The vessels moved in close order; and shot from the fort and the Confederate squadron that missed one might strike another as they came up, head on. The *Tecumseh* made for the Confederate ram; and her commander, T. A. M. Craven, as if despising the much-dreaded torpedoes, calmly plunged through the lines of those machines. There was a muffled explosion; and the iron-clad monitor, with her colors flying, plunged bow-foremost to the bottom of the bay, carrying with her ninety-three of her crew of one hundred and fourteen. The terrible shock knelled to Craven and the pilot the fate of the ship as they stood in the pilot-house; both rushed to the ladder by which only could they escape, Craven arriving an instant before the other. With the instinct of a chivalrous gentleman, Craven said, "After you, pilot." There was nothing after him; for as he went through the narrow opening, the ship went down, carrying with her her great-souled commander. In the fight that day were many stirring incidents to inspire poets, painters, and orators; none was more dramatic or more noble than Craven's manly yielding to another the right of way to life.

Loss of the *Tecumseh*.

The *Brooklyn*, leading the line of wooden ships, was now embarrassed by the torpedoes that barred the way; and fearing the disaster that had sent the *Tecumseh* to the bottom, her people backed the ship. This movement deranged the order of battle, and the entire line of ships was soon thrown into confusion, each vessel being in danger of running into her comrade in front or of being rammed by

that behind. It was during this crisis, while the wooden ships were entangled, that they suffered the most galling fire from the fort and the enemy's squadron; and during this time the monitors did some very effectual firing. From the tops of the Federal vessels a picture of terrible and appalling grandeur was spread out below, the decks of the fighting ships, with their crews at the guns, and the belching mouths of the hostile cannon being distinctly seen. The carnage was fearful, and the decks of the vessels were slippery with blood; the men fired their great guns with muttered imprecations on the enemy; they were grimed with powder and smoke, ensanguined with the gore of their slain comrades, and were fighting like demons.

In the frightful confusion and suspense that followed the backing of the *Brooklyn*, Farragut asked what was the matter. "Torpedoes," was the reply. It was the turning-point in the fight. Dismissing from his mind with contempt all idea of the torpedoes, Farragut ordered his own ship to take the lead; and while the Confederates were cheering over the victory which they supposed was in their grasp, the gallant *Hartford* ploughed over the dreaded "torpedo ground;" the order of battle was restored, the line straightened out, and the fleet gallantly took its way up the bay. Already the fight was won.

How the fight was won.

The terrible ram, the *Tennessee*, was now to be met and vanquished. All the Federal fleet had passed the fort and were safely inside of the long-dreaded line of defences. The ram ran under the guns of Fort Morgan and the Federal vessels were anchored above. Suddenly the ram was observed to leave her place of security and make for the Federal fleet, gallantly taking up the fight single-handed. It appeared to be easy for her to assault and sink in detail the wooden vessels of the fleet, the monitors being difficult to handle in the defence.

Central Avenue of the Mississippi Encampment at Mobile.

Drawn by Victor S. Perard from a photograph.

While it was doubtful which of the many defenceless craft the *Tennessee* would select for her first quarry, Farragut gave the order "Run down the ram." This gave the *Tennessee* to be the target for the entire fleet; and she was rammed by wooden and iron vessels so eagerly that some of the assailants were more damaged by their confused attacks on each other than they were by their huge foe. A fatal defect in the construction of the ram was the exposure of her steering gear to fire; repeatedly this was damaged, and the vessel was finally so disabled by her foes that she would no longer mind her helm. Admiral Buchanan was wounded; and Johnston, succeeding to the responsibility, fought on bravely and with as much hopefulness as ever; but in vain. Disabled and inert, the great ram, from which so much had been expected, lay helpless upon the water, and a white flag fluttering from her upper works proclaimed that the day was won and the Bay Fight was over.

Operations on the land.

The land operations of the Federal forces were necessarily of small account thus far in the battle of the bay. But Farragut was now in full possession of the water approaches to Mobile. Fort Morgan was no longer any protection to the city, and its surrender was merely a question of time. Anderson, commanding Fort Gaines, on the west side of the bay, surrendered to General Granger on the 7th, after a heavy bombardment from the monitor *Chickasaw*, notwithstanding the energetic instructions to hold the fort which were signalled by Page, commanding at Fort Morgan. Granger crossed the bay and took up a position in the rear of Fort Morgan and prepared to lay siege to that work, Page refusing to surrender. The Confederate commander held out with useless pertinacity until the 23d of August, when, after one day's bombardment from the army and the fleet, he hauled down his flag. Even then he spiked his guns, and he and his subordinate officers broke or threw away their swords rather than conform to the usages of war by surrendering them. Farragut, who was never harsh in his judgments of men, characterized this as "childish spitefulness." Although the stores and supplies of the fort had been destroyed when surrender had been found inevitable, the captors took 500 prisoners and about 50 guns here. The total number of prisoners taken by the army and fleet was about 1,500; 104 guns were among the trophies of the victory.

Mobile lies at the head of the bay, some thirty miles from its entrance. At that time the immediate approach to the city was defended by rows of piles and other obstructions; but Mobile was now no longer a seaport; the Federal forces occupied the bay and the forts, and blockade running ceased forever from that day. The city was no longer of any consequence as a port of entry. It was thought

Farragut and Drayton on board the *Hartford* at Mobile Bay.

Drawn by Victor S. Perard from a photograph.

inexpedient to divert to its capture troops that could be employed to better advantage elsewhere. Accordingly, it was not until the following year that serious attempts were made to reduce the place. In March, 1865, while the Confederacy was tottering to its fall, a formidable land force was assembled around the doomed city. A fleet commanded by Admiral H. K. Thatcher coöperated with the army. Canby's total force comprised about 45,000 men, and included the reorganized Thirteenth Corps under General Gordon Granger, the reorganized Sixteenth under General A. J. Smith, and 13,000 men under the command of General F. A. Steele, who marched from Pensacola. The formidable works around Mobile and the city itself were in command of General D. H. Maury, who had about 15,000 men under him.

After a series of engagements and skirmishes, the works were taken one by one, the navy coöperating, and on the 12th of April Maury marched out of the city, leaving it to its fate, while he took a stand at Meridian, Mississippi. In the following month all of the Confederate forces in that region were surrendered to Canby. The total Federal loss during the land operations resulting in the surrender of Mobile was 1,417 in killed, wounded, and missing. About 5,000 prisoners and 90 guns were captured by the Federal troops in the works around the city. Admiral Farragut

Losses of both sides.

reported the total casualties of his fleet at 145 killed, 170 wounded, and 4 captured; of this number 93 were drowned with the *Tecumseh* and 4 of them were captured. The Confederates lost 32 killed and wounded and 280 taken prisoners from the ram and the gunboat accompanying her. The torpedo service of the Confederates at this place was very efficient; and unstinted praise was awarded by Federal officers to the constructors of the ram *Tennessee*. The craft was a marvel of strength and ingenuity; notwithstanding her defects, she was a more powerful fighting machine than any at that time owned by any European nation. She was another of the wonders of American adaptability to pressing exigencies and slender resources.

CHAPTER XII.

THE NATIONAL POLITICAL CANVASS OF 1864.

A People greatly tried by War. — Secretary Chase developed as a Presidential Candidate. — The Cleveland Convention nominates General Fremont. — Looking to Grant as a Candidate. — The Arguelles Incident. — Lincoln renominated at Baltimore. — Resignation of Secretary Chase. — Death of Chief Justice Taney. — Reconstruction Measures in Congress. — The Wade-Davis Manifesto. — Proclamation by the President. — Peace Propositions in the South. — The Niagara Falls Conference. — General McClellan nominated by the Democratic Convention in Chicago. — The St. Albans Raid. — Election of Lincoln.

In the midst of the tumults and sorrows of civil war, the official term of President Abraham Lincoln was drawing to a close. It was now necessary to begin a political campaign, canvassing the country for an election to the highest office in the National Government. Even the most devoted friends of popular institutions might well be dismayed by the prospect of a test so severe as this of the capacity of the people of the United States for self-government. Even in peaceful times a presidential election is fruitful of excitements, animosities, and bitterness; but it was felt that in the fierce heat of a bloody, costly, and distressful war, such a canvass was fraught with many dangers to the Republic. Foreign critics, unfriendly to American political institutions, did not conceal the hopefulness with which they regarded this newest and hardest trial of the system of government under which the American people had lived and thrived so wonderfully for nearly one hundred years. It was inevitable, they thought, that the fierce rancor of party politics should embarrass the Government, paralyze the military arm, corrupt civil administration, and throw into confusion and wreck the councils of those who guided the affairs of the Nation. At home, while all patriotic men deplored the necessity of diverting for a time the attention of the people from the one supreme duty of the hour, the salvation of the Federal Union, there was no serious trepidation as to the result of this political struggle in the stress and strain of civil war. Generally the American citizen holds serene and unhesitating confidence in the per-

petuity of the institutions of his country. Then he was confident that out of all these trials, sorrows, and alarms the Republic would finally emerge in safety and in triumph. In the end this unshakable faith was justified.

The dark days of the war.

But to those friends and supporters of the Union who placed their hopes on the success of the party which had chosen Lincoln to the presidency in 1860, and on the possibility of his re-election in 1864, the beginning of this year was full of darkness and trial. To them it appeared as if all the hostile agencies of men and circumstances were in league to defeat their patriotic purposes. The debt of the Nation was steadily increasing; in spite of occasional successes, the National army was still unable to capture the insurgent stronghold or break the power of the two great armies of the Confederacy; the conduct of the war had roused the bitterest passions of men; conspiracies of unknown and unfathomable extent and purpose were believed to exist in the heart of loyal communities; repeated military defeats had dismayed the people from whose ranks recruits must come for the reënforcement of the armies of the Union; taxes were growing heavier every month; the terrors of a conscription lowered in the sky; the desolations of war were lamented in every household in the land; the arbitrary arrests which were justified only on the ground of military necessity greatly troubled the people, unused to any but the largest freedom of speech and action; and, to crown all, the party that had elected Lincoln in 1861 was disturbed by internal dissensions, and its political adversary was confident, mischievously alert, and swift to seize upon each National disaster and wrest it to an unpatriotic advantage. It may be said that the summer of 1864 was the darkest time through which the Republic passed at any period after the breaking out of the civil war.

The war, the draft, and the taxes had sown the seeds of popular discontent far and wide. Inside of the Republican Union party there was dissatisfaction with the policy of the Lincoln Administration, and the nominal friends of that Administration were not agreed among themselves as to the best means to be adopted to carry on the war for the preservation of the Federal Union. As from the first, President Lincoln was sharply criticised by some of his party friends for his alleged slowness in prosecuting the war, his conservative policy in regard to slavery, and his indifference to the claims of other radical politicians who, it was insisted, had done more up to that time to promote the cause of the Union than he had. On the other hand, there were others who supported the Administration with many protests against its so-called radical policy; they regarded with aversion the emancipation of the slaves; they shook their heads ominously over

Salmon P. Chase.

the arming of the blacks, and they deprecated with sorrowful hearts the suspension of the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* and the exercise of similar unusual and arbitrary powers. These timid souls honestly desired and prayed for the successful prosecution of the war and the reëstablishment of the Federal Union; they could not be reconciled to the use of the means chosen to accomplish that end.

The opposition inside of the Union Republican party to the reëlection of Lincoln took shape early in 1864 in a concentration upon Salmon P. Chase, whose distinguished and invaluable services as Secretary of the Treasury had greatly endeared him to the American people, and whose apt use of the vast patronage of his department of the government had given him considerable political strength throughout the country. The administration of the Treasury Department was the most pervasive and far-reaching of any branch of the civil government. It promoted the ambitions of the Secretary.

Opposition to Mr. Lincoln's renomination.

The candidacy of Mr. Chase was warmly supported by some of the office-holders in Washington, although it was thought needful, for some unexplained reason, to keep secret the details of their plans for the presentation of Mr. Chase's name before the people. Finally, in the latter part of February, 1864, publication was made of a circular which had been prepared for the purpose of bringing his name prominently before the voters of the country as a candidate for the presidential nomination. The circular was signed by a senator from Kansas,[1] and it urged that the renomination of Mr. Lincoln was impossible and undesirable, and that Mr. Chase had more of the qualities needed in the administrative head of the Government than any other man. During the ensuing month, however, the Unionists of Mr. Chase's own State, Ohio, made a declaration of their choice of Lincoln as presidential candidate, and Mr. Chase formally withdrew his name from the canvass.

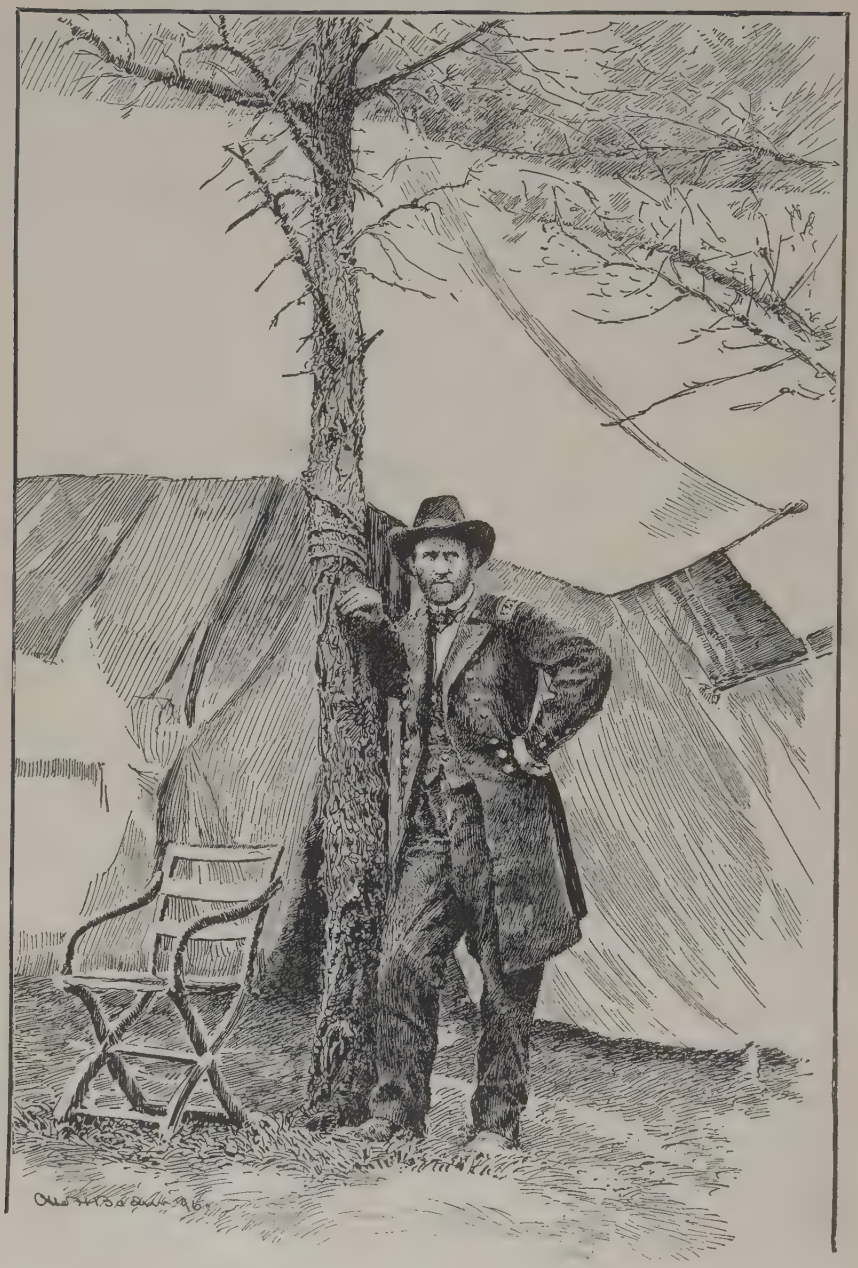
The National Committee of the Republican Union party had called for a convention to meet in Baltimore June 8th, to nominate candi-

[1] Mr. S. C. Pomeroy.

dates for President and Vice-president. This action was strenuously objected to by the so-called radical element of the party; it was argued that the country was not prepared to name candidates at so early a day, and that the selection of Baltimore as the place of meeting was designed to put the convention more directly under the supervision of President Lincoln, who was alleged to be scheming to force his renomination. Some of those who were opposed to Lincoln's renomination and who had endeavored to infuse the public mind with that opposition, seized upon these propositions as a pretext for a great public demonstration against him; and a convention of malcontents was called to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, on the 31st of May, for consultation, in view of sundry specified circumstances, which, in the opinion of the signers of the call, "constituted a danger seriously threatening the stability of republican institutions." The convention, when it assembled, did not venture to disclose its weakness and its non-representative character by making a roll of membership and instituting a strict inquiry for credentials. The platform resolutions of the convention indorsed with great heartiness a variety of uncontrovertible and uncontroverted propositions, and gave expression to its hostility to Lincoln's reëlection by a declaration against the election of any man to a second term of the presidential office. General Fremont, whose unfortunate career in military command had given him prestige with these politicians, was nominated for President; General John Cochrane, whose action in making protest against Burnside's plans, after the battle of Fredericksburg, had brought him into some prominence, was nominated for Vice-president. Both of these gentlemen were residents of New York; and it would appear that the constitutional provision which forbids electors voting for two candidates on the National ticket from their own State was not considered seriously in a convention designed merely to give expression to the discontent of its members.

Fremont's nomination.

The nominations fell dead with the people. But later in the summer they were used as a leverage to induce the withdrawal of Lincoln from the presidential canvass after he had been placed in the field by the nominating convention of the Republican Unionists. It was magnanimously proposed by Fremont's slender band of supporters that he would withdraw if Lincoln would. This offer was not considered with the solemnity which was expected by those who made it; and still later in the canvass, General Fremont withdrew his name in a letter designed as a Parthian arrow, denouncing the Lincoln Administration as "politically, militarily, and financially a failure." When the Peace Democrats had nominated their candidates on a most unpatriotic and offensive platform of resolutions, later in the year,



GENERAL GRANT AT CITY POINT.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

General Cochrane withdrew his name from the canvass in a manly and spirited letter. But by that time, in the swift onrush of events, most people had forgotten that there had been a convention of distressed and discontented politicians in Cleveland.

A considerable element in the Cleveland convention had favored the nomination of General Grant for the presidency. It was urged that he was, or had been, a Democrat in politics, and that he would divert to his support an enormous portion of the Democratic vote, if he were put in nomination. Accordingly, when the variegated political assemblage in Cleveland had committed itself to the fortunes of an unsuccessful soldier, an effort was made to defeat Mr. Lincoln's renomination and election by bringing forward the magic name of Grant. A meeting was called in New York for the nominal purpose of giving expression to the gratitude of the Nation to him and his soldiers for their labors and their triumphs. This process in politics is a familiar one. It is known as "developing a candidate." But Grant refused to be developed. In a private letter to a friend he set the seal of his decisive and final refusal upon all such proceedings designed to give him political prominence; and he accepted and made his own an appeal to the people by the President for support and aid to the army. President Lincoln, cynically invited to attend the convention intended to "develop" a possible political rival, replied in a wise and patriotic letter in which he expressed his warm approval of whatever might strengthen and sustain General Grant and the noble armies under his command; and he added, "He and his brave soldiers are now in the midst of their great trial, and I trust that at your meeting you will so shape your good words that they may turn to men and guns moving to his and their support." This episode greatly stimulated the patriotism of the whole country; it also weakened the dwindling and factious opposition to Lincoln.

Grant's name is proposed.

About this time the mind of the people was disturbed by the arrest in the United States and the delivery to the Spanish authorities of one Arguelles, a Cuban, accused of dealing in slaves. There was no question of the guilt of Arguelles. He was a colonel in the Spanish army and the lieutenant-governor of one of the provincial districts of Cuba. Acting in the latter capacity, he had seized a cargo of imported African slaves; but instead of setting them at liberty, he sold one hundred and forty-one of them, and, putting the money into his own pocket, he reported that they had died of smallpox. Discreetly evading the tempest which discovery of his iniquity would be sure to raise, Arguelles obtained leave of absence and went to New York, where he established himself as a wealthy newspaper proprietor. The liberation of

Arguelles, the slave-trader.

Governor Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania.

the hapless victims of this creature's rapacity could not be effected without his return to Cuba, and this was solicited by the Spanish Government. Upon being satisfied of all the facts alleged, the State Department ordered the extradition of Arguelles, although there were no explicit treaty stipulations under which this could be asked. It was held that the laws of civilized nations and the treaties by which the United States Government was bound to assist in the suppression of the slave-trade were sufficient justification of the rendition of Arguelles to the government that claimed him. But the incident was eagerly seized upon by the journals which sympathized with the slaveholding insurgents in arms to indict the Administration for tyrannical misuse of power and violation of the right of asylum. Although the crime of this miscreant, abhorrent as it was, admitted of no defence and no denial, the opposition to the return of Arguelles was very great among the enemies of the Administration. A Democratic Senator introduced a resolution of inquiry in the United States Senate concerning this celebrated case, and an attempt was made to punish the subordinate official who executed the orders of the Department of State.

Other arbitrary proceedings.

The Arguelles incident wore a sinister aspect to the men who trembled for the perpetuity of republican institutions, because of its evident likeness to other so-called arbitrary proceedings of the Federal Government. Another example of this disregard of the rights of man was found in the suspension of two New York newspapers, in May, 1864, for the publication of a forged proclamation bearing the name of the President of the United States and calling for a day of National fasting, humiliation, and prayer, in view of the state of affairs in the country; ordering a new levy of 400,000 men, all of which was couched in terms of the deepest depression and sadness. Coming as it did when the public were sensitive and expectant of disaster, during Grant's bloody struggle in Virginia, the fraudulent proclamation greatly excited the people. For a time it accomplished the purpose for which it was prepared — the artificial stimulation of the price of gold. But immediate and official exposure of the fraud destroyed its life, and the popular fever abated. But a new sensation of smart was caused when two newspapers of

Governor John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts.

Governor Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana.

the many to which the forgery had been unsuccessfully offered were punished for having accepted and printed it. Unfortunately for them, these newspapers had been perfervid in their denunciations of the war policy of the Government. Their protestations of deceived innocence in the transactions did not avail. The editors of the two newspapers were ordered into arrest and the publication of those journals was prohibited for two days, by order of the Secretary of War, a fiery and impulsive gentleman. This affair further inflamed the Peace Democrats, and Governor Seymour and other Democratic officials of New York took steps to punish the military officials who had taken part in the arrests. These officers were put under an obligation to await the action of the grand jury; but further proceedings in the case appeared only in the speeches, resolutions, and editorial writings of those who saw here another opportunity to accumulate political capital.

As the year wore on towards its summer, it became evident to men who were shrewdly observant of the movements of the popular currents of feeling that the great mass of the people considered no name but that of Lincoln in the canvass for the presidency. Irregular but significant nominations of Lincoln were made by legislatures, local conventions, and mass meetings all over the country, beginning with a State convention held in New Hampshire in January. The President took no steps whatever to assure his nomination; none of his vast powers was put forth to strengthen the hands of those of his zealous friends who thought it needful for them to work incessantly and vigilantly to secure to the nominating convention delegates pledged to

the support of the man whom they loved so well. When military officers expressed a desire to go among the people to incite an uprising in his favor (as if such missionary work were necessary), the President admonished them that their post of duty was in the field. To the tremulous assurances of those of his personal following who were alarmed by machinations of his political adversaries, he replied with calm dignity that none of these things moved him. To a delegation which presented a record of the action of two important assemblies that had named him as his own successor, he did venture to speak frankly concerning the question which had given him less uneasiness than anybody. He said: "I do not allow myself to suppose that either the convention or the League has concluded to decide that I am either the best or the greatest man in America; but rather, they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river." Further than this, the resolute, self-contained Lincoln refused to speak of his political prospects while the verdict of the people was yet in process of formulation.

The great convention in Baltimore.

As a matter of history, the nominating convention that met in Baltimore, June 7th, 1864, had nothing to do but to register the will of the people already expressed in the variety of ways possible under a government like ours. A majority of the delegates were expressly and willingly bound by instructions from a free people to nominate Abraham Lincoln for President of the United States. The only strife in the convention was that which was provoked by a frantic rivalry among the delegates to snatch the honor of placing before the vast and cheering assembly the name of the man who was already the marked candidate of the people. When this difficult feat had been accomplished by the strategy of the chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation, Simon Cameron, the tremendous acclaim of the convention ratified the choice of the people, and the nomination of Lincoln was formally finished. There were many members of the convention, and of the Republican Union party, who desired that Hannibal Hamlin should again be candidate for the vice-presidency, as he had been in 1861. If Lincoln had signified his choice in this regard, Hamlin would have been nominated; but with his punctilious determination to withhold his hand from every appearance of interference with the work of the convention, Lincoln declined to give sign of his preference. With a laudable and natural desire to conciliate the war-supporting element in the Democratic party and to attach the wavering approval of the men in the Border States, the choice of the convention was concentrated, after a little delay, upon Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-president. Johnson, as military governor of his State, civil governor, and

United States Senator, had proved the fiery intensity of his patriotism and devotion to the Union. His fierce democracy was admired; for he had sprung from the humble people, and, bred in poverty, a "poor white" in a slave State, he had grown to manhood with a passionate hatred in his heart of slavery and all aristocratic institutions.

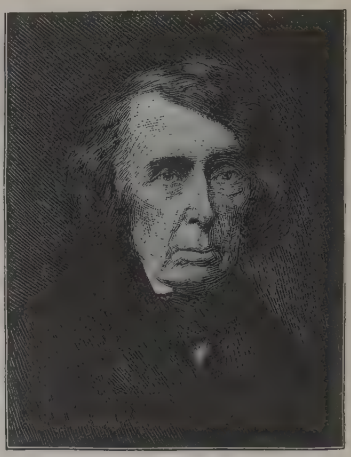
It was noticeable that the title of the convention that nominated Lincoln this year was officially changed from that which had been borne by that which nominated him in 1860. This was known

Newsboy in Camp.

Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

as the Union Republican Convention. Here the Republican party stood for the Union; it was a challenge for all others to take a stand against the Union, if they dared. Another notable feature of the convention was the appearance of the problem of reconstruction in the lately seceded States, then beginning to claim attention. Delegates were admitted from Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee; and delegates from Virginia and Florida were admitted to the floor of the assembly, but without the privilege of voting; those from South Carolina were altogether excluded. This action of the convention served as an indication of the status of political reconstruction processes in these several States. As for the platform resolutions of the Baltimore convention, they were significant only of matters then regarded as highly momentous, but not of historic importance. That the convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln, the War President, as his own successor, should vehemently

declare for a bold and vigorous prosecution of the war and should register a solemn promise to support his Administration in its wise and patriotic policy, was inevitable and logical. But there were also resolutions favoring a speedy construction of a transcontinental railroad, pledging the party to an unflinching support of the financial credit of the Nation, and pungently declaring against the interference of monarchical governments in the affairs of any country upon the American continent. Mr. Lincoln's admirable responses to the official and semi-official notifications of his nomination were addressed "to the Union people." In reply to a congratulatory serenade tendered him at this time, he said: "What we want still more than Baltimore conventions or presidential elections is success under General Grant. I propose that you constantly bear in mind that the support you owe to the brave officers and soldiers in the field is of the very first importance, and we should therefore bend all our energies to that point."



Roger B. Taney.

Another trial of Lincoln's patience.

One of the political complications of that summer was the resignation of Secretary Chase under circumstances peculiarly trying to the President and to the friends of both of these illustrious men. Mr. Chase, in his administration of the Treasury Department, had always been more tenacious of the privileges of his office than any other member of the President's cabinet. He had resisted with much energy all attempts to invade what he considered the prerogatives of his office; and as he was not a good judge of men, it often happened that the persons whom he selected were unfit or incompetent; and immemorial usage had conceded to the Chief Executive almost exclusive right to make all such appointments. It was the usual custom for the President to intimate his wishes to the heads of departments and to take counsel with them unreservedly in considering the filling of the more important places, leaving them to their own devices in all matters of lesser moment. But Mr. Chase resented any interference whatever with his own plans for the distribution of the places in the Treasury service. It is painful to record the fact that the estrangement of these two eminent statesmen was due to a disagreement over the disposition of governmental patronage. Several places of importance were to be filled at the beginning of the

summer of 1864; and true to his principle, the Secretary calmly made his arrangements to dispose of the places without much reference to the wishes or the preferences of the President. When Mr. Lincoln became aware of the proposed action of Mr. Chase, he mildly interposed objections to a certain appointment, urging that the person selected by the Secretary was unfit for the place, which was one of great responsibility. Mr. Chase insisted, and the President was greatly troubled by the uncompromising attitude of his subordinate officer; Mr. Chase finally intimated his intention to give up his own exalted office unless he were permitted to have his own way.

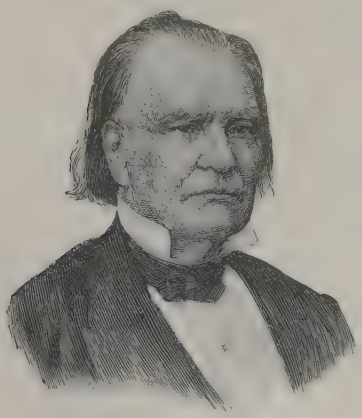
The Secretary never underrated the value of his services to the country, great though the worth of those services admittedly were. But he committed the error of regarding his continuance in office as indispensable to the successful administration of public affairs. It had sometimes happened that when the distinguished Secretary had been thwarted in his plans regarding the minor details of the business of his department (more especially in the matter of patronage), he had got what he wanted by threatening to resign if he were not once more indulged in this way. Finally, the good President's patience was exhausted. When Mr. Chase, obliged to defer indefinitely this particular indulgence of his personal wishes, tendered his resignation, June 29, 1864, it is quite possible that he did not expect that it would be accepted. But the wearied President, whose time and energies were engrossed with affairs of the supremest moment, could no longer be harassed with the petulant appeals of his Secretary of the Treasury. He accepted his resignation; and the country was astonished with the announcement of the resignation of Secretary Chase and the appointment of David Tod, of Ohio, as his successor. But the political excitement caused by this unexpected event soon wore away. The people had implicit confidence in the skill of Mr. Lincoln when embarrassed by political complications; and they knew that the purity and sincerity of his motives in the administration of affairs were beyond question. Mr. Tod declined to accept the appointment; and the President, after a full and free conference with the members of the Senate Finance Committee, nominated William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, to be Secretary of the Treasury. He was at once confirmed by the Senate, of which he had been a member for ten years, and in which he had occupied recently the important place of Chairman of the Finance Committee. He entered upon the duties of his office, which he discharged with great skill and fidelity.

The subject of the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion now became troublesomely prominent. In his amnesty proclamation of December, 1863, President Lincoln promised that when a number

The reconstruction problem.

of the loyal citizens of any State heretofore in rebellion, equal to one tenth of the total number of legal voters in 1860, should reëstablish a State government republican in form, such government should receive the legalizing recognition of the National Government. It was also provided that the care and general oversight of the ex-slaves should be left to each reconstructed State; and the President suggested that in such reconstruction due regard should be had to all existing boundaries and subdivisions of territory, and that codes of laws and internal regulations should be preserved intact; and his proclamation specially designated the Senate and House of Representatives as the sole and exclusive judges of the fitness for admission of any and all members of Congress that might apply from any of these reconstructed States.

The proclamation and the message which it accompanied were designed to clear the way for readmission to the full privileges of a State of those communities which had been in a condition of rebellion against the United States. Individuals, before participating in proceedings to reconstruct the State, or holding office, or in any other way taking part in the government of such reconstructed State, must take the oath required to insure their present loyalty and their unqualified support of the Constitution of the United States and the laws of Congress, special reference being had to the laws relating to the emancipation of the slaves. It was solemnly declared by the President that he would not retract or modify the Emancipation Proclamation, nor return to bondage any person who had been made free by its provisions or by any of the acts of Congress. These propositions were received with cordial approval by all classes of Republicans; and even the most prejudiced of the Democrats found in them little to awake their opposition.



Benjamin F. Wade.

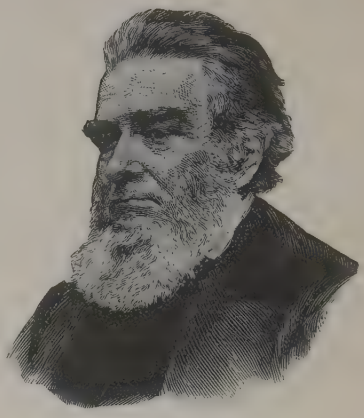
Henry Winter Davis.

But a spirit of opposition to the policy of the President, outlined in the message and the proclamation of amnesty, began to be manifested on the part of the so-called radical members of both houses of Congress. Henry Winter Davis, a Representative from Maryland, who had all along exhibited a spirit of hostility to the President, brought in a bill (May 4th, 1864), to provide for the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion; the fundamental proposition of his scheme being that said States were out of the Union, or, to use the common phrase of the time, had committed State suicide. The bill provided that a civil provisional governor should be appointed in each State which might be wholly or in part in rebellion, and that under his direction an enrollment of all the white citizens of the State should be made; and that when a majority of such citizens should have taken the oath of allegiance, they should be entitled to elect delegates to a convention to frame a constitution and reëstablish a State government. Such constitution must contain provisions forever prohibiting slavery, disfranchising prominent civil and military officers of the Confederacy, and forbidding the payment of any part of the debt contracted by the Confederate authority, whether State or so-called National. President Lincoln's plan contemplated the taking of one tenth of the legal and loyal voters of the State as a basis for the purposes of reconstruction. The Davis plan required a majority of all the voters in the State for that purpose. The President would have the initiative taken by a military governor (although he was not wedded to that part of the programme). The Davis scheme would have none but a civilian provisional governor at the new beginning of things. It was admitted that the Lincoln plan was likely to be the more speedy in bringing back into the Union the States in which rebellion existed or had existed. It was clear that the plan proposed by Mr. Davis and his supporters would require a much longer time to restore the disordered Union.

Mr. Lincoln's plan was the more elastic; it was susceptible of modification in its application to differing communities. The Davis plan was rigid; it proposed one iron-clad system for all the States to which it might be applied. Lincoln likened it to the bed of Procrustes; to its requirements the subject of its usage must rigorously be conformed. In the discussion which followed, one question that engaged the attention of the debaters was, Are the States lately in rebellion in, or out of, the Union?

Mr. Davis's bill was passed by the House of Representatives, after an animated debate, by a vote of seventy-four to fifty-nine, the Democratic members generally maintaining a purely partisan attitude of opposition. In the Senate the bill was championed by Senator B. F. Wade, of Ohio, a fiery and powerful

The Wade-Davis incident.



Edmund Bates.

radical leader, whose anti-slavery record dated far back in the history of the times. After some conference between the two Houses, the measure finally passed Congress and was sent to the President for his approval during the closing hours of the session that ended July 4th, 1864. The President, who had not signified to any member of Congress what were his views upon the bill, kept it in his possession until Congress had adjourned, thereby giving it "the pocket veto," which killed it quite as effectually as a return without his signature could have done for it. The anger of the radical element of Congress was very great. But the more conservative members of the two Houses regretted that they had not given the matter that attention which they might have, and that they had failed to seek enlightenment from the President, whose mouth had been so discreetly sealed during the progress of the measure through Congress.

Four days later, the President issued a proclamation in which the text of the so-called Wade-Davis bill was printed, and in which his own promises and arguments relating to amnesty and reconstruction were reiterated. He added that, while he was not ready to set aside the governments of Arkansas and Louisiana (as an enactment of this bill would require of him), and while he was unwilling to commit himself inflexibly to any single plan of reconstruction, he was fully satisfied with the plan proposed in the bill, provided the loyal people of any State should choose to adopt it. The failure of the President to approve the Wade-Davis bill had excited considerable feeling among the leaders of the Republican party; and this utterance further stimulated public discussion. But a painful sensation was caused when Senator Wade and Representative Davis united in the publication of a bitter arraignment of the President (August 5th), in which, after reciting the history of their bill, they broadly insinuated that the President had been actuated by the lowest personal motives in his disposition of the measure. They said: "The President, by preventing this bill from becoming a law, holds the electoral votes of the rebel States at the dictation of his personal ambition." None had been more abstinent of making use of governmental powers for the furtherance of his own personal aims than Lincoln. Yet here were two conspicuous members of his own political party openly

accusing him of scheming to secure electoral votes for himself in the ensuing National election and refusing to give life to Congressional legislation lest that might militate against his chances.

This bolt from the ranks of the Republican party gave great hopefulness to the Democrats, who regarded the manifesto with the same grave interest and the same certainty of its danger to the canvass of the Republicans as that with which they had hailed the Cleveland convention, the Fremont movement, the diversion in favor of General Grant, and other incidents which distressed for a time the men who desired the reëlection of Lincoln. The men who saw in the nomination of Fremont the opening of an irreparable breach in the Republican party were now fixed in their belief that the so-called Wade-Davis manifesto was the death-knell of that party.

Renewal of peace propositions.

While these internal dissensions of the Unionists were distracting the attention and the energies of the party that supported Lincoln for a second term of office, another and equally important diversion appeared on the northern frontier in the form of a peace proposition from persons who professed to represent the Confederate leaders. The waste and weariness of war were much more severely felt in the South than in the North. Although the skill, adaptability, and ingenuity of the Southern people had been manifested in innumerable ways during the struggle, there came a time when the hopelessness of the war for Southern independence of the Federal Union seemed to be borne in upon the people with uncommon severity. There was from the first a considerable element in the Southern States which, forced into the secession movement, still longed for peace and reunion; the "submissionists," as they were called, had never felt that the South had a just quarrel; and they believed that, like all unjust attempts at revolution, this one would fail. Under the terrorism that prevailed, however, they were discreetly dumb, even when other men, impatient and discouraged, reluctantly began to talk of the possibilities of peace without an actual surrender of all for which the Southern States had fought.

There was another class of peace advocates in the South at this time. These were the insincere men, who, still hoping for Southern independence and alarmed by the growing apathy of their own people, sought to sting them into renewed activity by inviting from the Federal authorities and their agents such a rejection of tentative offers of peace as should convince the languid adherents of the Confederacy that the so-called "despotism of the North" was still alert, determined, and bent only on the "subjugation" of the South. It was on this string that the ambitious leaders of the Confederate cause persistently harped. Their Southern fellow-citizens were invariably

The " Crater " at Petersburg.
Drawn by Harry Allchin from a photograph.

asked if they would fight for honor and independence, or submit to dishonor and the despotism of the North. These crafty advocates of peace propositions in which they had no faith were in communication, more or less direct, with members of the peace party in the North; and these latter sought in the agitation of such propositions for means to distract and embarrass the friends of the Union cause, who were the friends and supporters of the Lincoln Administration.

Among them were not a few sanguine spirits who exaggerated the reports of prevailing discontent in the South which filtered through the military lines. They ardently wished for peace; and with them the wish was father to the thought that multitudes of men inside of the Southern Confederacy were agonizing for the return of peace; and that if these multitudes were only assured of clement and magnanimous treatment, they would create such a public feeling in the South that the headstrong leaders would be compelled to bow to the popular will and treat for peace at any price. Such an one was Horace Greeley, the leading Republican newspaper editor of his time. Credulous, excitable, and sanguine, he was ready to believe almost anybody who came to him professing to bring offers of peace from the secret councils of the Confederacy. He used his great influence as a journalist to impress upon the reading public his erratic views; and as none doubted his sincere patriotism and his devotion to the Union, his utterances carried weight, and his attitude invited the whisperings of the innumerable busybodies who fluttered around the party leaders on both sides of the lines, bent chiefly on magnifying their own importance. Such a busybody was a person who called himself " William Cornell Jewett, of Colorado." Jewett professed that he was on terms of intimacy with all the leading statesmen in the North and in the South. He wrote letters of advice and inquiry (which were never answered) to President Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, and he finally persuaded Mr. Greeley that he (Jewett) was an authorized go-between from the Confederate authorities to

treat for peace, his immediate coadjutor being, as alleged, one George N. Sanders, of Kentucky, who was then waiting on the Canadian border to communicate the views of Jefferson Davis on the subject of peace. To Mr. Greeley's excited imagination this communication seemed to be fraught with momentous consequence. He at once addressed the President, entreating him to invite the emissaries of the Confederate government (then tarrying at Niagara Falls) to submit their credentials and exhibit their terms of peace. Mr. Greeley even went so far as to prepare for the consideration of the President a basis of negotiation on which only were conditions of peace to be considered. It is sufficient to say that these terms included a complete restoration of the Union, complete and full amnesty for all concerned in the insurrection, and a compensation of $40,000,000 for the emancipated slaves.

The Niagara Falls peace conference.

Mr. Lincoln received this information and advice with many misgivings; but, as if he were resolved to settle Mr. Greeley and his hare-brained schemes once and forever, he authorized him to bring to Washington "any person, anywhere, professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and the abandonment of slavery," no matter what else it might embrace. A long and irritating delay followed, the President insisting only as a condition that the emissaries should exhibit their credentials and disclose the basis on which they proposed, in behalf of the Confederates, to treat for peace. He even despatched one of his confidential secretaries, Major John Hay, armed with ample authority to bring the agents to Washington under safe conduct, in order that they might confer directly with the President concerning the matters whereof they professed to have charge. But all this was in vain. Ultimately it was made manifest that the agents (Clement C. Clay, Jacob Thompson, James P. Holcombe, and George N. Sanders) did not bear with them even a scrap of paper by way of credentials. Moreover, it soon became apparent that their mission, which was practically voluntary and not authorized, was to entrap President Lincoln into taking the initiative in negotiating with the Richmond authorities for peace. In this they were balked by the wonderful shrewdness of Mr. Lincoln, who from the first seemed to discern the intent and purport of this extraordinary embassage. Defeated in this scheme, however, the plotters on the Canadian side of the river were able to make some political capital for their Northern allies, and further "fire the Southern heart" by pretending that an authorized and legitimate offer of peace had been made on behalf of the Confederate Government, and had been rudely spurned by Mr. Lincoln at a mere "caprice of his sovereign

will." By this sign it was expected that the Peace Democratic party would conquer in the political campaign, then (July, 1864) well under way. The incident was employed to harass and annoy the active Unionists, to mislead the people, and to befog the main issue then pending in the canvass. Mr. Greeley, with exasperating pertinacity, annoyed the President and grieved his kind heart with reproaches, criticisms, and insane predictions of the ruin that was soon to overtake the country unless something should be done to secure an honorable peace by other means than those of warfare.

This distracting incident had scarcely closed when the Democratic party assembled in National convention in Chicago for the purpose of naming candidates for President and Vice-president. That convention had originally been called to meet on the Fourth of July; but the complication which arose on the borders of the Republican Union party, during the early summer, induced the Democratic managers to postpone their convention until the 29th of August. Meanwhile, it became evident that the vote of the country was soon to determine the continuance or the cessation of the war. Immediately succeeding the grotesque fiasco of Mr. Greeley's peace conference at Niagara Falls, another resultless and equally futile errand had been undertaken by a militant preacher, Colonel Jaquess, who fancied himself to be clothed with a divine mission to go into the Southern Confederacy and bring back honorable and acceptable terms of peace. He was furnished with the necessary safe-conduct, and, accompanied by a literary gentleman who was familiar with the Southern people (Mr. J. R. Gilmore), he went to Richmond, held a conference with some of the Confederate leaders, and came back bootless. Events like these, coming as they did in the midst of a profound depression in the ranks of the Union party, were well calculated to infuse life and animation into the councils of the organization whose delegates assembled in Chicago in the last days of August, eager to appeal to the people to rise up and demand that the war for the preservation of the Union should stop.

General McClellan nominated for the presidency.

By this time it was pretty well settled that General George B. McClellan would be the nominee of the Peace Democratic party, inconsistent though this selection might be. There were a few irreconcilable Peace Democrats who protested that no man who had "imbrued his hands in the blood of the South" should bear the banner of the party in the political campaign which was to carry their candidate into the White House. But these were clearly in a minority. McClellan had endeared himself to men who opposed the war because he had, as they thought,

Major-General John G. Parke.

opposed the radical policy of Lincoln; and what was quite as much to the purpose, he had been badly treated by the Lincoln Administration and was to that extent a martyr, a sufferer for conscience' sake. The convention made much of the failure of the Administration to secure favorable terms of peace; and at the same time it declared that "after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war," during which many excesses of power and many governmental tyrannies had been patiently tolerated by the people, immediate efforts should be made "for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States and other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." This declaration of the convention was the pith of the platform resolutions on which the Peace Democrats went to the country. The resolution was the handiwork of C. L. Vallandigham, who had been sent out of the country under sentence of exile, but had come back under the unobservant tolerance of the authorities at Washington. General McClellan was duly nominated for the presidency, and the anomalous proceeding of placing a war candidate on a peace platform was concluded by nominating for Vice-president George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, an honest, able, and consistent opponent of the war.

Turning of the tide.

Before General McClellan had formally accepted the nomination tendered him, the tide of military victory, so long at an ebb, began to turn in favor of the Union arms. Atlanta had fallen and Sherman's long series of triumphs had begun. McClellan calmly repudiated the platform on which he had been nominated, formulated one of his own, and, having put into the mouths of the platform-makers sundry sentences entirely alien to what they did say, he gravely added: "Believing that the views here expressed are those of the convention and the people you represent, I accept the nomination." The impossibility of reconciling the candidate and the creed of the party that nominated him was thus early advertised. Vallandigham, indignant at such a perversion of the explicit language which he had triumphantly forced into the resolutions of the Chicago convention, specifically and explicitly contradicted General McClellan. With such an irrepressible conflict of ideas and doctrines did the campaign of the Democrats begin.

The canvass was animated, even bitter. It appeared as if the Democrats had waited for events to determine whether war or peace would be the most readily voted for by the people, before placing their candidates in the field. When their convention assembled and nominated McClellan, they were amply justified in thinking that the popular verdict would be for peace. Certainly the war party was in very bad case; the war spirit was at a low ebb; military successes were no longer reported; and instead of signs of a victorious peace discernible in the sky, calls for more men and money were made in behalf of the army. A draft for 500,000 men was ordered on the 18th of July, the President firmly resisting the importunities of his political friends, who warned him that the enforcement of the draft would put in jeopardy his chances of reëlection. On the 1st of July, the cash balance in the Treasury was only $18,842,558, and the unpaid requisitions were $71,814,000. A large deficiency was imminent, and the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Fessenden) met with indifferent success when he endeavored to borrow money and place a new loan on the market.

On the 30th of July, a mine under the fortifications of Petersburg, constructed under the superintendence of Colonel Pleasants, of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania regiment, was exploded. Great expectations had been entertained of this device; and if the details of the attack which followed the explosion had been managed as well as the mining had been pushed, the results would have doubtless been gratifying to the Federal commander. But General Burnside, within whose lines the work was undertaken, gave the command of the sortie to be made as soon as the explosion took place into the hands of an incompetent officer. The mine tore an immense rent in the fortifications; and while the Confederates, dazed by the awful explosion and apprehending an equally awful assault, were momentarily paralyzed, the assailing column precipitated itself into the crater of the exploded mine, halted and huddled there in confusion until the Confederate garrison, recovering their wits, plunged their shot and shell into the pit, checking all further forward movements with most terrible slaughter. This bloody disaster thickened the gloom that covered the military situation. Burnside, at his own request, was relieved from command of the Ninth Corps, and was succeeded by General John G. Parke.

Sheridan's famous victories.

But Sheridan's brilliant successes in the Shenandoah Valley, in September, following as they did the fall of Atlanta and the capture of Mobile Bay, infused a new spirit into the war party in the campaign. It was felt that the end was not so very remote as the peace-at-any-price orators would have the people

believe. The subsequent result would seem to indicate that the mass of the people were not so deeply moved by military non-success as the leaders of both parties had supposed. The rising tide of patriotic enthusiasm dismayed the Democratic leaders; and it really seemed as if their cause were doomed to defeat, after all. But desperate efforts were made in the South to hold up the hands of the Northern advocates of peace, in their efforts to sway the voters into a solid phalanx opposed to further prosecution of the war. Alexander H. Stephens's letter, hailing the Chicago convention as the first ray of light which he had seen in the North since the beginning of the war, and urging a convention of all the States in their sovereign capacity to treat for peace, was regarded as a significant token of a desire for amicable adjustment. About the middle of October, the governors of six of the insurgent States met in Augusta, Georgia, and prepared an address to the people, in which they expressed their satisfaction with the military situation from their point of view. Two days later a gang of some twenty insurgent refugees in Canada essayed to execute the well-worn threat of "kindling a fire in the rear" of their enemies by dashing across the border into the town of St. Albans, Vermont, plundering three banks, shooting one man, and stealing a small drove of horses. They then retreated to British territory, greatly delighted with the raid which had carried terror into the peaceful villages along the border. Incidents like this were ingeniously worked up into political capital and used in a variety of ways.

Lincoln's serenity.

In the midst of commotions and petty flurries, Mr. Lincoln maintained a serene and impassive front, absolutely refusing to take any part whatever in the canvass, and apparently indifferent to the impending result, in spite of the frequent and hysterical importunities of some of his supporters, who flew to him with warnings that all was lost unless he would authorize certain specified steps to be taken and other things to be done by the officers of the Government. Possibly the President, who was one of the shrewdest politicians who ever lived, more fully comprehended the political situation and was more completely in the confidence of the people than his wisest advisers supposed. The State elections that came off in the autumn justified the belief that the National election of November would show a great Union victory. Maine and Vermont, in September, showed goodly majorities for the Republican candidates; and in October the great States of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana confirmed this significant verdict by large majorities. On the 8th of November the National election was held and the net result was the reëlection of Lincoln by an overwhelming majority. There were 233 electoral votes cast by the States which voted that year; of these Lin-

coln and Johnson had 212 votes, and McClellan and Pendleton had only 21, these being derived from New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. The conclusive character of this popular verdict filled the advocates of peace with dismay undisguised and complete. From it there was no appeal.

Two events of considerable political importance took place during the late summer and autumn of this year. Immediately after the adjournment of the Chicago convention, the President accepted the resignation of Postmaster-General Blair and appointed ex-Governor William Dennison, of Ohio, in his place. On the 12th of October died Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, whose decision in the celebrated Dred Scott case had given the friends of freedom so much cause for grief and alarm during the administration of President Buchanan. The resignation of Mr. Blair had been tendered long before, in the midst of a cabinet crisis, but had been put aside by the President until a convenient time arrived for its acceptance. That time arrived early in September, when the continued presence of Mr. Blair in the cabinet became irksome to the President. In November Edward Bates, Attorney-General, resigned his office and was succeeded by James Speed, of Kentucky. As soon as the death of the Chief Justice had caused a vacancy in that high station, the friends of Mr. Chase began to press the President to nominate the ex-Secretary of the Treasury for the place. The feeling of these men apparently was that Mr. Lincoln was not sufficiently magnanimous to appoint to the highest judicial post in the land a man who had been his possible rival for the presidential nomination, and who had made himself uncomfortable to the President during his term of office in the Treasury Department. It appeared, however, that the President did not seriously consider any name but Mr. Chase's while the nomination was in suspense. He was importuned by his own personal and political friends to give the great place to any man but Mr. Chase; and with even more fervent importunity he was prayed to honor himself and the Nation by nominating Mr. Chase to be Chief Justice. Finally, when Congress had met, later on in the course of the ensuing winter, Salmon P. Chase was nominated and confirmed Chief Justice of the United States. The appointment was received with almost universal satisfaction throughout the country; and it was felt that the new Chief Justice, by his dignity, patriotic zeal, learning, and intimate knowledge of affairs, would occupy an illustrious place in the history of American jurisprudence.

Chase made Chief Justice.

Ruins of Fort Sumter.

CHAPTER XIII.

SHERMAN'S MARCH THROUGH GEORGIA.

PLANNING THE CAMPAIGN. — ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY OF INVASION. — COMPLETE CONCEALMENT OF THE DESTINATION OF THE COLUMN. — PANIC IN THE CONFEDERACY. — STRIKING FEATURES OF THE GREAT MARCH. — THE SEA IN SIGHT. — FALL OF FORT MCALLISTER AND EVACUATION OF SAVANNAH. — SHERMAN'S CHRISTMAS GIFT TO THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. — PATRIOTIC JOY OF THE PEOPLE AND PROSPECTS OF PEACE.

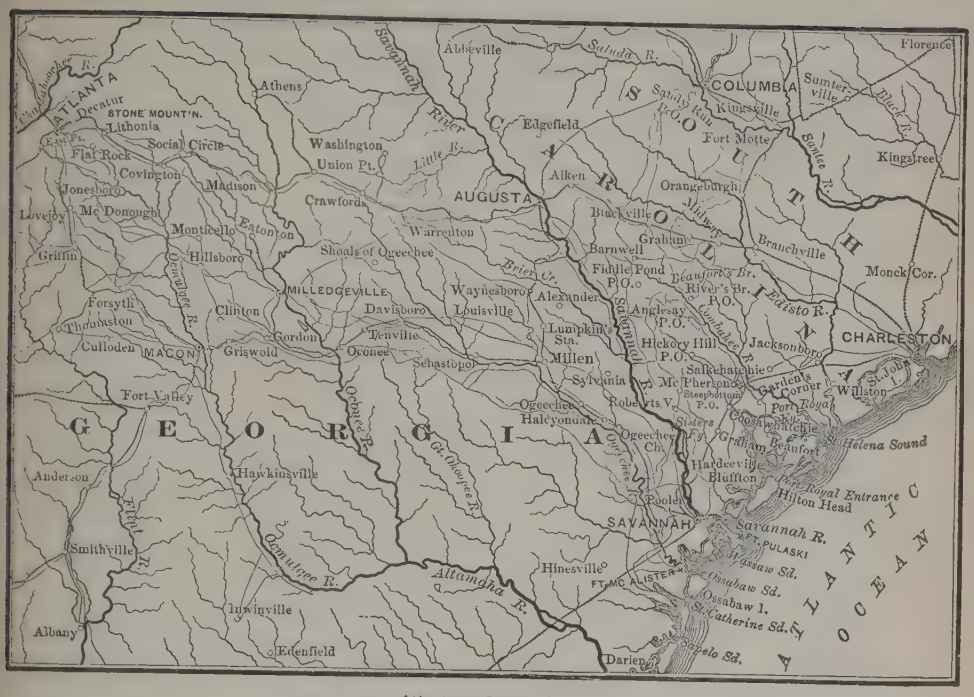
ONE of the most famous and picturesque events of the war, Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea, took place in the autumn of 1864. It was a bold and daring conception that launched a large army across a hostile country, more than three hundred miles in extent, severing it for the time from all connection with a base of supplies, subsisting it upon the region through which it marched, and so investing its movements with secrecy that the exact whereabouts of sixty thousand men was utterly unknown except to a few officials at home and to the terrified inhabitants of the State through which the expedition was conducted.

In planning this campaign, Sherman had none but General Grant to convince of its practicability. If any other man in high authority had misgivings as to the result, nobody but the lieutenant-general in command of all the armies held a word of argument with the redoubtable man who had seen in his mind's eye the triumphant movement from one side of Georgia to another. Grant thought that Hood's army should be disposed of before Sherman should begin his march to the sea; but Sherman convinced his chief that Thomas, left behind to take care of Tennessee, would be able to manage Hood;

and Grant finally gave his full consent to the march which made Sherman's name immortal in the annals of war. In his memoirs Sherman writes: "I was strongly inspired with a feeling that the movement on our part was a direct attack on the rebel army and the rebel capital at Richmond, though a full thousand miles of hostile country intervened; and that for better or worse it would end the war." The opening of the Mississippi River had rent the Confederacy in twain; the experience of the seceded States west of that river had shown that they would not furnish men, and could not furnish supplies to the Confederate Government; and men left in the ranks of the Confederate army, separated from their homes and families beyond the Mississippi, lost heart in the campaign; they deserted in large numbers, and, true to the American instinct, sought their way homeward through many perils and obstructions. To cut a broad swath of destruction through the remaining section of the Confederacy, severing Virginia — the present seat of war — from the Gulf States, would be to deprive the Confederate Government of the material support of all the States but Virginia and North Carolina. Leaving Hood's army out of the calculation, the only element of danger was the possibility that Lee in Virginia might be able to break away from Grant and fall upon Sherman and crush him as soon as he entered South Carolina on his way to flank Richmond, after accomplishing his march through Georgia. But Grant at Petersburg would be as near Sherman as Lee could be; and he would surely fall on Lee's rear if Richmond were to be abandoned. And of course the moral effect of such a march through the bowels of the Confederacy would be most profound. The world would see that the Confederacy was the mere shell which it had been again and again declared to be by those who, like Grierson, had ventured into its inner recesses. The foreign prestige of the belligerent confederated States would suffer a mortal blow.

General W. T. Sherman.

An army that was to cut itself lose from its base of supplies and march to the distant seacoast to establish a new base, must be stripped of every needless weight



Atlanta to Savannah.

and superfluity. Sherman's army was like an athlete entering the arena; it carried not a pound of superfluous incumbrance. The sick had been sent to the rear; only the best horses were taken; the artillery was reduced to its lightest minimum, only one gun to a thousand men being the allowance; twenty days' rations were in wagons and haversacks; two hundred rounds of ammunition of all kinds were in the ordnance trains, and droves of cattle supplied the meat rations. These droves, says one historian[1] of the march, grew larger, rather than smaller, as the army moved through the country.

The personnel of Sherman's army.

Sherman's force, when equipped for its descent upon the fields of Georgia, consisted of two corps of the Army of the Tennessee under General Howard, constituting the right wing; and two corps of the Army of the Cumberland under General Slocum, denominated the left wing. The cavalry corps was under the command of General Kilpatrick. The exact numerical strength of the army was 62,204, of which 5,063 were cavalry and 1,812 were artillery; the rest were infantry distributed among the Fifteenth, Seventeenth, Fourteenth, and Twentieth Corps. The cities of Atlanta and Rome, Georgia, had been occupied by the Federal forces as mili-

[1] General J. D. Cox, *March to the Sea.*

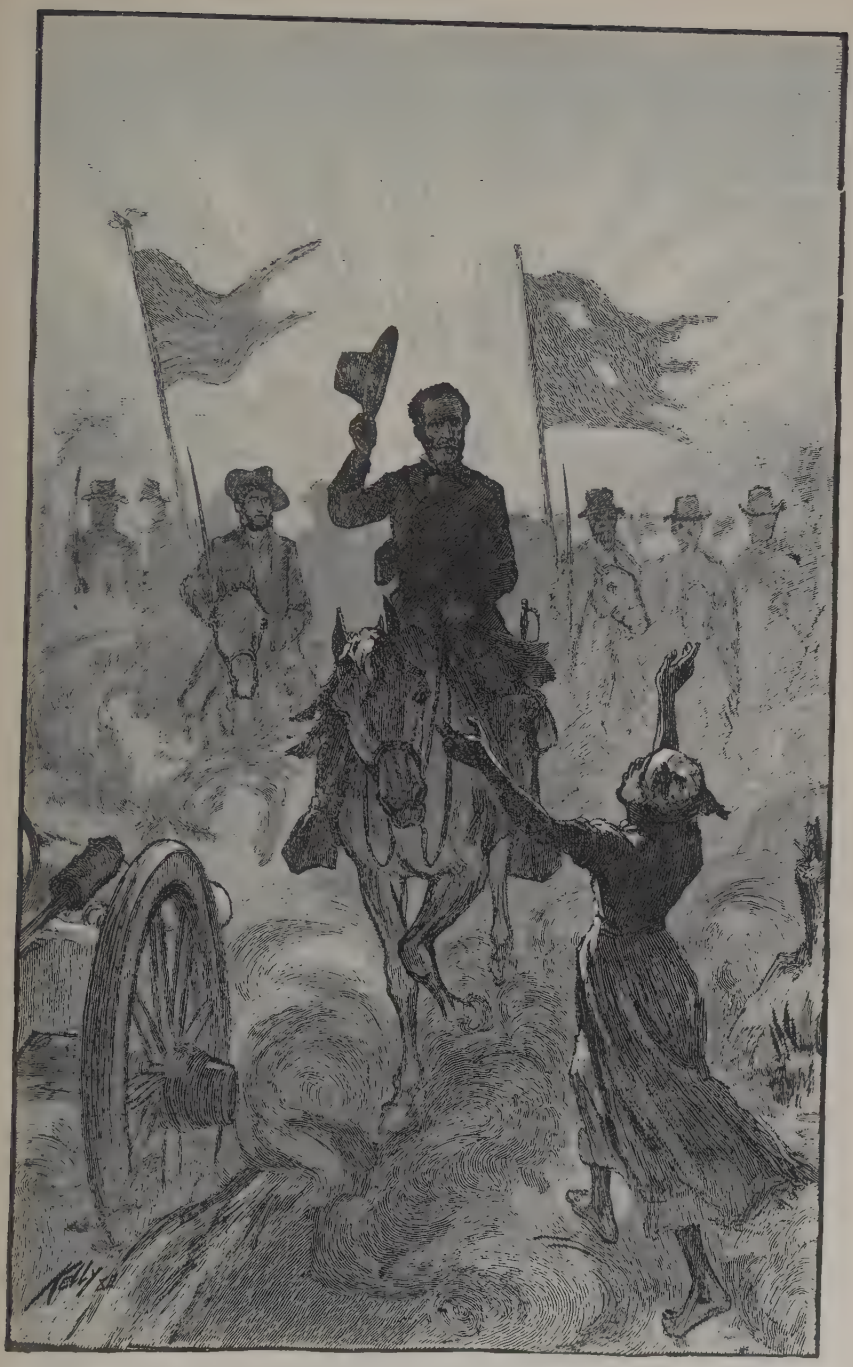
tary depots, and the forward movement of the army made necessary the destruction of their machine shops and factories, the presumption being that these places would be again occupied by the Confederates after they had been vacated by the Federals. It was Sherman's determination to leave behind him nothing that would be of the least use to his foe.

On the 12th of November the last message was sent northward by the military telegraph; then the wire was cut, and the army was left without means of communication with the shore behind it. On the 15th the march began, the two corps of each wing marching on separate roads from Atlanta, threatening Augusta on the north and Macon on the south, but having Milledgeville, the capital of the State, for an objective point and rendezvous at the end of the first stage. Sherman was with the left wing, as he could thus be in more facile communication with lines of intelligence leading from Richmond, and could sooner learn what new dispositions were to be made for the better defence of South Carolina.

The intelligence that Sherman's army had embarked on an unknown sea of adventure created the liveliest interest in the loyal States, where nothing was certainly known of the movement except that it was directed at some vital part of the Confederacy with its ultimate termination on the seacoast. The secret of its final destination was well kept in Washington, and influential Senators and Representatives vainly attempted to "pump" the very few high officials who were charged with the custody of the momentous knowledge of Sherman's movement. While the President was anxiously waiting for a word that should indicate the arrival of the army on the seacoast, Congress met, and it was hoped that he might be able to say in his annual message that Sherman's march had been triumphantly concluded; but although the message was kept open as long as possible, the only reference which it made to the subject then occupying all minds was this cautious paragraph: "The most remarkable feature of the military operations of the year is General Sherman's attempted march of three hundred miles, directly through an insurgent region. It tends to show a great increase in our relative strength, that our general-in-chief should feel able to confront and hold in check every active force of the enemy, and yet to detach a well-appointed army to move on such an expedition. The result not yet being known, conjecture in regard to it cannot here be indulged."

Panic in the South.

Sherman's army was under orders to live upon the country. The soldiers were forbidden to enter any dwelling-houses, but when in camp they were allowed to gather vegetables and drive in any stock which was in sight of the encampment. Wherever



"GLORY! HALLELUJAH!"

AN INCIDENT OF SHERMAN'S MARCH.

the army was unmolested, no houses or mills were to be destroyed, but if guerrillas should appear, or if roads were obstructed or bridges burned, the army commanders were to "order and enforce a devastation more or less relentless, according to the measure of the local hostility." The cavalry and artillery were to appropriate freely such horses and mules as they needed, "discriminating between those of the rich, who are usually hostile, and the poor and industrious, who are usually neutral or friendly."

Appeals earnest and almost frantic were put forth to the people to stay the march of this army. Beauregard, writing from Corinth on the 18th of November, thus urges the people of Georgia: "Arise for the defence of your native soil. Obstruct and destroy all the roads in Sherman's front, flank, and rear, and his army will soon starve in your midst. I hasten to join you in the defence of your homes and firesides." On the same day Senator B. H. Hill wrote from Richmond, his letter being "cordially endorsed" by Mr. Seddon, then Secretary of War: "You have now the best opportunity ever yet presented to destroy the enemy. Put everything at the disposal of our generals. Every citizen with his gun, and every negro with his spade and axe, can do the work of a soldier. You can destroy the enemy by retarding his march." Half a dozen Georgia members of Congress wrote on the 19th: "We have had a special conference with President Davis and the Secretary of War, and are able to assure you that they have done and are still doing all that can be done to meet the emergency that presses upon you. Let every man fly to arms. Remove your negroes, horses, cattle, and provisions from Sherman's army, and burn what you cannot carry. Burn all bridges, and block up all roads in his route. Assail the invader in front, flank, and rear, by night and by day. Let him have no rest." But all these urgent appeals came to nothing. There were indeed in central Georgia few men capable of responding to them. Almost every able-bodied man had been brought into the army. Some were with Lee in Virginia; the rest were with Hood in his wild expedition into Tennessee. Only upon two or three occasions was there anything like an attempt to interfere with Sherman's operations, and these were mainly limited to endeavors to obstruct the work of detached parties who were engaged in destroying the railroads.

The destruction of the railway system of the Southern States, which had gridironed Georgia with iron rails, was complete. Sherman had organized several battalions of mechanics for this important duty, but the infantry soon invented methods of their own which were quite as effectual. One thousand men would be marched along the line to be torn up, and, having stacked arms, each man would

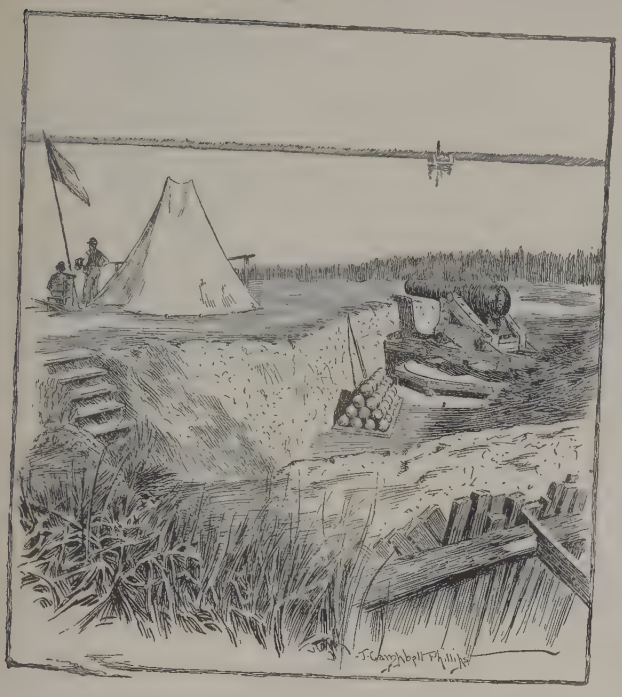
seize the end of a railway tie, and, at the word of command, one thousand ties would be lifted from the ground and stood on end; then another order would cause the whole fabric to be dropped back on the road-bed, shattered and dislocated. The rails were ripped off, the ties made into bonfires, the rails heated to redness in the flames, and two men, taking a rail by its cool ends, would twist its middle around a tree or around other rails in shapes so fantastic that nothing but special machinery could ever make them straight again. A double twist around a tree was known as "a Jeff Davis necktie."

The track of the army varied from forty to fifty miles in width. On its flanks moved the foragers who collected the subsistence from the country through which it moved. Something like a panic spread through the region, and it was charged by Confederate journals that the excesses and outrages committed by their own cavalry were quite as grievous to the inhabitants as those attributed to Sherman's men. The sudden appearance of the armies of the Cumberland and the Tennessee in the savannahs of Georgia and pine woods of North Carolina was a most unwelcome apparition to a people who had only recently been assured by Jefferson Davis that the Confederacy was stronger than it had been at any time since the war began. At Macon the Confederate President had made a speech in which he consigned Sherman to "the fate that befell the army of the French Empire in its retreat from Moscow. Our cavalry," he said, "and our people will harass and destroy his army as the Cossacks did that of Napoleon; and the Yankee general, like him, will escape with only a body-guard." And an eminent clergyman in Richmond, who was close to the Confederate President, encouraged the deluded people with the prophecy that "God has put a hook in Sherman's nose and is leading him to destruction." With sayings like these were the unfortunate and deceived citizens of the raided States lulled into false security while the enemy was thundering at their doors.

Mr. Davis's optimism.

Undoubtedly aggravating depredations were sometimes committed by the partisan rangers and the irresponsible scouts of both Federal and Confederate troops; and the antics and wild pranks of some of Sherman's flankers were exaggerated as a species of buffoonery that gave food for mirth to those who afterwards learned of the minor details

Major-General George N. Stoneman.



Fort McAllister, Ga.
Drawn by J. C. Phillips from a photograph.

of the march to the sea. The foragers were only discharging their duty when they collected provisions for the subsistence of the army. They sometimes transcended their instructions when they made their appearance at the cross-roads clad in the fantastic garb of ancient beaus or old-time militiamen, and mounted on captured mules laden with confiscated farm produce. The stragglers, who are the inevitable ravellings of every marching army, more impudently and more wastefully subsisted on the country. These, who had very little to do with the working army, won the name and the ill-repute of "Sherman's bummers," and aided in the creation of that wave of popular wrath in the South which stigmatized Sherman as a vandal. Divested of its strategic characteristics, Sherman's march was little more than a grand military promenade, made somewhat difficult toward the close by rainy weather and the swampy nature of the country, which required miles of roads to be corduroyed to enable the trains to pass. "But," says he, "no opposition from the enemy worth speaking of was encountered until the heads of the columns were within fifteen miles of Savannah, when all the roads leading to the city were obstructed more or less by felled timber, with earthworks and artillery; but these were easily turned, and the enemy driven away."

The great march.

Naturally, the negroes along the route of the expedition left their homes in slavery and followed the blue-coated "Lincoln's men," whom they regarded as their deliverers from bondage. All ages — men, women, and children — gathered up their poor belongings and attached

themselves to the marching columns, greatly to the annoyance of Sherman, who foresaw the inconvenience of this vast body of dependent non-combatants, in case of attack. But the soldiers in the ranks encouraged the poor creatures to move along with their gypsy-like camp, and the negroes, who saw immediate liberty but could not see certain and prospective freedom, pressed on with the army; they even plunged into the streams when, to check their advance, the bridges in the rear of the advancing column were taken up. This great mass of colored refugees was afterwards colonized on the Sea Islands on the coast near Savannah, when the march was over; and thus was begun the foundation of the Freedmen's Bureau, an organization made necessary by the increasing number of ex-slaves who had to be cared for by the National authorities.

On the evening of the 10th of December the heads of the several columns of the army were from three to eight miles from Savannah; the sea was in sight, and three expert scouts paddled down the Ogeechee River and carried to the waiting fleet of Admiral Dahlgren the glad tidings that the Federal army had safely crossed the State and was encamped on the shores. Fort McAllister, which had been passed in the night by the scouts, was a very strong work on the Ogeechee, commanding the approach to Savannah from the sea, Fort Pulaski, on the Savannah River, occupying a similar defensive position in that direction. But Fort McAllister was not built with the expectation that it would be attacked from the landward side, and Sherman determined to carry it by assault; while it stood in the enemy's hands it shut off the supplies that were waiting outside for communication to be opened with Sherman's army. A despatch boat from the fleet, carrying a signal officer, approached as near as safety would permit and asked by signal, just as Hazen's Fifteenth Corps was ready for the attack, "Has the fort been taken?" Sherman's answer was, "Not yet, but it will be in a minute." As the signal flags flashed in the air, the storming party moved out in compact order, as if on parade; the guns from the fort belched fire and shot; the lines scarcely wavered, but dashed upon the works, cheering and firing. In fifteen minutes it was all over. The Confederate flag fell, and the stars and stripes rose over the captured fort. Full communication was established with the fleet of warships and transports; and to the great joy of the soldiers a mail-boat, laden with a tremendous budget of mails for the army, was brought in with its precious cargo.

Hardee, who had been hurried across the State from the further side, in advance of Sherman, had got together about 15,000 men with which to defend Savannah. Of these, 3,249 were Georgia militia,

Major-General Henry W. Slocum.

who were under strict orders not to leave the State. Governor Brown, of Georgia, had latterly grown somewhat lukewarm in his support of the Confederacy. He had even coquetted with Sherman, before the grand march had finally begun, hoping to obtain exemption from enforced levy of rations, provided he could in some way placate the general who was ready to march through the State. But this came to nothing, although Brown did withdraw the Georgia troops from Hood's army. When Hardee wanted to use the Georgia militia, after he had determined to fly from Savannah to Charleston, he accomplished his purpose by a stratagem. Meanwhile, the lieutenant-governor of the State, General Wright, of the Confederate army, added to the humor of the situation by declaring himself Governor of Georgia, Brown having been deposed by virtue of what was then called his "territorial disability."

Difficulties of the military situation.

The inundation of the rice-fields nearly surrounding Savannah added to its defences; the besieging army floundered in these swamps, trusting to the coöperating forces of General J. G. Foster, whose headquarters were at Beaufort, South Carolina, to invest the city from the north and east, and so prevent the escape of Hardee's army. But the attempt to cut the line of communication northward was inefficient; and Hardee, finding himself completely hemmed in except on the line above mentioned, resolved to escape while he could. Accordingly, on the night of the 20th his evacuation of Savannah was finished, and his forces were safely on their way to Charleston, taking only their light artillery with them. Sherman captured with the city, according to one historian who was in the army of occupation, over 250 heavy guns and 31,000 bales of cotton. Sherman, therefore, was conservative in his statement when he telegraphed to the President, on Christmas Eve: "I beg to present to you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with 150 guns and plenty of ammunition; also about 25,000 bales of cotton."

Great joy in the North.

The loyal States of the Union were now ablaze with joy. Celebrations were improvised in every town and city throughout the North, and praise unstinted was lavished upon the brave and daring men who had made the march to the sea, severing the already dismembered Confederacy into further fragments. The

Destroying a Railroad.

jubilation that showed itself in many ways had for its keynote, not one of triumph over a beaten foe, but a confident belief that the war was practically over and that peace would soon return. Congress was in session, and it at once passed a joint resolution tendering the thanks of the Nation to General Sherman and the officers and men of his command for their gallantry and good conduct in the triumphal march from Atlanta to the sea. In a letter thanking the general and his men, President Lincoln gratefully gave to Sherman full and exclusive credit for this achievement, the Government claiming no share in it. The President acknowledged that when the army started on its march he "was anxious, if not fearful;" but feeling that Sherman was the better judge, he had refrained from any interference or suggestion. "Now," he said, "the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours, for I believe none of us went further than to acquiesce."

This march to the sea, more than 300 miles by the roads travelled, occupying a month, cost the Federals in all 785 men, killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederate prisoners numbered 1,338; of their loss in killed and wounded there are no records. During the march, more than 20,000 bales of cotton were

Losses.

burned, and an immense amount of provisions and stores was seized. But what was of far more injury to the Confederacy, 320 miles of railroad were destroyed, severing the last links of communication between the Confederate armies in Virginia and the West. Excepting the immense amount of provisions and stock seized, very little damage was done to private property, save in a few cases of unusual provocation.

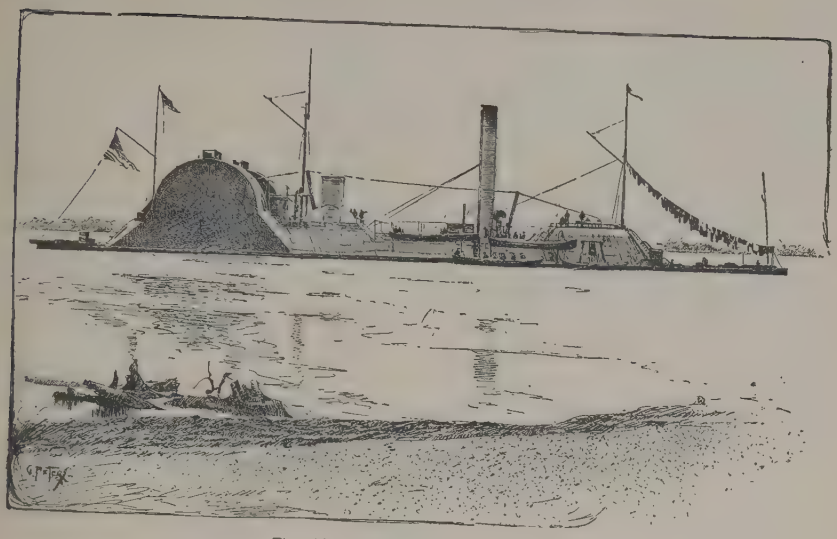
CHAPTER XIV.

RECONSTRUCTING STATE GOVERNMENTS.

Political Operations in Arkansas disturbed by a Confederate Raid. — Congress declines to admit Senators and Representatives from the State. — Similar Troubles in Missouri. — Arkansas and Missouri abolish Slavery. — Violent Commotions attend Reconstruction in Louisiana. — The Work goes over to a Later Period. — Andrew Johnson in Tennessee. — Reconstruction Measures deferred by Hostile Raids. — Emancipation finally declared. — The Peirpoint Government in Virginia a Nucleus for Reconstruction. — Butler's Caustic Criticism of Peirpoint. — A Failure in Florida. — The Battle of Olustee.

Military operations in the States west of the Mississippi River, excepting those directed against Shreveport by the way of the Red River, were not important during 1864. But political events in the States of Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana were significant of the return of peace and a reconstruction of the Union. As has been already related in a previous chapter, the reconstruction of the political machinery of Louisiana was going on when the unfortunate Red River expedition was in progress. The withdrawal of Banks's forces gave liberty to the Confederates under General E. Kirby Smith to coöperate with Price's command in the last and most desperate raid which Price made through Arkansas and Missouri.

General Steele, who held the line of the Arkansas River as a Federal line of advance, early in 1864, was ordered to coöperate with Banks in his expedition against Shreveport, Louisiana. He was preparing to leave Arkansas to carry out his orders, in the first days of April, when he received news that Banks was retreating and Kirby Smith had sent 8,000 infantry and a detachment of artillery to Price for offensive operations against the Federal forces. Steele at that time was well on his way to the southern part of the State, and, knowing that he was not strong enough to meet the combined forces of Smith and Price, he fell back upon Little Rock, fighting the Confederates who pressed upon his rear. He fought a considerable battle at Jenkins's Ferry, on the Saline River, April 30th, where he repulsed the Confederates with heavy loss and so disabled Price that



Flagship *Carondelet* at Baton Rouge.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

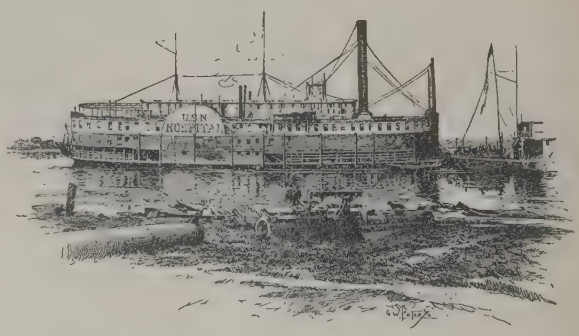
there was no more pursuit after Steele had crossed the river. Price now organized his army for an invasion of Missouri, leaving Steele to fall back leisurely to Little Rock. Price's army, with the reënforcements which he received while making up his column, amounted to about 15,000 men, although, with the usual disagreement noticeable in various accounts of Federal and Confederate active operations, Price's estimate of his force placed it at only 12,000.

About the 1st of September, Price, having skilfully made feints in the direction of both Little Rock and Fort Smith, on the Arkansas River, crossed that stream about half way between the two points; and before Rosecrans (who was sent to this command after his removal from command at Chattanooga, October 19th, 1863) knew that an invasion of Missouri was actually threatened, Price had reached the northern boundary of Arkansas. General Thomas Ewing, Jr., commanding the department of Southeast Missouri, with a small force, of which the State militia composed a considerable part, did what he could to check the advance of the Confederates, whose objective point was nothing less than the city of St. Louis. Price, having driven Ewing from Pilot Knob, where he had made a gallant defence by way of check, advanced directly upon St. Louis and attacked the defences of that city a few miles south of it. Rosecrans, in the mean time, had been reënforced by A. J. Smith's veteran division of the Army of the Tennessee, 4,500 strong, which had been temporarily detained at Cairo, on the way to Sherman, after the return from Red

River. He was able to repulse Price's army, which now turned westward, directing its attention to the capture of Jefferson City, the capital of the State. Rosecrans, determined that this important point should not fall into the hands of the Confederates, gathered up every available man, and Price was once more compelled to change his route; he turned up the south side of the Missouri River, relentlessly conscripting and pressing into his service every man and youth capable of carrying arms, his orders calling for "All white male citizens between the ages of 17 and 50." The summer had been spent in these marchings and counter-marchings, and it was not until October 20th that Price's advance came within sight of Lexington, where there was sharp fighting during that day and the next. The reënforcements sent by Rosecrans from St. Louis, consisting of A. J. Smith's corps of infantry and a body of provisional cavalry under General Alfred Pleasonton, came up and attacked Price's army in the rear. The invasion was now so far checked that Price turned his attention to getting away with as many of his men as possible. He was pursued with vigor; and when he finally recrossed the Arkansas River, at a point a few miles above Fort Smith, it was with an army reduced to less than 5,000 men, demoralized and badly beaten. This was the last effort of the Confederates to regain Missouri to the lost cause. Even the partisan rangers and guerrillas, who had harassed the people beyond all endurance by their outrages, followed the invaders from the State, and some semblance of order began to reign in the long distracted Missouri.

The flight of Price.

The political effervescence which followed the expulsion of the insurgent forces was quite as exciting as actual hostilities had ever been. The loyal elements of the State were divided into two camps, — Radical and Conservative. These jarring factions carried on their offensive operations against each other even while the State was threatened with invasion and recapture. A temporary truce had been effected in February, 1863, by electing the leading Radical, B. Gratz Brown, and the leading Conservative, John B.



U. S. Navy Hospital Steamers at Baton Rouge.

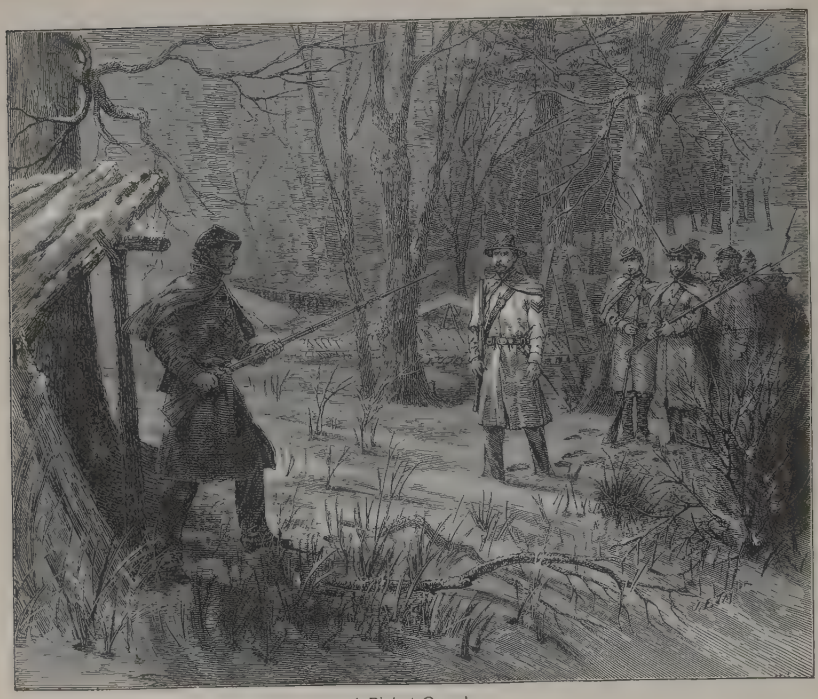
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

Henderson, to the United States Senate, Mr. Henderson being elected to succeed himself. The Radicals now began to agitate a scheme for the assembling of a State convention for the purpose of framing a new constitution which should provide for the total abolition of slavery in Missouri. In these matters, as well as in the election of Brown to the Senate, the commanding officer of the department, General Schofield, took some part; for the civil and the military administrations had not yet become wholly separated. So violent was the opposition of General Schofield to Senator Brown, that it was finally thought best to relieve the general from his command in Missouri; and as soon as Rosecrans, who succeeded Schofield in command, had assumed the duties of his place, he was violently laid hold of by the contending political parties, each of whom claimed him as its own; and the commotion which had disturbed the State during Schofield's administration did not subside.

Political troubles.

It was shrewdly surmised that the mission of Price at this juncture was as much political as military. Price cherished the delusion that Missouri was held back from embracing the Confederacy by the brute force of Federal arms; just as Bragg believed that Tennessee was held down by the same power which, as he thought, prevented that State from welcoming him as a deliverer. But Price's raid was an ignoble failure. Even his conscriptions did not augment his army of invasion; and when he left the State there were no signs of that general uprising of the people which he had expected and which those who believed that a conspiracy of "American Knights" was on foot had profoundly dreaded. During the summer, when Price's men were raiding the State, the politicians were busy with schemes for the furtherance of their respective campaigns. The Radicals held a convention and instructed their delegates to the Union Republican convention to vote for General Grant as their candidate for President. When the National convention assembled in Baltimore, however, the nomination of Lincoln had become so assured that the Missourians were the only men in the convention who were not anxious to cast their votes for him. It was only when their standing aloof prevented the absolute unanimity of the convention that Missouri was recorded as voting for Lincoln. In the presidential election that year, the Conservatives returned to the Democratic fold and voted for McClellan; the Radicals tardily came into line and voted for Lincoln, who was given the electoral vote of the State.

It was during this turmoil that the constitutional convention that the Radicals had so urgently demanded was finally voted by the people. What was more to the purpose, three fourths of the delegates elected were Radicals. That convention assembled on the 6th of the



A Picket Guard.

following January and, six days later, formally adopted an ordinance declaring the complete abolition of slavery throughout the borders of the State and forever prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime. The reconstruction of the State was now complete; and with the completion of the work of reconstruction came the final destruction of slavery at the hands of the people of the State, under due and orderly process of law.

Reconstruction in Missouri was comparatively easy, inasmuch as the political machinery of the State had never been so completely thrown into disorder by the acts of secession as in some of the other States claimed by the Confederates. In Arkansas, however, it was necessary to begin at the foundation of things and rebuild the structure of civil government. This process began very soon after the occupation of the State capital by General Steele, in 1863. Not a few notable men who had participated in the rebellion expressed themselves ready to accept the terms of the President's amnesty proclamation, issued later in that year, and steps preliminary to reorganizing the local government were taken by some of the Unionist citizens of Arkansas in January, 1864. A convention of delegates qualified and ready to take the oath of allegiance was organized in Little Rock,

January 8, 1864; and although there was very little evidence of a strong popular voting element behind these delegates, the assemblage was sincerely patriotic in purpose, and respectable in its personnel. The outcome of the convention was a State constitution which did not greatly differ from the former constitution of Arkansas except that it declared the act of secession to be null and void, abolished slavery immediately and unconditionally, and repudiated the Confederate debt. A provisional governor, Isaac Murphy, was appointed by the convention, and March 14, 1864, was designated as the day on which a general election should be held to accept or reject the new constitution and choose State officers, including a legislature and members of Congress.

Political confusion in Arkansas.

Confusion was introduced into these proceedings by an order issued by the President to General Steele directing him to prepare a registry of citizens willing to take the oath of allegiance prescribed in the amnesty proclamation, such citizens being notified to vote at an election to be held on March 28th, for the purpose of choosing a civil governor, a military governor (John S. Phelps, of Missouri) then being in office under a previous appointment from the President. The President had not been informed of the proceedings already begun by the citizens, and as soon as he was notified of the confusion of dates caused by his order for an election, he referred the whole matter back to General Steele for disentanglement. The convention plan was accordingly adopted; and at the election held, March 14th, 12,177 votes were recorded in favor of the new constitution to 226 against it. Murphy was elected governor and other State officers were chosen and duly inducted into office. The legislature elected at that time subsequently chose William M. Fishback and Elisha Baxter United States Senators to fill the vacancies caused by the withdrawal of those Senators who had gone into the rebellion. These newly elected Senators, and the three members of Congress chosen at the March election, went to Washington, but were denied admission to seats in Congress. By this time, June, 1864, Congress had begun to shape a plan of reconstruction which differed radically from that enunciated by President Lincoln in his amnesty proclamation. The report of the Senate Judiciary Commitee, on which Fishback and Baxter were refused admission to the Senate, was to the effect that civil order had not been sufficiently restored in Arkansas to permit the establishment of civil government within the borders of the State; and the fact that the President had not recalled his proclamation which declared the inhabitants of Arkansas to be in insurrection against the authority of the United States was adduced as evidence that the civil authority had not yet

been restored. The Murphy government continued its operations, but under the protection of the United States military arm; and in September of that year, the Confederates who had not been fully expelled from the State plucked up courage sufficient to induce them to take possession of the State capital, reorganize their legislature, and pretend to set up their government. They were again and for the last time expelled, but Congressional representation for Arkansas was for a long time deferred.

As the reconstruction of Louisiana was the first instance of the machinery of a State being set in motion under the amnesty proclamation of the President, the process was watched with lively interest by citizens of all sections of the United States. In a former chapter, the labors of General Banks, from which he was called by the duty of conducting the expedition against Shreveport, were adverted to with brevity. The first steps in reconstruction, however, may be here reviewed, in order that the course of events may be the better understood.

Beginning of the political turmoil in Louisiana.

The anti-slavery men of Louisiana, or those who had fully accepted the emancipation measures of the President, held to the theory that by the act of rebellion the old constitution of the State had been destroyed. They styled themselves Free State men, their cardinal principle being that an entirely new constitution should be framed with prohibition of slavery embodied in it. They formed local associations, and from these associations a body of delegates, styled the Free State General Committee, was chosen to represent the whole mass of anti-slavery men. They next proposed to hold a delegate convention for the framing of a new State constitution which should prohibit slavery. The plan was approved by General George F. Shepley, who acted as military governor of the State, and who ordered a registration of free white male citizens competent to vote under the provisions prescribed. The so-called Conservatives protested against these proceedings, insisting that it was the duty of the General Government to recognize the rights of the State as they existed before the passage of the ordinance of secession.

A military governor chosen.

The conflict between these two factions was carried over into 1864, when a new plan of reconstruction was proposed by General Banks, the amnesty proclamation being its basis. Banks proposed that an election be held under the old constitution of the State, except that from that instrument should be excluded everything that recognized slavery, the order calling the election expressly declaring that that portion of the constitution was null and void; the authority which was to call the election was to assume power to amend the old constitution in this manner. General Banks justified

his action in the premises by the statement that "The fundamental law of the State is martial law," and that under the operation of that law the Government might proceed with the reorganization of the State and eventually surrender to the people so much of military power as would be consistent with military operations. At that election, which took place on February 22d, 1864, Michael Hahn, the candidate of those who supported the views and policy of Banks, was chosen by a fair majority. There were two other candidates in the field — Flanders, who represented the Free State men, and Fellows, who was supported by the Conservatives. Hahn was inaugurated with much pomp and was clothed by the President with all the powers exercised at that time by the military governor.

Although the Free State men had taken part in this election, they now declared that it was invalid and irregular and should be set aside and annulled by Congress. This carried the whole proceeding up to Congress, where the five Representatives and two Senators subsequently went with their credentials. Meanwhile, a convention was held for the revision and amendment of the State constitution; and that instrument, so revised as to abolish slavery, was subsequently submitted to the people and adopted by a popular vote of 6,836 in favor and 1,566 against it, on September 5th, 1864. But, as in the case of Arkansas, the admission of Senators and Representatives to seats in Congress went over for a time and eventually became a legacy of trouble for other times and other statesmen than those whose plans led up to the election which sent these men to Congress.

Andrew Johnson's career begins.

In none of the reconstructed States was the process of reorganization more fitful and more frequently interrupted by war's alarms than in Tennessee. We have seen how reluctantly the State was dragged into secession; with equal reluctance did the insurgents give up all hope of holding the State to the loose obligations imposed upon her by an extorted agreement to the covenant of the Confederacy. Repeated raids of Confederate commanders were made for the purpose of "delivering Tennessee from the bondage of the usurper," it being the commonly accepted theory of the insurgent leaders that the people of the State were with their cause, heart and soul, and were only kept by main force from rushing into the arms of the Southern Confederacy. The career of Andrew Johnson, as military governor of Tennessee, began as early as in the spring of 1862, and, from that time onward he busied himself with various plans for the reëstablishment of the civil authority throughout the State. The Federal victories of that year gave hope and comfort to the Unionists of Tennessee, but Bragg's raid into Kentucky paralyzed them later in the summer, and the rallying cries of the Union men

Ammunition Schooners in Hampton Roads.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph made in 1864.

were hushed for a time. Again, in December, it was proposed to hold elections for Congressmen in several districts in which vacancies existed; but the Confederate raider Forrest chose the day appointed for the election for a bold ride across Grant's lines of communication, that general then being preparing for his expedition against Vicksburg. The disaster at Holly Springs, Mississippi, followed, and once more the political situation in Tennessee was clouded over with hopelessness.

When Rosecrans marched into Chattanooga, early in September, 1863, the State appeared to be permanently cleared of insurrectionists, and Johnson renewed his labors in behalf of a complete reconstruction; but a period of uncertainty intervened, and it was not until midwinter, 1864, that Johnson was able to direct some of his tremendous energy to the rebuilding of the civil State. In January of that year a great mass meeting of Unionists was held in Nashville, and Governor Johnson made one of his stirring speeches, in which he declared that treason was a crime and should be punished as such, and that "treason must be made odious, traitors must be punished and impoverished." Resolutions declaring in favor of a constitutional convention and immediate emancipation were passed, and the way seemed clear to immediate action. But obstructions arose; the unconditional Union men, who had suffered untold horrors under the violent reign of the insurgents, protested against the liberality of treatment which their late persecutors were to receive under the operation of

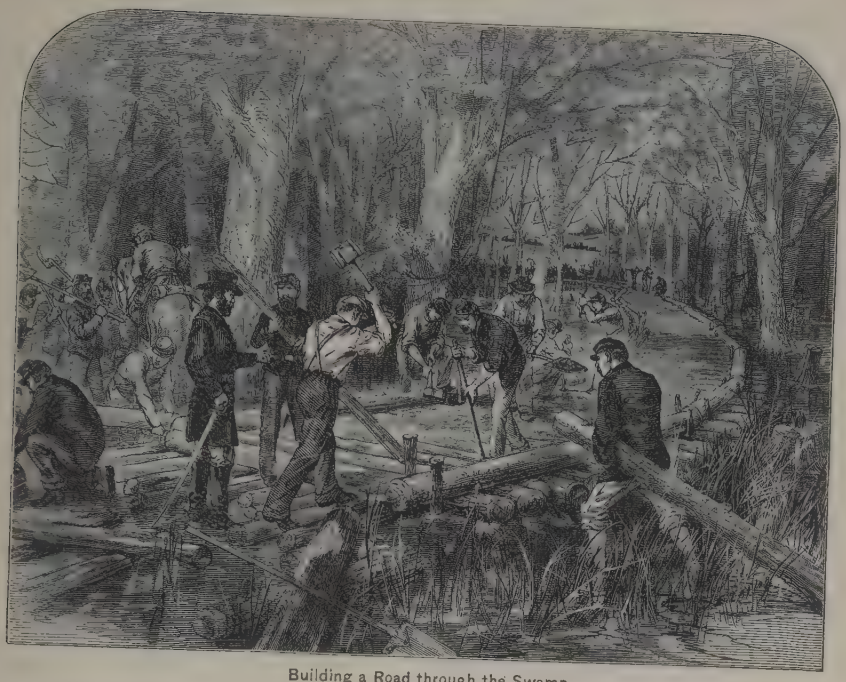
the amnesty policy set forth in the President's proclamation of December 8th, 1863. Johnson attempted to modify the oath of allegiance prescribed in the proclamation, and considerable heat was occasioned by these seeming differences of opinion, the unconditional Union men securing the sympathy of Johnson, who continually breathed out threatenings and slaughter against the men who, apparently repenting of their misdeeds, were then embracing the opportunity offered them to rehabilitate themselves in the President's proclamation of amnesty.

Johnson ordered an election for county officers only; and at the election, which took place in March, 1864, nothing conclusive as to the strength of the Union element in Tennessee was manifested. Later, a mass convention was held in Nashville (September 5th, 1864), for the purpose of providing for a convention to revise the State constitution and to take part in the presidential election of that year. The latter part of the programme was carried out with partial success; but military disturbances interfered, and a State convention which was called to assemble in Nashville (December 19th) to revise the constitution was prevented by the advance of Hood's army on its ill-starred invasion of Tennessee, shortly after the departure of Sherman on his march through Georgia. Finally, in January, 1865, the constitutional convention was held, the State then being free from the alarms of war, and the constitution was amended so as to emancipate the slaves, abolish slavery, repudiate the Confederate debt, and declare the ordinance of secession treasonable, null, and void. Under this amended constitution, which was duly ratified by the people, a full board of State officers and legislature were elected, and the civil government of Tennessee was once more set in motion. The first Governor of the reconstructed State was W. G. Brownlow, a passionate patriot who had won renown through the war as "Parson Brownlow."

Steps taken to reconstruct Virginia.

Hopefulness and a vivid imagination were required to invest with dignity the remnant of the State government of Old Virginia, which was kept alive during the war and preserved as a nucleus around which the reconstruction elements of the State were to crystallize. When the new State of West Virginia was erected, in 1863, Francis H. Peirpoint, who had been chosen Governor of Virginia after Governor Letcher and others joined themselves to the Confederacy, was still regarded as the chief magistrate of "the restored State of Virginia." He had maintained himself and his State government at Wheeling until the admission of the newly constituted State required Wheeling for a capital. Then he removed to Alexandria, the only town in Old Virginia in which he was tolerably sure of

safety from Confederate raids. Here he set up his government, and was duly recognized by the President and Congress during the remainder of the war. The two United States Senators who had been elected during the sojourn of the State government at Wheeling were allowed to retain their seats; and one Congressman (from the first district of the State) was elected under a writ issued by Governor Peirpoint. At Alexandria, Governor Peirpoint gathered around him a little legislature, which was stigmatized as "the common council of Alexandria" by some of the radical members of Congress; and it was derisively said by others of that party that Peirpoint "carried the government of the Old Dominion in his breeches pocket." Even President Lincoln, with his customary shrewdness of observation, was forced to admit that the insignificance of Peirpoint's jurisdiction, confined as it was to the narrow and fluctuating limits of Federal military occupation, gave "a somewhat farcical air to his dominion." But farcical though this attenuated substance of a State government certainly was, it sufficed for the purpose. Under its authority a convention was held in February, 1864, for the purpose of revising and amending the constitution of the State of Virginia. The convention pursued the same course that was adopted in Tennessee, abolishing slavery and making other declarations through the constitution which typified the new order of things. The Governor spiritedly resisted the encroachments of the military upon the civil power when General B. F. Butler, commanding the district in which Norfolk was situated, during the summer of 1864, undertook to regulate the liquor traffic in that city. It is likely that Butler, in the angry controversy that ensued between him and the Governor, gave expression to the sentiments of some of the radical leaders who did not regard with respect the government of Peirpoint. General Butler, among other things, said that Peirpoint's government was "a useless, expensive, and inefficient thing, unrecognized by Congress, unknown to the Constitution of the United States, and of such a character that there is no command in the Decalogue against worshipping it, it being the likeness of nothing in the heavens above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth." But the nucleus remained, nevertheless. Butler was admonished by the President to keep his military authority within the limits of military necessity; and the time came when the government administered by Peirpoint was thought good enough and legal enough to secure from Virginia a ratification of the amendment to the Federal constitution abolishing slavery. The reconstruction of Virginia was wholly based on the theory that its State government had survived the shock of war in the organization of which Peirpoint was the official head and chief.



Building a Road through the Swamp.

Mention should here be made of an unsuccessful attempt to begin the process of reconstruction in Florida during the early part of 1864. General Quincy A. Gillmore, whose headquarters were then at Hilton Head, South Carolina, cherished a plan of his own for opening the interior of Florida by landing at Jacksonville, then very feebly defended, and advancing into the country to the westward. He hoped thereby to secure an outlet for the accumulated stores of cotton, lumber, and other products known to exist there, to cut off the Confederate supplies of food, to obtain recruits for the negro regiments, and to set on foot proceedings for the reconstruction of the State. The expedition, commanded by General Truman H. Seymour, and at first accompanied by General Gillmore, landed at Jacksonville, February 7th, with about 6,000 men. Seymour and Gillmore did not fully agree as to the details of the campaign; and when the latter, having given his orders to Seymour and returned to Hilton Head, received letters indicating an intention to march into the bowels of the land, he wrote a sharp note of disapproval; but it was too late. Seymour, acting under what he conceived to be the orders of his chief, marched westward from his camp on the south fork of the St. Mary's River, intending to engage the Confederate forces under General Finegan, who was supposed to

Serious disaster in Florida.

be at Olustee, about eighteen miles distant. But the Confederates, who had been reënforced from Savannah and Charleston on the arrival of Gillmore's expedition, met the Federal troops outside of the town, and a general engagement took place at Ocean Pond, February 20th. The numbers of the contending forces were probably about equal, with a preponderating advantage on the side of the Confederates, who had chosen their position for defence. The result was a defeat for the Federals, who retired in some disorder after a brave and gallant fight, with a loss of about 1,800 men out of the 5,500 with which the battle was begun. The abandonment of the project for reconstructing the State which this defeat involved gratified those who were opposed to the President's policy of reconstruction, and who believed that the Florida expedition was intended to add one more State to the list of those participating in the presidential election that year.

Confederate Gunboat sunk in James River above Dutch Gap Canal.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

CHAPTER XV.

LAST STRUGGLES OF THE CONFEDERATE NAVY.

THE COMMERCE DESTROYERS AND THEIR END. — THE EXCITING ADVENTURES AND IGNOBLE FATE OF THE "FLORIDA." — CRUISES AND DEPREDATIONS OF THE "ALABAMA." — THE FAMOUS SEA FIGHT OFF CHERBOURG. — VICTORY OF THE "KEARSARGE." — CONFEDERATE ILL-LUCK WITH FOREIGN-BUILT RAMS. — THE INCENDIARIES OF THE "SHENANDOAH." — TERROR AMONG THE NEW ENGLAND COASTERS AND FISHERMEN. — IRREGULAR OPERATIONS OF BRAINE AND PARR. — FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE THE "MICHIGAN." — BEALL, THE TRAIN ROBBER, UNDER A CONFEDERATE COMMISSION. — CUSHING DESTROYS THE RAM "ALBEMARLE."

THE year 1864 witnessed the final destruction of the so-called Confederate navy. The vessels that protected the harbors of the Confederacy and patrolled the rivers and interior waters within the limits of its military jurisdiction had every right to bear the name of a navy; it is not so certain that ships of war coursing the ocean without a home port, pillaging peaceful merchantmen, and burning and scuttling whaling vessels, and destitute of any means of disposing of prizes taken at sea, could fairly be called parts of a regular navy. Vessels of this sort were usually stigmatized as pirates and corsairs by the people of the United States; and the fact that they flew the Confederate flag and carried papers countersigned by the government at Richmond did not, in the opinion of these observers, invest them with any higher dignity than that which the successful piracies of Captain Kyd, Morgan, and Blackbeard gave to the vessels that those redoubtable sea-rovers commanded. As a matter of fact, the cruiser *Alabama*, the most famous and most dreaded of the Confederate fleet, never entered a port where flew the flag she bore.

Exploits of the Confederate cruisers.

The first Confederate cruiser entitled to be exempted from the corsair class was the *Sumter*, a sea-going steamer altered over from a merchantman in New Orleans, and sailing from that port in July, 1861. Her career was short; she made several captures during the first six months of her life; but she was finally taken to Gibraltar, where she was sold early in the next year. Her commander, Captain Raphael Semmes, was subsequently put in command of the *Alabama*. The *Oreto*, whose building and escape from British jurisdiction were noted in another chapter, was more successful than most of her sister cruisers in entering and leaving a Confederate port. As the *Florida*, she became a terror to the merchant marine of the United States; and when she had slipped into the port of Mobile, in spite of the vigilance of the blockading squadron, it was hoped and expected that she would never come out again with impunity. But she came out, disguised under English colors, January 15th, 1863, and successfully eluded the blockading fleet outside. During the next five months, the *Florida* took fourteen prizes, one of which, the bark *Tacony*, was fitted out as a tender; and armed and equipped as an assistant privateer, she raided the coasting trade of the United States, from the Chesapeake to Portland, Maine. One of the *Tacony's* prizes, the *Archer*, was fitted out as a tender, and started on a cruise, the *Tacony* and other prizes being burned. The *Archer* boldly ventured into Portland harbor, captured the revenue cutter *Cushing*, and put to sea. The valorous Portland people gathered a fleet of steamers, pursued the privateers, took them prisoners, and returned to port with their prize.

The *Florida* had an adventurous career. After having been refitted and repaired, she sailed from Brest, in February, 1864, and cruised off the coast of the United States during that summer, avoiding armed vessels and destroying merchantmen. Arriving at Bahia, Brazil, on the 5th of October, the *Florida* found the United States sloop-of-war *Wachusett*, in command of Commander Napoleon Collins. The privateer was welcomed by the Brazilian authorities, notwithstanding the protests of the United States consul, who invoked the neutrality of the Brazilian Government to prevent the ship from receiving supplies and stores. Early in the morning of October 7th, Collins got under way, as if making ready to go to sea. Succumbing to the temptation to destroy the privateer, although in a neutral port, Collins sought to run her down while he was under full head of steam; failing in this, after inflicting considerable damage, he captured the ship, made her fast to his own vessel by a cable, and triumphantly went to sea with his prize, leaving the baffled commander of the *Florida*, Captain J. N. Maffitt, on shore, where he had gone to spend the

The *Florida*. The *Shenandoah*. The *Alabama* or "290."

Three Famous Confederate Cruisers.

night. The act was clearly an infraction of international law; but the American people, who had regarded with anger a somewhat similar contempt for that code by England, France, and Brazil, very naturally hailed Commander Collins as a hero. A long diplomatic dispute ensued between Brazil and the United States; but before it was concluded the *Florida* was accidentally sunk at her moorings in Hampton Roads. The United States Government disavowed the action of Commander Collins and made the *amende honorable* to Brazil, Secretary Seward taking that convenient occasion to give the Brazilian authorities a wholesome lecture on their own repeated and flagrant violations of international comity and usage.

The escape of the cruiser *Alabama*, a ship first made notorious by her dock number, 290, has been already noted. She was the second of the ships built in England on Confederate account. Semmes so calculated his chances for eluding the war vessels of the United States that he never cruised more than two months in any one region, so that by the time the news of his depredations and movements could reach the United States and send a pursuer after him, he was off for other watery fields of enterprise. He coaled at sea or at some out-of-the-way rendezvous, his coaling tender meeting him by appointment. Excepting the little steamer *Hatteras*, which he sunk while he was disguised as a British man-of-war, off the coast of Texas, in January, 1863, the *Alabama* never encountered a United States warship until the day of her own doom. Finally, after a long and destructive cruise, which extended as far from the shores of the United States as the East Indies, the *Alabama*, laden with ships' chronometers and other booty, arrived at the port of Cherbourg June 11th, 1864. The French Government, from the first disposed to coddle the young Confederacy beyond the seas, had now become somewhat alarmed by the signs of the breaking down of the power of its protégé which had

been observed in the more recent battles fought between the contending armies. Application for the *Alabama* to enter a naval dock was parried for a time; and when the United States sloop-of-war *Kearsarge*, Captain John A. Winslow, appeared off the harbor entrance, steaming back and forth, as if inviting the *Alabama* to come out and fight, Captain Semmes, confident of his ability to sink his challenger, weighed anchor and advanced doughtily to the fray; he was accompanied by a French iron-clad, whose duty it was to escort the Confederate cruiser outside of the marine jurisdiction of France, the Government being now punctiliously bent on enforcing the international regulations relating to neutrals.

A Sabbath spectacle.

It had been noised all over Paris that a great naval battle was impending, and trains laden with sight-seers came down to Cherbourg on that sunny day, Sunday, June 19th, when the *Alabama* went out to accept the challenge which Winslow had informally and somewhat irregularly sent to Semmes through the medium of various agencies in the port. There were thousands of spectators on the shores to behold this duel between the *Alabama* and the *Kearsarge;* and the pluck and daring of Semmes in taking up the gage of battle gave the enthusiastic Frenchmen ample occasion for compliment. The antagonists, however, were so nearly equally matched in every way, that Semmes's chivalry consisted only in his determination to fight when he might have possibly remained secure in harbor for a long time unmolested. His confidence in a ship that had never yet met an enemy worthy of her guns was unwarranted.

On the other side, so confident was Winslow of being able to destroy his antagonist that he led him out to sea for some distance beyond the margin of neutral waters before he invited attack. When about seven miles from land he put about and headed directly for the *Alabama*, notwithstanding his exposure to a raking fire from the privateer. When the two ships were eighteen yards apart, the *Alabama* opened fire with a broadside; a second and part of a third were fired before the *Kearsarge*, sheering off, delivered her first fire of shells, broadside, at a distance of about nine hundred yards. Winslow's chief anxiety was to prevent the *Alabama* from running away; and he kept her close on his starboard beam, the two ships taking up a circular motion around a common centre; a slight current carrying the combatants westward during the fight. The battle lasted from 10.57 A. M. to noon, when the *Alabama* ceased firing, set sail, and endeavored to run inshore. Winslow prevented this, and the *Alabama* hauled down her colors in token of surrender. It was claimed on the one side that Winslow fired after the colors were lowered; and on the other side that the *Alabama* renewed her fire after hauling

THE SINKING OF THE ALABAMA.

down her colors and displaying a white flag. But the privateer was badly crippled and was in a sinking condition. A boat was sent alongside of the *Kearsarge* with a message of surrender. In a few minutes, the *Alabama* rapidly settled by her stern, and the weight of the guns and stores rushing aft threw her into a perpendicular line; the long-dreaded cruiser went down stern foremost, the tip of her jib-boom being the last seen of her as she disappeared beneath the waves.

Some acrimonious discussion grew out of the details of this sea fight. Semmes threw himself overboard and was picked up and carried to England by a British yacht, the *Deerhound*, owned and manned by an English friend of the Confederate cause. Forty-two of the *Alabama's* company, officers and men, were rescued by the *Deerhound*. Winslow, instead of leaving the struggling swimmers in the sea until he could get out his boats and pick them up, asked the commander of the *Deerhound* to rescue all that he could. By this proceeding, it was claimed, the yacht was entitled to carry off the persons rescued. But Semmes, by his surrender, was virtually a prisoner of war, and he was accused of breaking faith when, throwing his sword into the sea, he went off on the yacht; and the officer who took the surrender of the *Alabama* to the *Kearsarge*, and who was permitted to return to aid in rescuing his mates, gave his word of honor that he would return. He, too, could not resist the temptation to flee on the friendly *Deerhound*. The fact that the *Kearsarge* had her spare cables hung over her sides, as a protection for her boilers and machinery, was cited as evidence of her superiority over the *Alabama*, which did not have any such protection. The sympathetic friends of the lost cause sorrowfully said that Semmes would not have fought the *Kearsarge* if he had known that she was "iron-clad." As a matter of fact, the parts covered by the chains were struck but twice by Semmes's shot or shell; and it was generally known that the ship had carried her sheet chains on her sides during the previous year.

The victory of the *Kearsarge* [1] was due to her superior and matchless gunnery. She fired one hundred and seventy-three missiles, nearly all of which took effect; the *Alabama* fired three hundred and seventy, of which only twenty-eight struck the *Kearsarge*. The executive officer of the *Alabama* reported nine killed, twenty-one wounded, and ten drowned of this ship's company; the *Kearsarge* had only three men wounded; of these one subsequently died. The comparatively small loss of life and the trifling amount of damage done to the ship effectually demonstrated the fact that the Confederate

[1] Congress, by special act, awarded to the officers and crew of the *Kearsarge* the sum of $190,000, the full estimated value of the *Alabama*, in lieu of prize money.

cruiser was not so well handled in the fight as the *Kearsarge* was, even the so-called iron plating of the last-named ship being given all credit claimed for it by those who lamented the result. A majority of the crew of the *Alabama* were not Americans.

The third of the Confederate cruisers obtained in Europe was the *Georgia*, originally known as the merchant ship *Japan*, purchased on the Clyde by Matthew F. Maury, formerly an officer in the United States navy. Commissioned by the Confederate Government, and commanded by William L. Maury, the *Georgia* had a brief and not brilliant career. She was slow and of very limited coal-carrying capacity. After a desultory cruise of nearly a year, during which she captured few prizes, the *Georgia* was disposed of to an English shipper who chartered her to the Portuguese Government, and she was sent to Lisbon. The United States steamer *Niagara*, Commodore T. T. Craven, intercepted her in neutral waters, took her to Boston, where she was duly condemned. The English firm who fitted her out was indicted and fined in the British courts. The *Florida's* career lasted from April 1st, 1863, to midsummer, 1864.

In the latter part of 1863, the *Victor*, a British gunboat, condemned and sold under orders of the royal navy, was bought by Maury and refitted at Sheerness, the dockyard officials superintending her equipment. An alarm being raised, she put to sea, with some precipitancy and in an unfinished condition, November 25th, 1863. She went into Calais, France, as the Confederate man-of-war *Rappahannock* in distress. The French Government dallied with Mr. Slidell, who asked aid, comfort, and permission to depart for her, notwithstanding the protests of the American minister in Paris. The shifty Emperor evaded the Confederate agent until April, 1865, when the vessel was delivered over to the United States authorities, the Confederate Government having come to an end.

Confederate rams built in France.

One of the two rams built for the Confederates in France was sold to the Prussian Government early in 1864; and the other was sold to Denmark, the French Government having by that time become convinced that dalliance with the Confederate agents was no longer safe. The ram taken to Denmark was resold to the Confederate agents in Europe, and was duly commissioned as the Confederate ship *Stonewall*. She sailed for the port of Ferrol, where she was blockaded but not attacked by the *Niagara*, Commodore Craven. She then crossed over to Havana, after some objectless cruising along the coast of Spain and Portugal; arriving at Havana just as the Confederacy was breaking up, she was turned over to the Cuban Government, then passed into the possession of the United States, and was finally sold to Japan.

Captain John A. Winslow.

The last Confederate flag at sea.

The last purchase of the Confederate navy agents in Europe was the fast steamer *Sea King*, built for the Bombay trade, and sold by an English firm. The *Sea King* was speedily transformed into the Confederate commerce destroyer *Shenandoah*, commanded by Captain Waddell; she sailed from Liverpool October 8th, 1864, receiving her armament and officers at sea. The special mission of the *Shenandoah* was the destruction of American whaling vessels in the North Pacific. On her outward cruise the *Shenandoah* captured and destroyed or ransomed nine American vessels. She was hospitably received and refitted in Melbourne, Australia, and was joyfully sped on her way northward, where she wrought havoc among the whalers, burning most of her captures and looting those which had valuables on board. From one of these thrifty New Englanders, according to the report of one of the *Shenandoah's* officers, was secured "the enormous sum of four hundred dollars." Twenty-one of Waddell's captures were burned in June, 1865, two months after the Confederacy had ceased to exist. Waddell's ship had the honor of carrying the last flag of the Confederacy that ever floated on land or sea.

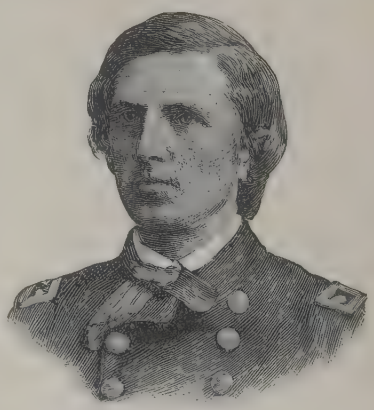
There were several other small cruisers who kept up a scattering guerrilla warfare on the sea, under the Confederate flag, as late as the midsummer of 1864. One of these was the English blockade runner *Atlanta*, which, as the Confederate cruiser *Tallahassee*, carried terror among the small coasters and fishers along the coast of New England during the summer of that year. Thirty of these little craft were captured, and nearly all of them destroyed, during the three weeks of her first cruise. She ran the blockade and got into Wilmington, North Carolina, October 26th, and ran out again three days later, newly christened as the *Olustee*, the Confederate victory of that name having been duly celebrated. She made seven prizes and returned to Wilmington with impunity. Finally, after once more changing her name to the appropriate one of *Chameleon*, she masqueraded as a merchant ship, and was seized in Liverpool by the British Government, while lying in dock in command of "Captain

John Wilkinson, C. S. N." She was ultimately turned over to the United States Government.

Another naval exploit of the minor order was the capture, in December, 1863, of the merchant steamer *Chesapeake*, plying between New York and Portland, Maine, by two Canadians, J. C. Braine and H. A. Parr, who had, as their official authority, commissions from the Confederate Government, having with them as enlisted men seventeen persons who had shipped as passengers. Braine and Parr seized the ship and bore away for Halifax, the only blood shed in the capture being that of an engineer on board, who was slain. The captain and passengers were landed on British soil, and an Englishman, one Vernon Locke, took charge of the ship, which was now commissioned as a Confederate man-of-war. While lying in Sambro Harbor, Nova Scotia, the vessel was captured by a United States gunboat sent from Portland; but at the instance of a superior officer of the United States navy, who arrived later, she was turned over to the British Government. Judicial proceedings in Halifax disclosed the fact that all of the so-called Confederate officers and crew, with a single exception, were British subjects. The ship was returned to her lawful owners, and the men were eventually let loose.

Sundry small water raids.

A more ridiculous adventure than this was an attempt to capture the little man-of-war *Michigan*, maintained on Lake Erie by the United States Government. One Cole, formerly in Forrest's troop of raiders, was to coöperate with John Y. Beall in the affair. Beall was to get himself invited to dinner on board the *Michigan;* Cole was to capture the passenger steamer *Philo Parsons* in the manner approved and employed by Braine in the case of the *Chesapeake;* then, with his crew of twenty-five bravoes, whom he had taken with him, he was to make an attack on the *Michigan*, aided by the presence of Beall on the man-of-war. But the scheme went agley; Beall was captured before he could get on board, his plans being known to the Federal authorities. Cole and his crew took to flight after capturing the *Parsons* and sinking a small and harmless steamer, the *Island Queen*. Beall subsequently attempted to derail a passenger train near the Niagara Suspension Bridge station, in the



Commander William B. Cushing.

State of New York, his object being the robbery of the express. He was caught, and, although he exhibited a Confederate commission as his belligerent authority, he was condemned and hanged as "a spy, guerrilla, outlaw, and would-be murderer of hundreds of innocent persons travelling in supposed security." Mr. Davis, the President of the Southern Confederacy, hoping to secure immunity for Beall, officially declared that what he had attempted to do in New York was ordered by the Confederate Government; and the Virginia Senate, sympathizing with the would-be train wrecker, strongly recommended the Confederate President to retaliate in kind for the hanging of Beall.

Home-built Confederate iron-clads.

The Confederate Government was more fortunate with the iron-clad rams built at home than with foreign experiments in that direction. The *Merrimac* in Hampton Roads, the *Tennessee* in Mobile Bay, and the *Albemarle* in the waters of the coast of North Carolina were all remarkable examples of the inventiveness, skill, and patience of their constructors. When one considers the slenderness of the resources of the builders, the difficulty of obtaining the best materials, and the crippled equipment of the shops and factories from which machinery must be drawn, the formidableness of these iron-clad monsters becomes a subject for wonder and admiration. Not the least dreaded of them was the ram *Albemarle*, built at Edwards's Ferry, on the Roanoke River, about thirty miles below Weldon, North Carolina, early in 1864. Unlike some of her contemporaries, this craft was built new from her keel up, and her model was not determined by the lines of anything upon which the craft was superimposed. She was framed of solid pine timbers, massive, dovetailed together, and sheathed with thick plank. She was 122 feet long, 45 feet wide, and drew 8 feet. Her casemate, built on her flat, flush deck, was octagonal in form, 60 feet long, the full width of the ship, and covered with two layers of two-inch iron. Her armament consisted of two powerful rifled guns mounted amidships, fore and aft, in such a manner that each gun could be worked through three ports. Her prow was finished with a strong beak for ramming purposes, and her deck was well protected from plunging shot.

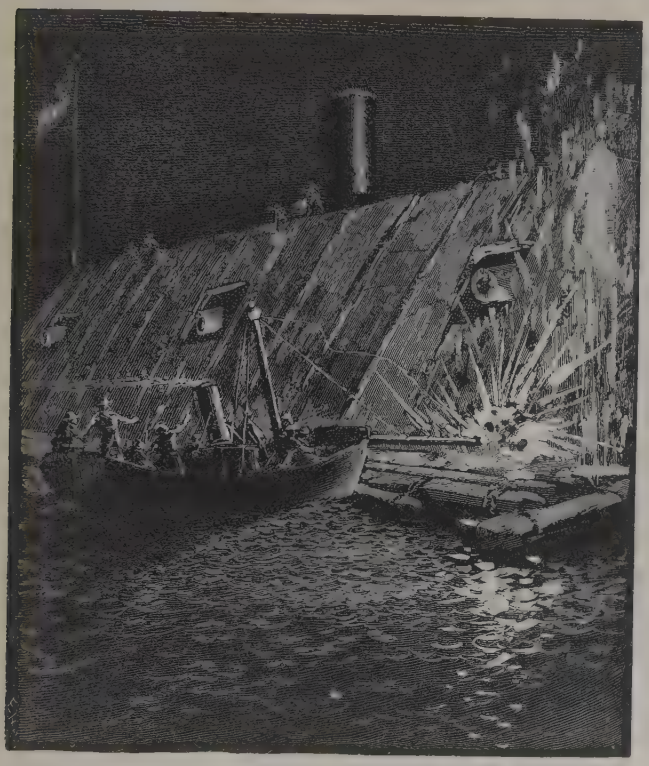
The progress made by the builders of the ram was known to the officers engaged in watching the coast-line, and due warning was given of her readiness to come out and engage the Federal fleet. Her first service was in April, 1864, when she came to assist in an attempt to recapture the town of Plymouth, then held by a small Federal force. The land attack was made on the 18th by Hoke's division, which surrounded the place, but was repulsed by the Federal garrison, aided by two gunboats in front of the town. But the appearance of

the *Albemarle*, next day, materially changed the aspect of affairs. The two gunboats, the *Miami* and *Southfield*, were chained together, with a long spar separating them a considerable distance apart, and were taken up the Sound to meet the ram. But the encounter was soon over; the *Southfield* was rammed and sunk, and the *Miami* was easily driven off by the iron-clad. Plymouth fell into the hands of the Confederates; and nothing short of the destruction of the *Albemarle* could now allay the apprehensions of the naval officers in command of the squadron in the Sound. This was bravely attempted by the fleet, when the *Albemarle*, not waiting to be attacked, sallied forth on the 5th of May and engaged the wooden vessels of the Federal fleet, eight in all, carrying 32 guns and 23 howitzers. But all was in vain when the redoubtable ram met her foes. She was badly crippled by the loss of her smokestack, which was shot away; but she managed, in spite of her wounds, to inflict great damage on her adversaries and get away safely after a severe ramming from her determined foes.

Cushing's gallant exploit.

It was next resolved to attempt the destruction of the ram as she lay at her wharf in Plymouth. Eager volunteers offered themselves from the Federal fleet, and, after some competition a selection was made of a crew commanded by Lieutenant William B. Cushing, who had already distinguished himself by deeds of extraordinary and perilous daring, and who was sent to New York to select his own material for the expedition. He chose two steam launches, one of which was captured from him while on his way back to the fleet by the way of the sounds that line the coast. On the night of the 27th of October, the little launch with her devoted crew was towed up the Sound for a short distance; then, casting loose, she was noiselessly steered directly for the ram. Cushing was in the bow of the launch, holding in his hands the lines that worked a spar torpedo. The spar was to be lowered into the water at the right time, then thrust under the overhang of the ram, the torpedo detached, and, when it rose against the bottom of the craft, it was to be fired by pulling the line in Cushing's hand. The brave young commander communicated with his engineer by means of cords attached to the wrist and ankle of that officer, as absolute silence was one of the conditions of success. Arriving off the ram, Cushing discovered that she was surrounded by a boom of logs, lashed and chained together and forming an apparently insuperable barrier some distance around her. Sheering off, in the midst of an alarm which was now given by the barking of a dog, Cushing turned again and dashed forward his boat at full speed, determined to drive her over the logs. She was forced over the barrier, which was slimy with sea-growths, and the audacious launch was within the lines, under a rattling fire of musketry from

the upper works of the *Albemarle*, and directly faced by the grim muzzle of a 100-pound rifle gun. With the coolness of a practised surgeon conducting an amputation, Cushing took in all the chances and all the details of the situation; calmly lowered his spar, directed the torpedo, felt its impact on the bottom of the fated ram, gently pulled the string, and in another second a fearful detonation filled the air; the ram blew up with an enormous hole in her bottom; masses of water fell into the launch, and, refusing to surrender, Cushing flung his arms and superfluous clothing into the water, and plunged overboard, calling on every man to save himself if he could. Of Cushing's crew in the launch all were captured but three who followed him, and of these brave fellows two were drowned; the third got ashore and eventually reached the fleet.



The Destruction of the *Albemarle*.

After undergoing incredible hardships, swimming in the river, hiding in the swamps, and eluding patrol boats and picket guards, Cushing at last managed to secure a small boat which had been left for a moment by some Confederate soldiers, and in this he paddled to the picket boat, twelve miles from the scene of his wonderful exploit. He was received on board with enthusiasm unbounded; and when the news of his great success was made known, the fleet fired a salute in honor of his famous victory. For this brilliant service Cushing, who was then but twenty-one years old, received the thanks of Congress and was pro-

moted to the rank of lieutenant-commander. On the 31st of October the naval fleet took the town of Plymouth in the rear, passing up into the Roanoke by the Middle River; and the town, with its considerable armament, stores, and rear-guard, fell into the hands of the Federal forces. This dramatic chapter ended the offensive operations of the Confederates along that portion of the coast of North Carolina.

The Wyoming and the Japanese forts.

An interesting incident in the history of the United States navy during the war was the engagement of the frigate *Wyoming* with the fleet and forts of one of the native princes, or daimios, in the straits of Simonoseki, Japan, in 1863. At this time the empire of Japan was undergoing a mighty change; the dual reign of the Mikado and Tycoon, or Shogoon, was coming to an end; the tycoonate was to be abolished, and the power of the feudatory lords, or daimios, was gradually being taken from them and absorbed in the central government. While the empire was in this state of ferment, an American merchant ship, the *Pembroke*, being in waters which had been formally declared open to traffic by the imperial government, was fired upon by the land and naval forces of the Prince of Nagato, whose feudatory jurisdiction extended over the inland sea and straits of Simonoseki, then being navigated by the Americans. The Prince of Nagato belonged to the party who resisted the opening of the empire to foreign intercourse, and he was virtually in rebellion against the imperial authority. His guns had been trained upon the vessels of other flags than that of the United States; and the representatives of Great Britain, France, and the United Netherlands, having grievances of subjects of their respective governments in their hands for satisfaction, agreed that the United States ship *Wyoming*, Commander McDougal, should, with the authority of the imperial government of Japan, proceed to the straits of Simonoseki and chastise the rebellious prince.

Commander McDougal did his duty so effectually that the forts of the Prince of Nagato were silenced and his fleet destroyed in a brief action, during which the *Wyoming* was struck by shot eleven times, five of her men were killed and six wounded. Subsequently, a convention was concluded between the four powers engaged and the imperial government of Japan, by which indemnities were agreed to be paid to each of the foreign powers. The share of the United States in this indemnity originally amounted to $300,000; but during a long interval pending the ultimate disposition of the money, the State Department invested the money so judiciously that it reached the sum of nearly two millions before it was covered into the Treasury and distributed.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE END OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. — REPEAL OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. — MARYLAND SLAVEHOLDERS DISCONTENTED. — THEY DECLINE COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION. — THE STATE VOTES FOR A FREE CONSTITUTION. — THE LONG STRUGGLE FOR THE PASSAGE OF THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT ABOLISHING SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES. — IT IS MADE AN ISSUE IN POPULAR ELECTIONS. — FINAL PASSAGE OF THE AMENDMENT BY CONGRESS. — THE EVENT HAILED WITH MUCH ENTHUSIASM.

A PART of the so-called compromise of 1850 was the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law of that year. Under it the rendition of fugitive slaves who had escaped to free States was made a duty imperative on all law-abiding citizens of the United States. That statute was not repealed until so late as June, 1864. In a state of war it was difficult to enforce such a law; and the example set by General B. F. Butler, declaring fugitive slaves to be contraband of war, was ultimately followed by all the officers of the Federal army; and his dictum early solved the problem of the status of the slave who had escaped into Federal military lines. Up to that time, black persons held to bondage in the Southern States had been regarded as a species of property invested with a peculiar sacredness of inviolability. After the war began it was argued by the friends of freedom that there was no need of haste to repeal a law which was no longer operative; and some of the more vindictive were willing that the statute should remain unrepealed in order that it might be habitually defied under the operation of the laws of war. There were few attempts to enforce the law after the war was well under way. The act providing for its repeal was passed by both houses of Congress, and was signed by the President, June 28th, 1864. It was entitled "An act to repeal the fugitive slave law of 1850, and all acts and parts of acts for the rendition of fugitive slaves." The war had made possible the final repeal of an important section of the famous compromise measures of 1850, by which slavery was saved for the time being.

Slavery in the District of Columbia was abolished by act of Con-

gress in April, 1863, the bill being signed by the President April 16th. The law provided for compensated emancipation, loyal owners being paid for the manumitted slaves, for which purpose $1,000,000 was appropriated; and the additional sum of $100,000 was appropriated to colonize such of the slaves as might desire to emigrate to Hayti or Liberia. Mr. Lincoln had long held to the belief that colonization was one of the agencies by which emancipation might be facilitated. But the opportunity afforded for colonists under the law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia was not embraced to any appreciable extent; and although the whole amount appropriated was much larger than that mentioned, it availed nothing, and the provision was repealed in June, 1864.

Abolition in Maryland.

The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia naturally worried the slave-owning people of Maryland, whose territory adjoined that now made free by Congressional enactment. Invitations to accept compensated emancipation, offered to the Border States, were not favorably received in Maryland. But a narrow door was opened by an executive order, issued October 3d, 1863, under which negroes were permitted to be enlisted in the Federal army in Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee, loyal owners to be compensated for such of their slaves as might enlist under these conditions. And the people of Maryland were gradually learning that human slavery was incompatible with the existence of republican institutions; and although they were exceedingly sensitive to any appearance of coercion in the direction of emancipation, they ultimately arrived at the conclusion that slavery could no longer be tolerated in any State. They preferred to abolish the institution absolutely, and without any reference to compensation for slave property. By a popular vote, taken April 6th, 1864, a convention was called to revise the State constitution; that convention, June 24th, adopted an article in the new constitution forever abolishing slavery in the State of Maryland; and on the 12th and 13th of October, 1864, the people ratified the amended constitution by the slender majority of 375 in a total vote of 59,975.

As a rule, the legislation of Congress relating to slavery was rather in advance of the general political opinion of the people. On the other hand, the action of the President in all such matters was only a very little, if any, in advance of public opinion. Congress appeared to lead; Mr. Lincoln appeared to be led by public opinion; but as a matter of fact, it may be said that Mr. Lincoln's constant endeavor was to educate both Congress and people up to the highest standard of political morality; and at that point there could be no such thing as the toleration of human slavery.

Contrabands in Camp at Culpepper, Va., November, 1863.

Drawn by J. C. Phillips from a photograph.

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolished slavery. Various propositions looking for its adoption had been introduced in Congress during the year in which it finally received the approval of that body. But the first proposition, introduced by Representative James M. Ashley, of Ohio, December 14th, 1863, was that which eventually became law. It took the form of a joint resolution abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, throughout the United States. A similar resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States was introduced in the Senate, January 13th, 1864, and was passed by that body on the 8th of April, same year, by a vote of thirty-eight yeas to six nays. The resolution was opposed by Senators and Representatives who professed to believe that the abolition of slavery was an act of bad faith on the part of those who had all along declared that this was not one of the objects of the war; and they also predicted that the abolition of slavery would prevent a reconstruction of the States, provided the Federal arms should ultimately prevail. These men were from the Border States in which slavery still existed; or

they were Democrats from the free States who had been accustomed to regard American slavery as an institution around which were built safeguards that invested it with peculiar sacredness. In the House of Representatives the vote on the passage of the joint resolution to amend the Constitution was taken on the 15th of June, 1864; it resulted in its defeat; two thirds of those present and voting did not vote for the resolution, as required by that provision of the Federal Constitution which regulates the initiatory proceedings in Congress. The vote stood ninety-three yeas to sixty-five nays. Mr. Ashley, who had charge of the measure, gave notice that at the next session of Congress he should move to reconsider this vote; and he also gave notice that the question would go to the country in the mean time, as Congressional elections were to be held during the approaching recess. In this way the issue was forced into the canvass, securing a vote from the people before Congress could finally pass upon the question and before the proposed amendment could go to the several State legislatures for approval or rejection as provided by the Constitution.

The Thirteenth Amendment proposed.

The Union Republican convention at Baltimore, in June, 1864, which renominated Lincoln for President, emphatically endorsed the Thirteenth Amendment, and thus further brought it to the attention of the voters of the country. In the elections which followed, not only were the Republican candidates for President and Vice-president chosen by a very large majority in the electoral college, but Republican candidates for Congress were so numerously elected that it was evident that the pending constitutional amendment would be adopted by Congress at the first session which should be held after the adjournment of the present Congress. This would carry over the final passage of the resolution of amendment from the last session of the Thirty-eighth Congress to the first session of the Thirty-ninth. In his message of December, 1864, the President earnestly recommended Congress to pass the constitutional amendment without delay. It was inevitable that the next Congress would pass the joint resolution; but in the mean time, some of the States in rebellion might be ready to return to their former relations; if slavery were not constitutionally abolished meanwhile, its existence in the reconstructed States would embarrass the process of their return. On the 6th of January, 1865, Mr. Ashley brought the amendment again before the House of Representatives, and in a brief but forcible speech advocated its adoption. It was evident that the resolution could not pass without the aid of votes from the Democratic side of the chamber; but it was hoped that the verdict of the people, so far as that had been expressed in the result of the late elections, would enable some

[*Facsimile of President Lincoln's draft of the preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation, September, 1862. From the original in the Library of the State of New York, Albany. — The formal paragraph ending the Proclamation, and the signature, were added to this draft by a clerk. The remainder is in Mr. Lincoln's handwriting. He afterward signed the engrossed draft.*]

I Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States, and each of the states, and the people thereof, in which states that relation is, or may be suspended, or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave-states, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which states, ~~and~~ may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate, or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent with their consent upon this continent, or elsewhere, with the necessary Naval Armed Protection of the Government, will be continued.

Gradually then

with the consent of the Government

1

That on the first day of January in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive govern-
including the military and naval authority thereof
ment of the United States, will, ~~during the con-~~
~~tinuance in office of the persons now members~~, re-
and maintain the freedom of
cognize, such persons, ~~as being free~~; and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States, and parts of states, if any, in which the people thereof respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any state, or the people thereof shall, on that day be, in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto, at elections wherein a majority of the

qualified voters of such state shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such state and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby called to an Act of Congress entitled "An Act to make an additional Article of War" approved March 13. 1862, and which Act is in the words and figure following:

> *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:
>
> Article —. All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor, who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.
>
> SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.

Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an Act entitled "An Act to suppress Insurrection, to punish Treason and Rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," Approved July 17. 1862, and which sections are in the words and figure following:

> SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted*, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto; escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found on [or] being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.
>
> SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted*, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the acts and sections above recited.

And the executive will, in due time, recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion, shall (upon the restoration of the Constitutional relation between the United States, and their respective states, and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed

L. S.

Done at the City of Washington, this twenty second day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and sixty two, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty seventh.

Abraham Lincoln

By the President:
William H. Seward,
Secretary of State

of these gentlemen to see their way clear to support the amendment. Up to that time the argument of Democrats in the free States had been that it was unconstitutional to interfere with the institution of American slavery. They professed to look upon the war of the insurrection with indignant disapproval; but they could not immediately bring themselves to the point of adopting constitutional means for the destruction of slavery, and they refused to see that making an end of slavery would hasten the end of the war. As a body these Democrats refused to vote for the passage of the amendment to abolish slavery.

The amendment finally adopted by Congress.

But when the day for the final vote arrived, January 31st, 1865, a careful counting of the House, before the calling of the roll, showed that there were Democrats enough ready to support the measure and carry it through. The galleries and floor of the House were crowded by dense throngs of people, — dignitaries of state, foreign representatives, naval and military officers, Senators, judicial functionaries, and men and women representing almost every section of the Republic. There were eight members absent when the roll was called on the passage of the joint resolution; they were all Democrats, and all were without the customary pairing which provides for the moral presence of a member's vote, even in his absence. It was reasonably supposed that these eight absentees were willing to support the amendment tacitly by their abstention from the voting. Eleven Democratic Representatives voted for the passage of the joint resolution; the total vote was 119 yeas to 56 nays, — more than the constitutional two thirds being secured for the amendment. Up to the moment when the presiding officer of the House, Speaker Colfax, announced the result of the voting, the silence in the vast chamber was broken only by the formal voice of the clerk calling the roll and the responses, equally formal, of the members voting; except when an irrepressible rumble of applause greeted the affirmative vote of some of those who had declined to support the amendment on previous occasions. When the Speaker, his voice tremulous with emotion, announced that the resolution proposing the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery had finally passed, the House and its visitors temporarily escaped from his control. The vast assemblage was uncontrollable with enthusiastic joy. The air was filled with objects waved or tossed up to demonstrate the wildness of joyfulness of a majority of the great throng in the chamber. Cheers, cries of jubilation, and confused demands for some sort of formal expression of satisfaction by the House resounded on every hand. When quiet was measurably restored, Representative Ebon C. Ingersoll, of Illinois, said: "Mr. Speaker, I move that in honor of this immortal

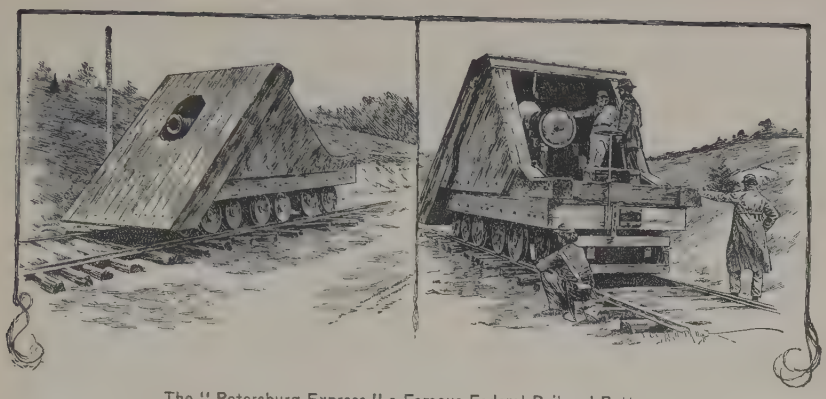
event, this House do now adjourn." The motion was carried; and as the joyous crowds passed out, a salute of one hundred guns was fired from one of the public parks on Capitol Hill. This was the final knell of American slavery.

The joint resolution simply proposed that the following Article be submitted to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three fourths of said legislatures, should be valid, to all intents and purposes, as a part of said Constitution, namely: —

"Article 13, Section 1. Neither slavery, nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation."

As the Federal Constitution places in Congress the power to initiate proceedings which may result in the amending of that instrument, it was argued that the joint resolution proposing to the State legislatures an amendment to abolish slavery did not need the signature of the President of the United States to make it operative. But, in the regular routine of legislative business, this joint resolution was taken to the President, and he affixed his signature in due form. Subsequently, however, Congress adopted a joint resolution declaring that Executive approval was not required to make valid the action of two thirds of that body in the passage of such a measure, and that the signature of the President had been affixed to the aforesaid joint resolution by an inadvertence; and it must not be quoted as a precedent. Copies of the joint resolution proposing the Thirteenth Amendment were engrossed on parchment, in facsimile, and were carefully preserved by members voting for the amendment, after securing the signatures thereto of all those who voted for the measure or who gave it their official attestation.



The " Petersburg Express," a Famous Federal Railroad Battery.
Drawn by J. C. Phillips from a photograph.

CHAPTER XVII.

CLOSING EVENTS OF A LONG WAR.

The Capture of Fort Fisher and Surrender of Wilmington. — Sherman's March through the Carolinas. — Notable Conference in Hampton Roads. — Lee's Desperate Situation. — Grant orders a General Assault on Petersburg. — The Confederate Lines broken in. — The Fall of Richmond. — Lee surrenders at Appomattox. — Sherman's Basis of Agreement with Johnston disapproved. — Final Surrender of the Confederate Armies.

With the arrival of Sherman's columns on the coast of the Carolinas had come such a dismemberment of the Southern Confederacy that nothing now remained to be done but to destroy the army defending the stronghold of the insurgents, Richmond. Whether that army were worn down by a process of attrition while pent up in the fortifications around Richmond and Petersburg, or crushed by superior numbers after being manœuvred out of that position, did not much matter to the indomitable commander of the Federal forces. Lee's army, however, could not long be maintained anywhere without some supply of material from abroad. One by one, the importing points on the Confederate seaboard had been closed, until, in the autumn of 1864, none was left but Wilmington, North Carolina, to offer shelter to the blockade runners, which, manned, armed, and equipped by English capital, and flying the British colors, were making fortunes for their owners, bringing British goods to exchange for American cotton. In the desperate gambling chances of war, one or two successful voyages so amply compensated for all expenses that the final loss of a tolerably successful blockade runner still left a handsome balance on the right side of the adventurers' ledger. The

Federal captures and the casualties of the risky business were many; but even when an enormous fleet was assembled off a blockaded port, venturous crafts could slip in and out securely with their valuable cargoes. That portion of the British people which was engaged in the money-making trade of blockade running had reason to hope for a prolongation of the war, and to deplore the end when it finally came.

Wilmington was the last gateway between the Confederacy and the outside world. Fort Fisher, at the southern entrance of Cape Fear River, was the lock on that gate. So long as the fort remained in the keeping of the Confederates, the gateway could be opened or closed only at their will. On the custody of this important entrance now depended the maintenance of Lee's army. In the last days of the Confederacy, Lee sent word to the commander at Fort Fisher, Colonel William Lamb, a brave and gallant officer, that Fort Fisher must be held, or he could not subsist his army.[1] The attention of the United States Navy Department had long been fixed on this point, because, as other Confederate ports were closed, one by one, the business of blockade running was concentrated at Wilmington; and the release of blockading fleets from other points by the end of the year 1864 had enabled the Navy Department to assemble off Wilmington a vast fleet, highly expensive to maintain, and always held in readiness to coöperate with a military force which might be sent to reduce Fort Fisher.

Fort Fisher.

Wilmington is built on the left bank of the Cape Fear River, about twenty-eight miles from its mouth. From the city to the sea the river flows nearly south, and parallel with the ocean, forming a narrow peninsula which, at its lower extremity, is known as Federal Point, renamed during the war Confederate Point. On this pointed and sandy extremity was Fort Fisher, the key in the lock, or the lock and key of the gate. This fortification, an earthwork, perfected during the years of the war, occupied nearly the whole of the space at the lower end of Federal Point; its land face, running entirely across the peninsula, was five hundred yards long; and its sea face, looking eastward, was thirteen hundred yards long. It mounted forty-five heavy guns and a few mortars; and its vast interior was a series of fortifications consist-

Lieutenant-General Wade Hampton, C. S. A.

[1] Colonel Lamb, in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, vol. iv. p. 642.

Ruins of the Capitol at Columbia, S. C.
Drawn by J. C. Phillips from a photograph.

ing of heavy traverses, extending some twelve feet into the fort at right angles with the parapet, and so constructed that each (with its bomb-proof) might be regarded as a fort. Five miles up the peninsula was an intrenched camp, held at that time by General Bragg, commanding the forces in and around Wilmington. On its land face Fort Fisher was defended by an elaborate system of abatis, palisades, and torpedoes, the latter being connected with the fort by subterranean wires.

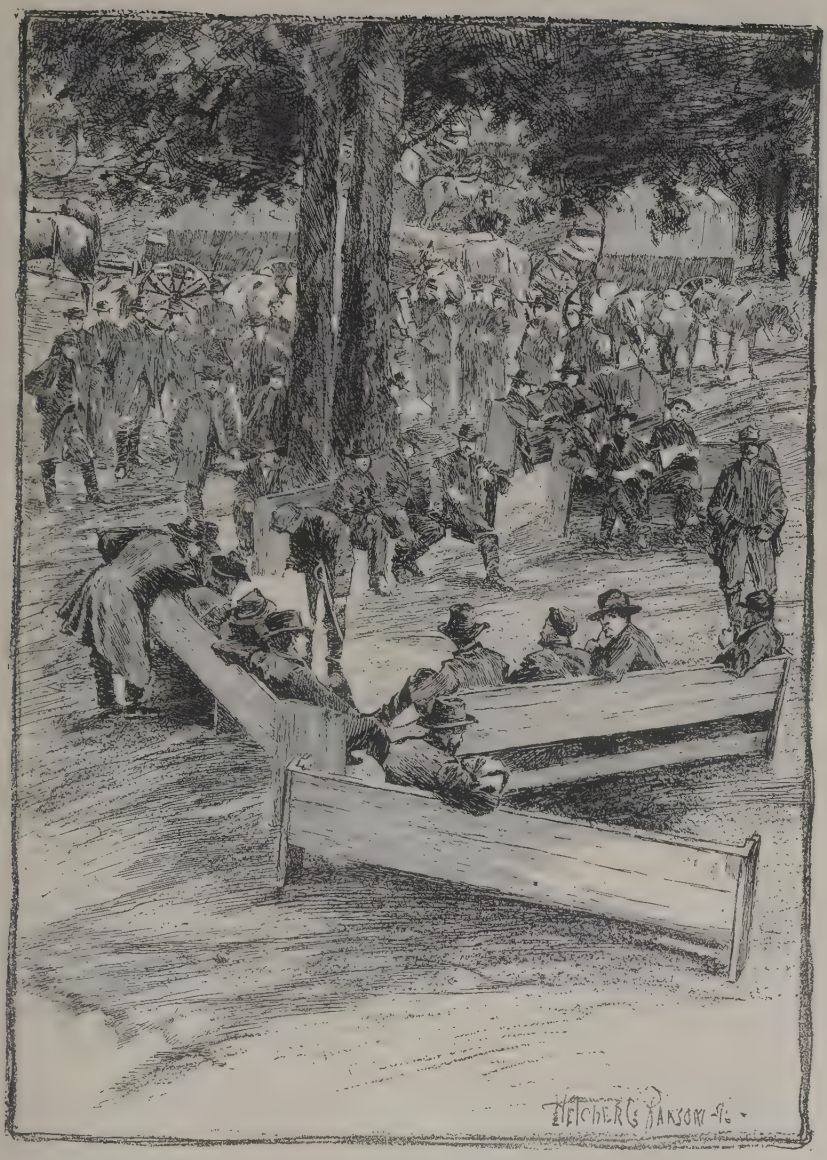
To reduce this truly formidable fortification was assembled, during the first week of December, 1864, a fleet of sixty vessels, carrying a total armament of 619 guns, and led by such powerful iron-clads as the *Canonicus*, *Monadnock*, *New Ironsides*, *Mahopac*, and *Saugus*, and by the famous frigates *Powhatan*, *Colorado*, *Susquehanna*, *Brooklyn*, *Tuscarora*, and *Ticonderoga*. This was the largest and most powerful armada ever organized at any time during the civil war. It was commanded by Rear Admiral D. D. Porter, illness having prevented Admiral Farragut from taking the command, which had been offered him. The land forces, numbering 6,500 men, were under the immediate command of General Godfrey Weitzel, who was subordinate to General B. F. Butler. The details of the military expedition were issued by General Grant to General Weitzel, but of course through General Butler, his superior officer. General Grant subsequently said that he did not for a moment suppose that Butler was to go with

the expedition; but it turned out that Butler not only took charge of the land forces, but he did not communicate Grant's orders to Weitzel. Butler had conceived the idea that the explosion of a vast amount of powder near the fort would so paralyze the garrison that an attacking force would have no difficulty in capturing the works as soon as it could get there after the detonation had taken place. It was to witness this astounding feat in military practice that Butler started with the expedition.

Butler's powder-boat.

But there was a clash among the leaders of the enterprise from the first. Neither Porter, Butler, nor Weitzel were on cordial terms with each other; the naval contingent did not time its movements with those of the army contingent; and when the great scheme had failed, each endeavored to hold the other responsible for defeat. The powder-boat, loaded with two hundred and thirty-five tons of powder, was towed in by night, and at some risk, up to a point within four hundred yards from the fort. Slow-matches were set and the fleet withdrew to a safe distance, Admiral Porter being concerned for the well-being of his ships when the explosion should take place. The little gunboat loaded with powder blew up, as duly provided, and the breathless watchers saw a red glow, heard a dull rumbling; then all was silence. The blast was ineffective; the fort remained scathless and the garrison unscared. At daylight the naval fleet made a grand attack, firing broadside after broadside from their tremendous guns. Under cover of this fire, Weitzel landed a part of his men and without difficulty made his way to a point from which he had a complete view of the interior of Fort Fisher. The sight of the intricate and well-planned system of works so strongly impressed him that he lost faith in any plan of assault that might be suggested. Grant's orders had assumed that if any landing were effected, one of the main objects of the expedition was secured. But Butler kept Grant's orders to himself; and Weitzel naturally decided not to remain.

If it had not happened that Sherman, at this very juncture, presented the captured city of Savannah as a Christmas gift to the President of the United States, the Fort Fisher fiasco would have greatly exasperated and harassed the loyal people. As it was, the failure of the powder-boat only added to Butler's long list of personal disasters; and his project, which had not seemed unreasonable until after its ignoble collapse, was covered with an avalanche of popular ridicule. Some of those who had really expected great things from the powder-boat were among the first to scoff at the device and its adventure. The Fort Fisher failure, however, finished the military career of General Butler. Grant immediately relieved him from command; and



COUNCIL OF WAR AT MASSAPONAX CHURCH, VA., MAY 21, 1864.
(General Meade is bending over the shoulder of General Grant, who holds the plan.)

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

although the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, after hearing all sides, exonerated Butler from blame for the disaster, the merciless public refused to abate a jot of the derision with which he was lampooned for his share in this notable misadventure.

General Grant, under the spur of President Lincoln's earnestly expressed desire, readily agreed to send another army contingent to aid the navy in a second attack on Fort Fisher, the force being the same as that sent under Butler, with the addition of one brigade, which brought the effective strength of the land force up to 8,000 men. The command was given to General Alfred H. Terry, who, profiting by the failures of his predecessor, not only made a lodgment on the peninsula, but held it to the end. A furious fire was opened upon the fort by the fleet (now so augmented that it carried 627 guns) January 15th, 1865. Nothing could withstand that frightful rain of solid shot and shell; the gunners in the works were driven from their guns; the ground was littered with bursted bombshells; and the sand was so ploughed up by the fall of missiles that the wires for the buried torpedoes were cut off and rendered useless.

Fall of the fort.

An assault was made by a column of sailors and marines from the fleet about noon, the fire from the ships having wrought great havoc on the guns of the fort, dismounting some and disabling others. This attack, courageously conducted by a force of about 2,000 men gathered at random, was not effective; it was repulsed with great loss, and it did not succeed in reaching the interior of the works. But while the garrison was engaged in repelling the blue-jackets and marines (who were very lightly armed), they were surprised by the entrance of Terry's soldiers from the landward side of the fort. Availing themselves of the slight protection of sand dunes and swales, the infantrymen were able to get near enough to the fort to carry its parapet with a rush. Once inside, the soldiers fought their foe face to face, from one traverse to another, taking them each in turn, as if each were a little fort by itself. Whenever it was practicable, the fire of the fleet aided in the attack, and a final rush at dark cleared the fortification and the day was won.

Throughout the fight Colonel Lamb had telegraphed repeatedly to Bragg, with whom he was still able to keep communication, for instant aid, his word being that an attack on the Federal rear would save the fort if it did not annihilate its assailants. When the Confederate forces, left to be sacrificed by Bragg's inefficiency (as they declared), finally got away to Fort Buchanan, a small work at the extremity of the point, they found themselves again deserted by their comrades there, who had left them to their fate. Bragg and his fellow-officers never settled their respective accounts in the wordy

warfare which followed inquiry for the responsibility for the loss of Fort Fisher and (consequently) the last Confederate fort. The spoils of the victors here were 169 cannon and more than 2,000 prisoners. An unexpected addition to their conquest was the peaceful capture of two English blockade runners, richly laden, which, coming in unsuspectingly that night, found the gateway wide open but in possession of the authorities of the United States.

Sherman turns his face northward.

The next important move in the campaign was to bring General J. M. Schofield, with his corps, the Twentieth, from distant Middle Tennessee to North Carolina. The transfer was accomplished in the dead of winter and without any delay except that caused by the freezing of the Potomac, detaining the little army

Petersburg.

at the National capital while en route. Schofield was now placed in command of the newly created department of North Carolina, and, accompanying Cox's division, he landed at Fort Fisher, February 9th; operations were at once begun. Wilmington was to be made the new base of supply for Sherman's army, which, after a month's rest at Savannah, was ready for a march northward through South Carolina. The general plan of military operations was to push Sherman's veteran army towards a junction with the Army of the Potomac, there being a fleet hovering along the coast to furnish supplies and to coöperate by maintaining constant communication with the bases to be

established along the shores as the army moved northward. By a series of skilful manœuvres the Federal troops directly commanded by General Terry finally drove the Confederates under General Hoke steadily up Cape Fear River, and on the 22d of February Wilmington was entered without opposition, and the first important step in the new campaign had been taken.

Sherman, marching north, had designated Goldsboro as the point at which he should effect his junction of forces. For this purpose Newbern, North Carolina, was a better base of supplies, and General Cox was sent thither to open communications by rail, a task which he performed with great efficiency. When Sherman's army arrived at Fayetteville, North Carolina, they found themselves once more in

A Street in Petersburg.

touch with their own friends; a steamboat from Wilmington brought up supplies and the mails, the hardy veterans making the welkin ring when they saw the stars and stripes flying from the flagstaff of this messenger from the seacoast. Cox's duty, however, was not discharged without some perils and some mishaps. On the morning of the 8th of March, for example, while pushing his work westward to Goldsboro he was attacked at Kinston, on the Neuse, about half way from Newbern, by the Confederate forces under Bragg, who was now

in command of the remnants of Hoke's, Hood's, and other forces gathered up in haste. Bragg's assault was delivered with much spirit and skill; one of Cox's regiments, a little in advance of the main column, was captured, and stimulated by this success Bragg renewed his attack, but was repulsed. Schofield here joined Cox's command, and Bragg, having already retired through Goldsboro, the Federals now occupied Kinston (March 14th), bridged the Neuse and established river communication with Newbern. Terry, who had marched directly from Wilmington to Goldsboro, took possession of the Neuse south of that city one week later; and on the 23d Sherman entered the place, completing his march through the Carolinas.

Sherman's movement northward from Savannah resembled in some respects that which he had executed in the heart of Georgia. Howard's army on the right appeared to threaten Charleston; Slocum's on the left made a similar feint towards Augusta; the real purpose, which was successfully accomplished, was to march directly upon Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, and thence to Goldsboro. This route was extremely difficult; the rivers were wide and flowing through swampy lands, now overflowed by heavy rains. On the march through Georgia the army had moved along highways con-

The City Hall at Richmond.

Drawn by W. St. John Harper from a photograph.

Richmond.

structed between the rivers whose general course they paralleled; but here they were continually confronted by streams and swamps that barred their way. The roads were further obstructed by troops that fell back as they advanced; but the well-seasoned veterans of the grand army, who were wholly unused to being stopped by any obstacle of men or material, made nothing of brushing away these impediments; and they fought, when occasion required, with the same coolness and confidence with which they put aside other difficulties in their way. The Confederates had supposed that the condition of the country at that time was their own sufficient defence against attack. They were overwhelmed with surprise when they found that the army which they believed to be hindered by floods was really wading through streams and swamps at the rate of ten or twelve miles a day. General Johnston, who had now been placed in command of the Confederate forces, in this their last extremity, commenting upon the Federal combination of physical labor with military hardihood, said that when he heard of it "he made up his mind that there had been no such army since the days of Julius Cæsar."[1]

The burning of Columbia.

An unfortunate event of this march was the burning of Columbia while the city was occupied by Sherman's troops, thereby entailing much hardship and suffering upon non-combatants, and giving rise to a long and bitter controversy over the responsibility for the disaster. Sherman's march through Georgia,

[1] General J. D. Cox's *The March to the Sea*, footnote, p. 168.

Military Telegraph Battery Wagon at the Headquarters of the Army of the Potomac in front of Petersburg.

Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph made in June, 1864.

although undertaken as one of the needful and wholly justifiable acts of war, had greatly enraged the Confederate people, and the burning of Columbia was readily regarded by them as entirely characteristic of the man whom they denounced as a vandal, a species of military ogre. The fact appears to be that after the Confederates had evacuated the city, the fires they had kindled to destroy cotton and other goods which they were determined should not fall into the hands of the enemy spread to other species of property; a high wind prevailed; and it was said that some of the soldiers, intoxicated with the liquors set out for them with great liberality by thoughtless citizens, helped to spread the fires; and the result was a great and lamentable destruction. As this could not possibly have been done under the orders of any one of the Federal commanders (for nothing like this had ever been done before), public opinion gradually accepted the theory of the unintentional burning of Columbia as being the true one. It was not to be expected that angry and deeply embittered men would ever accept this reasonable explanation of the calamity.

Hardee, who was holding Charleston, abandoned that city to its fate, February 18th, and it was at once occupied by Admiral Dahlgren and General Foster. The fall of Columbia had made useless

the longer occupation of this "cradle of secession;" indeed, it had been held by the Confederates for some time after its importance in military strategy had passed away. Leaving Columbia on the 20th, Sherman directed his columns for Fayetteville, as before stated, the right wing under Howard passing through Cheraw and capturing great quantities of public and private stores sent thither from Charleston for safekeeping. Hardee had attempted to destroy these stores; and while he was engaged in the work, on the approach of the enemy, a great quantity of powder and fixed ammunition blew up, killing two hundred of the citizens who were watching the spectacle.

At Averysboro, which is about forty miles west of Goldsboro, and at Bentonville, midway between the two places, the left wing under Slocum was hotly engaged by the Confederates, who fought with the energy of despair. The Confederate commanders by this time were assured of the hopelessness of longer continuing the struggle. But like brave men and good soldiers, they obeyed orders and exerted themselves to hinder by all possible means the advance of the relentless army that pressed forward, ever and continually forward, to the anticipated junction with the besieging forces that were as continually tightening their death grasp on Petersburg and Richmond. The fight at Bentonville, March 20th, 1865, was the last battle in which Sherman's army participated. It was a desperate attack made under the personal direction of General Johnston, who then had some 22,000 men with which to cope with Slocum's 12,000. It was obviously an unnecessary sacrifice of men and material. The knell of the Confederacy had already sounded. But in this engagement the Confederate loss was 2,342, and the Federal loss was 1,604.

A notable event which occurred about this time was the meeting of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward with several commissioners from the Richmond government, who went to Hampton Roads to consider what steps, if any, could be taken to restore peace. During the preceding winter (of 1864–5), Mr. Francis P. Blair, senior, an aged and experienced politician, who had been a contemporary of Andrew Jackson, secured permission to visit Richmond and hold conversations with Jefferson Davis, his own private scheme being to urge upon the Confederate chieftain the feasibility and expediency of uniting "the two sections" in a joint crusade against the empire in Mexico, which, under Maximilian, had now become apparently secure upon its tottering base. The result of these irregular conferences disclosed to President Lincoln's astute mind the despondency of the Confederate leaders. They were disposed to look with favor upon Blair's Mexican project. Of course nothing could come of such a wild scheme, but out of it grew the embassage from Richmond to Hampton Roads.

A strange conference at Hampton Roads.

The Confederate commissioners were three in number: Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-president; R. M. T. Hunter, Senator and formerly Secretary of State; and John A. Campbell, Assistant Secretary of War. These men represented the Confederate Government. Their credentials were signed by Mr. Davis, who craftily gave much more importance to the Blair communication than really appeared in that remarkable mission. Mr. Lincoln's firm condition precedent to any conference was that the embassy must be prepared to treat for a truce "with a view to securing peace to the people of our one common country;" and his avoidance of even the most remote implication of a recognition of any real division of that country was characteristically shrewd and insistent. The commissioners expected to be allowed to go to Washington. They were halted at General Grant's headquarters, where word was sent them that Secretary Seward would meet them at some convenient point. Mr. Seward started with an ultimatum from the President which embodied these three conditions: restoration of National authority throughout all the States; no retrogression from the attitude taken by the National Administration on the subject of slavery; no cessation of hostilities until the end of the war and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the Federal Government had been reached.

Nothing came of this interview, and the commissioners were evidently disappointed by their failure to meet the President. They were on the point of departing for their own place when Grant telegraphed to Lincoln that he regretted that the commissioners and the President could not have met, face to face. This determined the President to go to Fortress Monroe, where, on board a small steamer moored in the roadstead, he and Mr. Seward met and talked freely and frankly with the emissaries. Still nothing came of this conference. The insuperable barrier to any substantial agreement, or even to arriving at any basis of negotiation, was the insistence of Lincoln that no compact could be made with rebels in arms, and the equally immovable insistence of the commissioners that an armistice must be proclaimed before they could advance a single step in the direction of an agreement. One of the commissioners (Mr. Hunter), arguing that rulers had before then entered into negotiations with people in arms against the rightful and acknowledged authority, cited the example of Charles I. of England, who received envoys from the people in revolt. Mr. Lincoln to this made reply: "I do not profess to be posted in history. On all such matters I will turn you over to Seward. All I distinctly remember about the case of Charles I. is that he lost his head." That settled Mr. Hunter and his historic citations.

The failure of the Confederates to secure an armistice by these

artful means greatly embittered the leaders. Mass meetings were held in Richmond at which Davis and others spoke with a defiant confidence in their cause which they could not have had in their hearts. With his usual extravagance of rhetoric, Davis denounced Lincoln as "His Majesty Abraham the First," and predicted that before the war was over he and Mr. Seward would find that "they had been speaking to their masters." This was the last attempt to discharge the now melancholy duty of "firing the Southern heart." The war was to be prolonged, no matter what the cost of human life and suffering. With defeat and ruin staring him in the face, the Confederate chieftain declared his intention to "compel the Yankees, in less than twelve months, to petition us for peace on our own terms." This was on February 6th, 1865, while the broken shell of the Confederacy was falling in all around. The National Congress was in session at that time, and its members viewed with needless alarm the departure of the President and Secretary of State for the conference in Hampton Roads. It was openly declared that Mr. Lincoln was ready to compromise away the substantial results of the war in order to secure a dishonorable and fruitless peace. When he returned a demand was made upon him for a

No cessation of the war.

Freedmen on the Canal Bank at Richmond.

Drawn by John Macdonald from a photograph.

report of his doings. But when his reply was read, and the unbending patriotism, immovable adherence to the accomplished results of his emancipation policy, and his own inimitable shrewdness were disclosed, the revulsion of feeling was wonderful. From that moment the voice of criticism and doubt was hushed.

It was noticed, too, that the President had expressly informed General Grant, at whose desire he had met the Confederate commissioners, that the pending council was in no way to influence the progress of the war; the campaign was to go on, just as if there were no attempt to negotiate. Lincoln very well knew how resultless the conference would be; he was only anxious to satisfy others of its futility. Even while these dramatic scenes were being set, the cordon of steel around Lee's army was being slowly drawn together. A little later in that month, Sheridan made a finish of the activity of Early in the Shenandoah. At the head of 10,000 cavalry, the dashing commander drove the Confederates out of the valley, and the engagements that began on the 2d of March ended with the capture of about 1,500 of Early's men, with all his guns and trains. This labor over, Sheridan joined Grant; and coming in on the Federal left below Petersburg, he was ready for the death of the Confederacy.

At this time the situation in the Southern Confederacy was one of the deepest gloom. The effectual sealing of their ports of entry, the depletion of the ranks of the armies by desertions, the paralysis that crept over every branch of the public service, and the general air of expectancy of dissolution which pervaded the Confederacy, — all indicated that the final crash must soon come. Among the last expedients resorted to in the desperation of those days was the appointment of General Lee to be general-in-chief of the Confederate armies, thus investing him with the full military powers which Davis had used so little to the satisfaction of his people. It was this appointment that brought again to command in the army General Joseph Johnston, one of Davis's pet aversions. The Richmond government, finally discredited and disregarded by European rulers and statesmen who had hoped to use to their advantage the family quarrel on this side of the Atlantic, angrily closed its communications with foreign powers and withdrew within itself; Jefferson Davis fatuously declared to the last that the Confederacy was no longer dependent on the foreign recognition for which his agents had so long and laboriously striven. And to crown all, it had been resolved to fill up the weakened ranks of the Confederate armies with black soldiers. The value of slave property was gone; to all intents and purposes, slavery existed only as a shade of that arrogant and self-sufficient social and political institution.

GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

Lee's last aggressive blow was struck on the 25th of March, when a desperate sortie by General Gordon captured Fort Stedman, an important work in the Federal lines before Petersburg. This fort covered Meade's Station on the military road in the rear of the Federal army. Gordon, with a force of 10,000 or 12,000 effectives, succeeded in driving out the Federal garrison; but the fort was enfiladed by adjacent batteries, and the position was recaptured before another day was over, the Confederate losses being set down at 3,000 in killed, wounded, and captured; the Federal loss was only a little more than 1,000 in both engagements. It was a curious illustration of the demoralization of the Confederate army at that time, that Gordon's skirmishers, when they approached Fort Stedman, in the darkness of the evening of the 25th, were mistaken for a squad of the deserters who so often drifted over into the Federal lines in these last days of the war.

The end drawing nigh.

Long before this, Lee had come to the conclusion that Richmond and Petersburg must be abandoned. It was yet possible, perhaps, that the Confederate army could be extricated from the toils which Grant had woven around it; the war might then be carried to some other point, the mountainous regions of Virginia and North Carolina apparently being the most available ground on which to make a stand against the enemy. To reach that part of the country and effect a junction with Johnston's forces was evidently the only hope left to Lee, should he be compelled to evacuate Richmond. To prevent this joining of the Confederate force and head off Lee in his attempts to escape was Grant's policy. When he ordered a general grand movement to take place on the 29th of March, he had in view the fatal extension of Lee's lines beyond Petersburg, an extension which Grant's strategy had made necessary. Repeated attacks on the railway lines leading south of Petersburg had induced Lee to stretch out his right farther and farther until the line had become so thin that it must break somewhere.

The movement of the 29th was to the left of the main position so long held by the Federal army. The extreme right of the Confederates rested at Five Forks, an important focus where several roads met, about fifteen miles southwest of Petersburg. Here Sheridan, who with his well-trained and well-seasoned cavalry held the Federal left, made a vigorous attack on the 31st of March; but he was repulsed with much spirit by the desperately fighting Confederates and was obliged to call for help from the infantry arm of the service. The Fifth Corps, General Warren, was sent to his aid, but that gallant corps was worn and fatigued, having borne the brunt of the fighting ever since the grand movement had begun.

The battle of Five Forks.

It did not come up with the celerity which Sheridan, chafing and fretting at delay, had expected. Grant, who had unpleasant relations with Warren, had given Sheridan permission to relieve him if he thought the corps would do better under one of the division commanders; but Sheridan, going into the fight with a will, made no change in his command until the victory was won. Performing prodigies of valor and apparently bearing a charmed life, Sheridan plunged into the thickest of the fight, cheering on his men with electric energy, infusing into them his own indomitable spirit, and leading wherever he would have them go. "All this time," says one historian of this remarkable fight,[1] "Sheridan was dashing from one point of the line to another, waving his flag, shaking his fist, encouraging, threatening, praying, swearing, the very incarnation of battle." While his infantry contingent was swung out to the right and brought down with a tremendous blow to the left, like a mailed hand, Sheridan was charging on the Confederate earthworks before him. The angle where he fought was the last protection for the Confederate right; he must carry it, and then, turning to the west, take the enemy in flank. It was done, Sheridan himself spurring his black charger full over the works and landing among a throng of prisoners who had thrown down their arms and were waiting to be told where to go. The day was won; the Confederate right was turned, and over 5,000 prisoners were taken from Lee's weakened army. In the moment of victory came the distressing news that Warren had been relieved from command; it was a sad blow to the brave soldiers of the Fifth Corps; they knew and loved their commander.

The hour for a general assault along the lines before Petersburg was fixed at four o'clock the next morning. But the attack did not open until three quarters of an hour later, some time being required to remove the obstacles which had been constructed in front of the fortifications along the lines. Then began the awful din of battle, and artillery and musketry thundered and volleyed as the fire became hotter and hotter. To strengthen his right, Lee had stripped his left and centre; and Grant soon began to receive reports from his own corps commanders of their having broken through the lines of the enemy in front of them. Sheridan moved in from the westward, and Petersburg was encircled by a line of Federal troops reaching from a point on the Appomattox below the city to another point above it. The Sixth and Ninth Corps, commanded by Wright and Parke, respectively, were well through the fortified lines of defence in front; the Second Corps, under Humphreys, and three divisions of the Army of the James, under Ord, had carried all before them, and were

[1] General Horace Porter, in *Battles and Leaders*, vol. iv. p. 713.

"Fort Hell" in front of Petersburg.
Drawn by W. St. John Harper from a photograph.

manœuvring to be ready to follow on the trail of the Confederate army if it should attempt to get away to the westward. The end had come. Word was sent by Lee to Jefferson Davis that Richmond and Petersburg must be abandoned. The Confederate chieftain was at church in the Confederate capital when the fateful message reached him. He quietly left the building and began his preparations for flight. The Confederate Government did not take the people of the city into their confidence; behind closed doors they packed their archives and personal effects; and although the news that the Government was about to leave them was allowed to leak out, after a while, the people were left to guess that evacuation was resolved upon; and then began a reign of terror. A wild panic spread through the city. There was no place of safety to which to flee, and no need of flying; but everybody began to pack up valuables and prepare for flight. That night was one of mad fright and panic in Richmond. Under orders from the fleeing government, Ewell, who was left in command, set fire to the bridges and warehouses of the city to consume the stores of tobacco and the supplies of army rations, as if the victorious and well-fed army soon to take possession of the city cared for these things. Flames illuminated the Confederate capital; the detonations of exploding iron-clads in the James River added to the terrors of the time, and a mob of drunken wretches who had snatched liquors and provisions from the burning stores made hideous the hours of darkness.

Final evacuation of the Confederate capital.

In the early dawn of Monday, April 3d, a detachment of colored

The Burned District in Richmond.

Drawn by W. St. John Harper from a photograph.

troops under the command of General Godfrey Weitzel entered the city, barely winning in a race across the country to be "in at the death." The flag of the United States was hoisted on the staff of the State House of Virginia in which the Confederate Government had maintained its temporary headquarters. General Grant, knowing that the end of the war was nigh at hand, had invited President Lincoln to visit him at his headquarters. But Richmond had fallen before the President could reach the city; and Grant was with his troops, hot on the trail of Lee, although ready to return and meet the President when he should arrive. Mr. Lincoln landed at the city about nine o'clock on Monday morning, from a naval vessel; and unattended save by his little son, "Tad," then about twelve years old, he walked up to the city, inquiring the way to General Weitzel's headquarters. In such simple guise, hailed and blessed by the newly emancipated and liberated slaves of Old Virginia, the President of the United States entered the capital of the broken and fugitive Confederacy, so long the goal of armies which had striven and wasted away in the often-deferred and long-continued struggle to reach it.

When Lee evacuated Richmond and Petersburg his purpose was to retreat to Danville, a point on the southern boundary of Virginia, in a southwesterly direction from Richmond. Here he might hope to unite

with Johnston, who was occupying the central and northern portions of North Carolina. The pressing necessity was to concentrate the forces then widely scattered. In all these now numbered about 40,000 men. Lee's immediate purpose was to reach Burkesville, at the junction of two railroads, fifty-two miles from Richmond. If he could reach that point ahead of the Federal army, he might destroy the roads in his rear and escape present pursuit. He had gained some hours in time, and had fair hope of success. But unexpected disaster awaited him. He had marched out with rations for only a single day, though large supplies were collected in his rear. These were to meet him at Amelia Court House, half way between Burkesville and Richmond. But the trains bearing the supplies went straight on, and when, on the morning of the 4th, Lee reached Amelia, there was no food for his army, and he had to break up his force into foraging squads. This enforced delay proved fatal; for the Federal columns, now in rapid pursuit, were close behind him, and upon his flank. On the 6th Sheridan struck Ewell's corps of the retreating army at Sailor's Creek, routed it, and made 7,000 prisoners, Ewell with the rest. The remainder of the Confederate army pressed wearily on, striking back fiercely when assailed by the heads of the pursuing columns.

Approaching Appomattox.

Grant's columns had so turned the direction of Lee's flight that the head of his advance was pointed due west, instead of to the southwest; and on the 8th of April, one week from the time of his departure from Petersburg, Lee found himself at Appomattox Court House, twenty-five miles east of Lynchburg, confronted by a considerable

The First Wagon Train entering Petersburg after the Evacuation, 1865.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

force of Sheridan's cavalry. The two armies had been moving on very nearly parallel lines, Grant's being south of Lee's. Sheridan's cavalry found no difficulty in keeping ahead of the fugitive Confederates; but there was still enough solidity in Lee's infantry columns to drive away these horsemen from their front; and it was not until the infantry under Griffin (who had succeeded Warren in command of the Fifth Corps) and Ord came up, after a march of incredible swiftness, that the fleeing army of Lee was finally caught in a trap. Still supposing nothing but cavalry to be before him, Lee ordered an advance. Sheridan's horse acted as a curtain; behind them were the infantry, and when the confident but weary Confederates advanced, the cavalry slowly withdrew to the right and left, disclosing to the astonished gaze of their adversaries a solid phalanx of infantry filling the roads and covering the hills with shining masses of blue and steel. Before this impenetrable wall the wayworn army recoiled in dismay. The marching of the veterans of many battles and skirmishes was ended at last.

The surrender.

With a cheerful optimism that appears unreasonable, Lee had held out against all hope. Up to the very last moment, he did not appear to comprehend the desperation of his case. But it was evident that the end was at hand. On the 7th, Grant had written to Lee, proposing to receive the surrender of his army. Lee replied that he did not yet think the case hopeless; but wished to know what terms would be offered. Grant replied that he would only insist that the men surrendered should not take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. On the 9th, the two commanders met at Appomattox Court House, where the terms of surrender were formally agreed upon. The substance of these was that all officers and men should be paroled, all public property be turned over, and, "this done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by the United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside." The number paroled was 28,356, of whom not more than 8,000 had muskets in their hands. The others had flung away their arms in their weary flight. The surrender of Lee's army virtually brought the war to a close.

General Grant, although his western affiliations and personal pride of locality might have induced him to share the final triumph in Virginia equally between Sherman's army and the Army of the Potomac, generously resolved to leave to the gallant men commanded by Meade the full glory of making an end of the foe to whose bravery and skill they had so often borne unwilling witness. He resolved to make a finish of Lee's army without the aid of the bronzed veterans who were

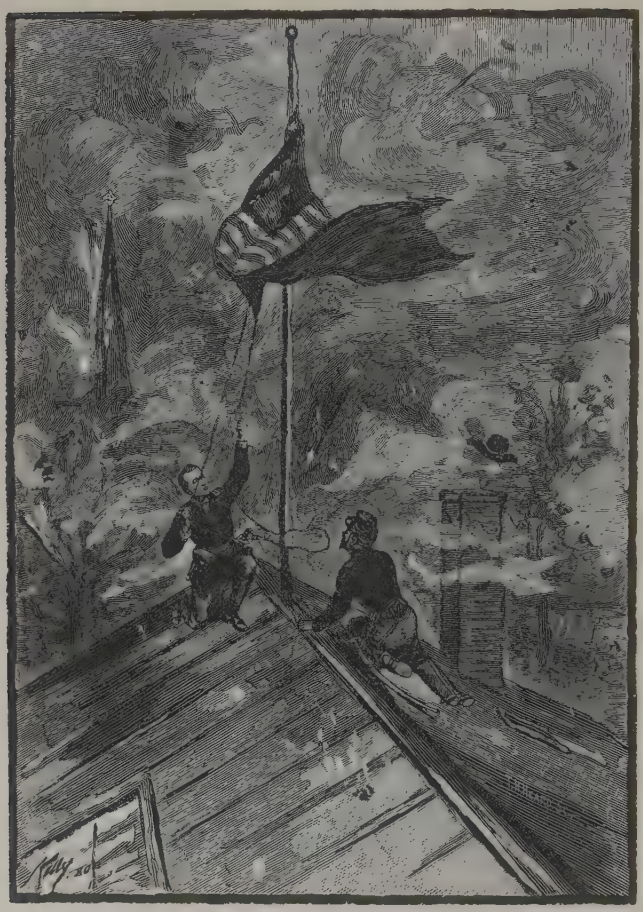
GENERAL LEE SIGNING THE ARTICLES OF SURRENDER.

waiting in the wilds of North Carolina for the notice to advance into Virginia. The men of the Army of the Potomac, dreading a delay that might bring Sherman's Westerners to their side, fought with fierce courage, impatient to end the great struggle then and there. To these hardy sons of war, so often led with inefficiency, so many times baffled and disappointed by conflicting councils and orders, came at last the triumph that was their due.

Sherman's army still in the South.

Sherman's men, on the other hand, having achieved great things in the heart of the Southern Confederacy, were anxious to have a part in the crowning victories of the war. By the 1st of April, that army was well up towards the northern boundary of North Carolina, ready to be placed on the north side of the Roanoke River, facing west and in a position to be in full communication with the Army of the Potomac, and to coöperate with those forces in the final operations that might be required of the combined armies. General Sherman had been to Grant's Virginia headquarters, and had had a consultation with him and the President. On his return he issued an order announcing the organization of his army as follows: Right Wing (Army of the Tennessee), General Howard, commanding; Centre (Army of the Ohio), General Schofield, commanding; Left Wing (Army of Georgia), General Slocum, commanding. This organization was preserved until the final disbandment of the forces. Everything was in readiness to march northward on the 11th, Sherman's headquarters being at Goldsboro. Here the army learned that Richmond had fallen and that Lee was marching to join Johnston's army in North Carolina. Sherman's men, although they were deprived of the satisfaction of participating in the final attack on the insurgent capital, were overjoyed at the good news; and they manifested their delight by a general jubilee. On the 11th, while the army was directed towards Raleigh, to which city Johnston had fallen back, Sherman's men were electrified by the tidings that Lee had surrendered. The war was over and these hardy veterans of a hundred fights joined in the general jubilation with which their comrades in arms, around Appomattox, celebrated the glorious event. It was not that their foe was humbled and defeated that they rejoiced; it was because the war was over and the worn soldier might now return to home and peace.

Negotiations looking towards a surrender of Johnston's army were opened between the two commanders. Communication with Washington was not swift, and it was not until the 17th of April, while on his way to a final council with Johnston, that Sherman learned of the assassination of President Lincoln. The terms which he concluded with Johnston were political as well as military. The Confederate



Taking Possession of Richmond.

armies were to deposit their arms in the capitals of their respective States, subject to future orders from the National Government. Other clauses of the agreement provided for the recognition of State governments by the National Executive, the reëstablishment of the Federal courts, the guarantee of political rights and franchises and the exemption of the people from consequences of their rebellion, under certain conditions. All of these propositions were subject to approval by the National authority. President Lincoln had expressly prohibited General Grant from concluding with the enemy any terms of surrender otherwise than those of a purely military character; but this order had not been communicated to Sherman. As soon as Grant, who was now in Washington, received the draft of the basis of agreement which Sherman had made

The Sherman-Johnston agreement.

with Johnston, he saw that its terms were inadmissible; the document was submitted to the newly installed President, Mr. Johnson, and was disapproved. The Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, printed in the newspapers a somewhat severe statement of the reasons for the Government's disapproval of the terms of surrender, and Grant was ordered to go to Sherman's army, take personal command of operations and resume hostilities. The fact was that Johnston had been influenced in his negotiations by the interposition of General John C. Breckinridge, the last Confederate Secretary of War, who represented Jefferson Davis, with whom he was at that time in communication, as he was with Johnston. On Grant's arrival at Sherman's headquarters, the former basis of agreement was laid aside and Johnston's surrender was finally made on terms substantially the same as those accepted by Lee. It was time that a formal surrender was effected. While these elaborate negotiations were going on, the Confederate soldiers were making their way homewards in squads and in single files. They knew that the war was over; and they had had enough of it. Johnston's army, when paroled, numbered 31,243 officers and men.

The effect of these great events upon the country is impossible of description. The cities, towns, and villages of the loyal States were given over to every variety of public rejoicing. After the long strain which the war had laid upon the people, it seemed incredible that it was lifted and that the absent ones were returning from the bloody fields on which they had left so many of their comrades. Every community, town, and hamlet in the country had been represented in the armies now about to be disbanded. And in every one of these communities there were men and women looking for the home-coming of fathers, brothers, sons, and friends. All over the land were illuminations, bonfires, joyous processions, public speeches, hearty embraces of friends and neighbors, instant reconciliations of old quarrels, under the influence of great thankfulness, and a general celebration of the return of peace. In this hour of transport, all thoughts of vengeance were forgotten. The soldiers in the fields now about to be left forever fraternized with their late foes and unaffectedly extolled their valor; the heart of the loyal people went out sympathetically to the harried and impoverished South; and everybody was glad that the terms of surrender were liberal and magnanimous to the fallen foe. In the blaze of these joyful excitements, even Sherman's indiscreet zeal would have been more completely overlooked if the foul murder of the President had not at that moment steeled anew the hearts of an affectionate people. Even as it was, Sherman's great and inestimable services to the country, his

The war is ended.

illustrious fame as a warrior, and his undoubted patriotism had so endeared him to the citizens of the Republic that his error would have been almost unnoticed but for the superserviceable zeal with which it was exploited before the country in the newspapers. All over the broad land men were breathing with grateful hearts one word — PEACE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LAST DAYS OF LINCOLN.

THE ELECTORAL COUNT OF 1865. — RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH INVOLVED. — LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURATION. — HIS ADDRESS ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR. — THE ASSASSINATION CONSPIRACY. — DEATH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. — ANDREW JOHNSON, PRESIDENT. — GRIEF OF THE PEOPLE. — THE FUNERAL PAGEANT.

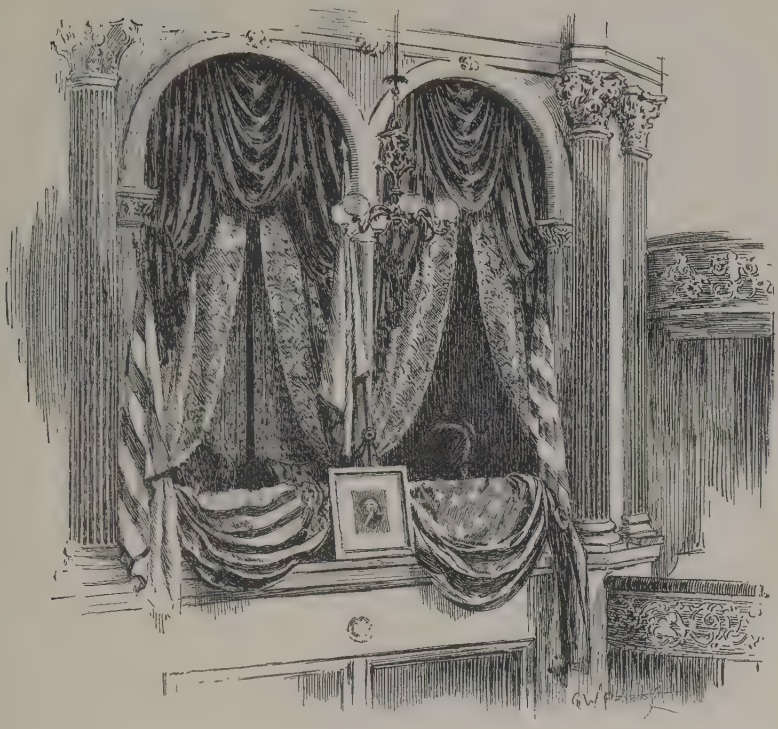
THE subject of reconstruction in the Southern States naturally came up when arrangements were made by Congress for counting the electoral votes cast for President and Vice-president of the United States. The simple provision of the Federal Constitution which directs that both houses of Congress should meet in joint convention and attend to the counting of the votes apparently did not contemplate the raising of any question as to the relation of any State to the federation of States. Now it was uncertain whether several of the States which had held elections for presidential electors were in the Federal Union or out of it. So far as he could, the President had extended recognition by the executive department of the Government to the reconstructed establishments of the States of Louisiana, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Virginia. The legislative department of the Government had refused recognition to those reconstructed governments. Congress, accordingly, passed a joint resolution declaring that the States specified were on the day of the election (November 8, 1864) in such a condition that no valid election for presidential electors could then be held. The President signed the joint resolution, but with a mild protest to the effect that he differed from Congress in respect to the validity of the elections held; but he also disclaimed all right of the Executive to interfere with the counting of the electoral votes of the States.

Congress had also adopted the so-called Twenty-second Joint Rule, an important precept which subsequently became famous, and which declared that if any question should arise in the joint meeting of the two houses touching the admission of any electoral return, such question should be decided by each house in session by itself and not in joint session. Accordingly, when the Senate and the House of Rep-

resentatives met in joint session, February 8th, 1865, to count the electoral votes of the States there was a breathless pause as the return from the States specifically excluded from the count were taken up; it was possible that debate would arise. But the presiding officer (Vice-president Hamlin) merely said that "in obedience to the law of the land," he held it to be his duty not to present those returns to the convention. This ended the incident, and the proceedings passed to a tranquil conclusion. The presiding officer finally proclaimed that 212 electoral votes had been cast for Abraham Lincoln and 21 votes for George B. McClellan, and that therefore "Abraham Lincoln, of the State of Illinois, having received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes, is duly elected President of the United States for four years, commencing on the fourth day of March, 1865."

Lincoln's second inauguration.

The inauguration ceremonies, as usual when the President is inducted into office, were extremely simple; the presence of considerable bodies of troops in the vicinity of Washington imparted an added military brilliancy to the scene; and it was remarked that black soldiers and civic associations of newly freed men in the line were novel features of any parade in the National capital. Andrew Johnson was sworn in as Vice-president of the United States, the ceremony taking place in the Senate Chamber; then a procession was formed to the great marble portico of the Senate wing of the capitol, where the President took the oath of office in the open air. As Lincoln began to deliver his inaugural address the pale March sun, which had been obscured by clouds, burst forth in its meridian splendor, illuminating the scene. Men regarded this as a certain augury of the brightness of the new day that was about to dawn on the long-harassed Republic. They listened with rapt attention to the address. It was a masterpiece of statesmanlike eloquence, enriched with passages of Lincoln's own incomparable tenderness of expression. Never before had the American people heard from their Chief Magistrate such words as these: "Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, or until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'" A thrill almost perceptible passed through the vast concourse of people when the President uttered these memorable words: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness for the right, as God gives



The Stall at Ford's Theatre in which President Lincoln was shot.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the Nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan — to do all that may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Lincoln's last public speech.

While the National capital was yet wild with joy over the return of peace, excited crowds of people almost daily thronged the spaces around the White House, cheering the President and hoping to catch at least one glimpse of the face of the beloved Lincoln. There were many minor celebrations of the ending of the war from time to time, as the news of victory came into the city. But on the night of the 11th of April, 1865, a somewhat more formal celebration was held, and President Lincoln, standing at a window within the portico of the White House, made a long and elaborate speech. It was not an address of congratulation, such as the people had reason to expect; but, after a few words of thankfulness for the end of the war, Mr. Lincoln addressed himself directly to the subject

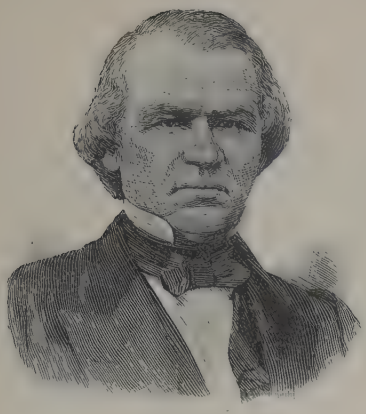
William H. Seward.
From the last photograph made of him.

that was very near his heart — reconstruction. The war over, this difficult matter for adjustment must be immediately considered. The address was listened to with respect. It did not please the radical politicians who had all along been opposed to the reconstruction policy of the President. This was his last public speech. On the 14th day of April it was ordered by the President that the flag of the United States should be again hoisted over Fort Sumter by the officer who had lowered it at the beginning of the war. General Robert Anderson performed that ceremony, and the day was given up to a grand celebration of the return of peace, artillery salutes, music, orations, and every other manifestation of thanksgiving and joy accompanying the flight of the hours of that memorable day.

On that day an important cabinet meeting was held in Washington, the good President's mind being burdened with cares for the provisions to be made for a complete reëstablishment of peace. That night he was assassinated while sitting in a box at the theatre, accompanied by his wife and two friends of the family. It had been noised abroad that General Grant and Mrs. Grant would be of the party; but the general was obliged to relinquish his engagement and quit the city. During the entire term of Mr. Lincoln he had been accustomed to receive secret and mysterious threats of assassination. He had said that if his death were resolved upon by the enemies of his country, it would be impossible for him to avoid his fate except by a seclusion which would be incompatible with the discharge of the duties of his place. He went abroad freely and unarmed. A conspiracy had been formed by a little band of malignants, whose original purpose appears to have been to capture the President and carry him away as a hostage. Events so shaped themselves that the plot finally took the murder of Lincoln for its aim and end.

A wicked conspiracy.

The conspirators were John Wilkes Booth, an actor of no considerable standing in his profession; Lewis Powell, alias Payne, a discharged insurgent soldier; George Atzerodt, a mechanic who had more recently turned his hand to blockade-running on the Potomac; David E. Herold, a druggist's clerk; Samuel Arnold and Michael O'Laughlin, ex-Confederate soldiers; John H. Surratt, a Maryland secessionist with no special vocation; and Mrs. Surratt, mother of John, and mistress of a Washington boarding-house in



Andrew Johnson

which the assassins met for consultation. While the play was in progress, Booth, who was the leader of the gang, managed to enter the rear of the President's box unobserved. He secured the door behind him, and screened from sight in a little passage behind a partition waited for the fatal moment when he could strike the blow. With a pistol in one hand and a knife in the other, Booth entered the box directly behind the President, fired his pistol close to his victim's head, dropped the weapon, struck with his knife at one of the other occupants of the box (Major Rathbone), who sprang to seize him, leaped lightly from the front of the box to the stage below, and, brandishing his knife, faced the astounded audience and shouted "Sic Semper Tyrannis," the motto of the State of Virginia; then he rushed from the theatre by an exit in the rear. Here he mounted a fleet horse that had been held ready for him; and before a hue and cry could be raised, the assassin was speeding on his way into the depths of the rural regions of Maryland.

Death of Lincoln.

The President was shot at a few minutes past ten o'clock in the evening. He was removed to a private house opposite the theatre, where every attention that loving care and scientific skill could bring was invoked for his relief. But he never spoke after the wound was received; nor could he by any movement give evidence that he was conscious of what was going on around him. Members of the cabinet, his own family, notable men in public affairs, and personal friends were gathered around the illustrious sufferer's death-bed; and all over the city of Washington, broken only by the swift passage of armed patrols, there brooded a silence like that of death. The day broke, and the watchers were still there in the pale gray light of the morning of April 15th, 1865, when, at twenty-two minutes past seven o'clock peace settled on the wan visage of the patient, long-suffering Lincoln, and he breathed no more.

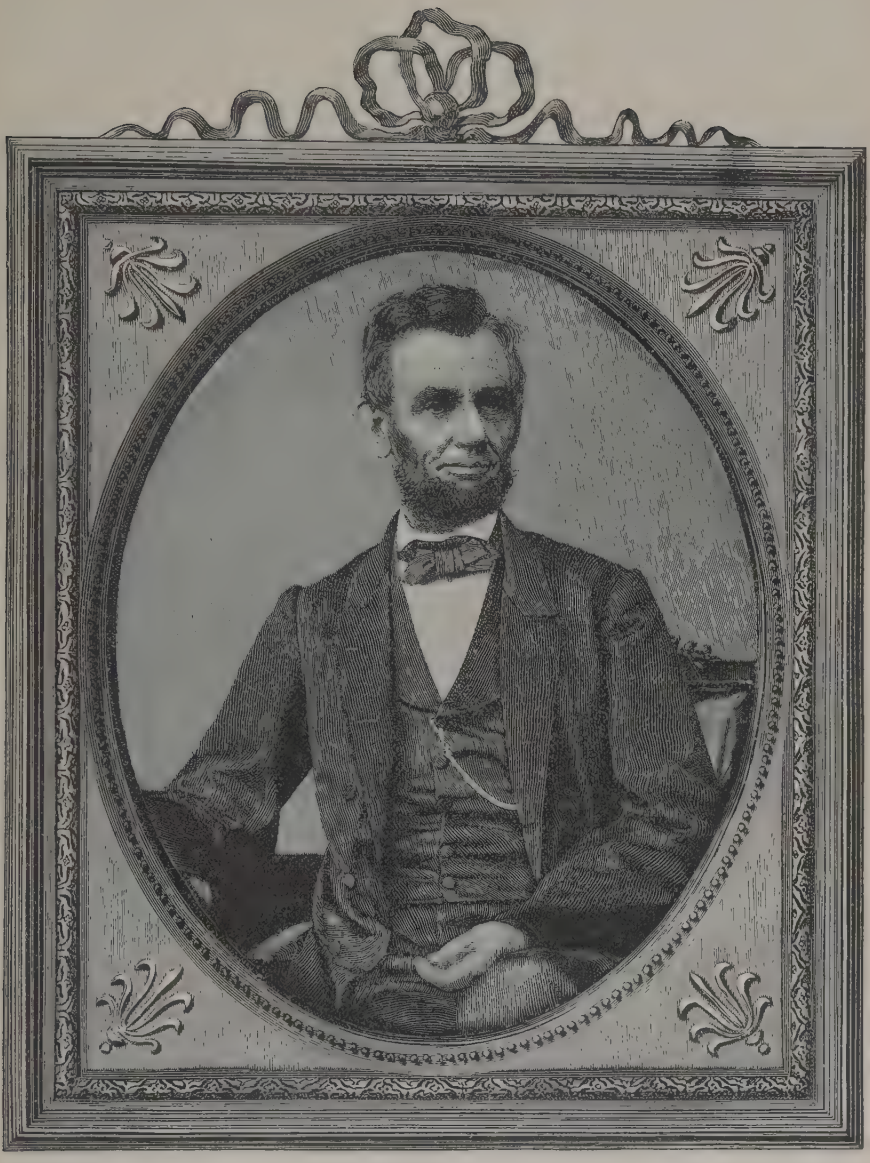
The plot of the assassins embraced other officers of the Government in its frantic malice. It was evidently intended that several members of the cabinet and the Vice-president should also be slain at the same hour when the doom of Lincoln was sealed. But various causes combined to avert the blow from all the other officials but Mr. Seward, Secretary of State. Payne, otherwise Powell, had been

detailed to slay the Secretary, who was confined to his bed by an accidental fall from his carriage. Eluding the servants at the door, Payne made his way swiftly to the sick chamber of the Secretary, fighting his way past the Secretary's son, Frederick Seward, whom he grievously wounded, and then burst into the room. Mr. Seward was attended by his daughter and a soldier-nurse, G. F. Robinson, both of whom sprang up when the assassin entered. Dashing them aside, Payne threw himself upon the Secretary and inflicted three hideous knife-wounds on his face and neck. But aid came and the man was driven from his murderous work; plunging down the stairs, he mounted the horse on which he had ridden to the door, and was off before he could be arrested. In his wild haste Payne left behind him his hat; and this circumstance led to his subsequent capture. Exposed to suspicion while bareheaded in a city highly excited by these frightful occurrences, Payne, after hiding in suburban thickets for two days, made his way to the rendezvous of the conspirators, the house of Mrs. Surratt. The place was in the possession of detectives and officers. Pleading that he came at the request of Mrs. Surratt, he was confronted with that woman's presence, and she solemnly swore that she never saw him before, had never known him. From this denial started the chain of evidence that brought both to the scaffold.

The end of the assassin.

Booth, who had broken one of the bones of his leg in his flight from the theatre, was accompanied into Maryland by Herold. The two men, tarrying for a moment at a tavern owned by Mrs. Surratt, sought the protection of the woods, having first had the injured limb cared for by one Mudd, a sympathizer with the rebellion and the plot. He finally reached the region of the Rappahannock; the two men were afforded the shelter of a barn, where they were soon after surrounded by a party of Union soldiers. In response to a demand to surrender, Herold came out and gave himself up. Booth refused to surrender; the building was fired and by the light of the flames the assassin was shot and killed by Boston Corbett, a cavalry sergeant in the company. This was on the 26th of April. The other conspirators had in the mean time been taken into custody, John H. Surratt alone being able to escape from the country.

A military commission was organized for the trial of the plotters and their confederates. On the 7th of July, Payne, Herold, Atzerodt, and Mrs. Surratt, having been found guilty and sentenced to death, were hanged. Mudd, Arnold, and O'Laughlin were sentenced to imprisonment for life; and one Spangler, a scene-shifter in the theatre where the President was murdered, was convicted of being remotely accessory to the crime and was sent to jail for six years. John H. Surratt, after a life of wandering, was finally arrested in



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(From a rare photograph taken November 15, 1863.)

Egypt, brought back to the United States and tried. The trial resulted in a disagreement of the jury, and the man escaped all further punishment.

In the consternation that pervaded Washington on the morning of the death of President Lincoln, the necessity of providing for an immediate successor to the Presidential office was not overlooked. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, was at once sworn into office, and pending the vacating of the White House by the

Andrew Johnson President.

The Hanging of the Lincoln Conspirators, Mrs. Surratt, Herold, Payne and Atzerodt, in the prison yard of the old arsenal at Washington, July 7, 1865.

Drawn by Martin Borgord from a photograph.

bereaved family of Mr. Lincoln, he established his headquarters in the Treasury Department building. The effect upon the country of the news of Mr. Lincoln's murder was unprecedented for the speed with which the awful messages travelled, the depth of woe into which the people were plunged, and the universality of mourning with which all the land was clothed. The tragedy took place while every town and city was decorated with the National colors in honor of the coming of peace; the direful tidings from the National capital lowered every flag and covered with sombre black the holiday garb of tens of thousands of cities, towns, villages, and hamlets all over the land. Meetings of lamentation were instantly held in the churches of all communities, great and small; and the demonstrations of grief that were made in the tears, lamentations, prayers, and addresses of citizens who came together with one accord, attested the sincerity and depth of the affection with which the loyal people of the United States regarded Abraham Lincoln. So intense was the grief of the people, they were ready to resent as a personal affront any failure on the part of any

A View of the Funeral Procession.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

one to unite in the universal demonstration of woe. Persons reluctant to hang out the badge of mourning, or put the flag at half-mast, were in danger of their lives; and a few men of unbalanced minds who ventured to speak lightly of the illustrious dead or of the manner of his taking off were severely punished on the spot by a wrathful community. Mourning in the Southern States was sincere, if not universal.

Funeral of Lincoln.

On the 19th of April, the funeral ceremonies were celebrated in the White House with all the pomp and circumstance which the Federal Government could combine. Members of the cabinet, great officers of State, Senators and Representatives in Congress, distinguished army and navy officers, representatives of foreign governments, and members of the various State governments attended the obsequies; and an imposing pageant of bodies of cavalry, artillery, infantry, and naval crews escorted the funeral car that carried the coffin from the White House to the National capitol, where the remains, surrounded by a guard of honor, lay in state until the evening of the 20th; then the funeral moved westward by rail to Springfield, Illinois, bells tolling and minute guns booming sadly all over the land as the cortege took its way over the same route by which the living Lincoln had journeyed to Washington, four years before. Days were occupied by this passage; and all along the line of its movement the plain people whom Lincoln knew and loved so well came out to wait in the darkness of the night and in the brightness of the day for the funeral train to sweep by to the open grave in Illinois.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM WAR TO PEACE.

The Capture, Imprisonment, and Release of Jefferson Davis. — The Last Scene of the War. — The Grand Army of the Republic. — Statement of the Men and Money furnished during the War. — Paying off the Great Armies. — Pacific Railroad building. — The Problem of caring for the Freedmen. — Military Divisions of the United States. — President Andrew Johnson and the Development of his Character. — Signs of a Political Conflict. — Last Relics of the Confederacy swept away. — Maximilian in Mexico and the Monroe Doctrine. — The Accumulation of Large Fortunes.

Leaving the events that marked the tragic close of Lincoln's career and returning to the early days of April, 1865, the flight and final dissolution of the Confederate Government should be noted as a fitting conclusion to the story of the war. The fall of Richmond compelled the Confederate chieftain and the members of his cabinet to flee to a place of safety. It would appear that Davis, at least, believed that the organization of which he was the official head could be removed and set up again somewhere inside of the lines of the lately confederated States. Insensible to the consequences of the loss of Richmond, he had said that if the city fell, the war would still go on, possibly even with greater spirit of resistance. It has been said by at least one Southern writer[1] that Davis, many weeks before Lee's surrender, had made the most careful and exact preparations for his flight from the country, the hope being entertained that escape by sea from some part of the Florida coast would be possible.

Flight of Davis and his cabinet.

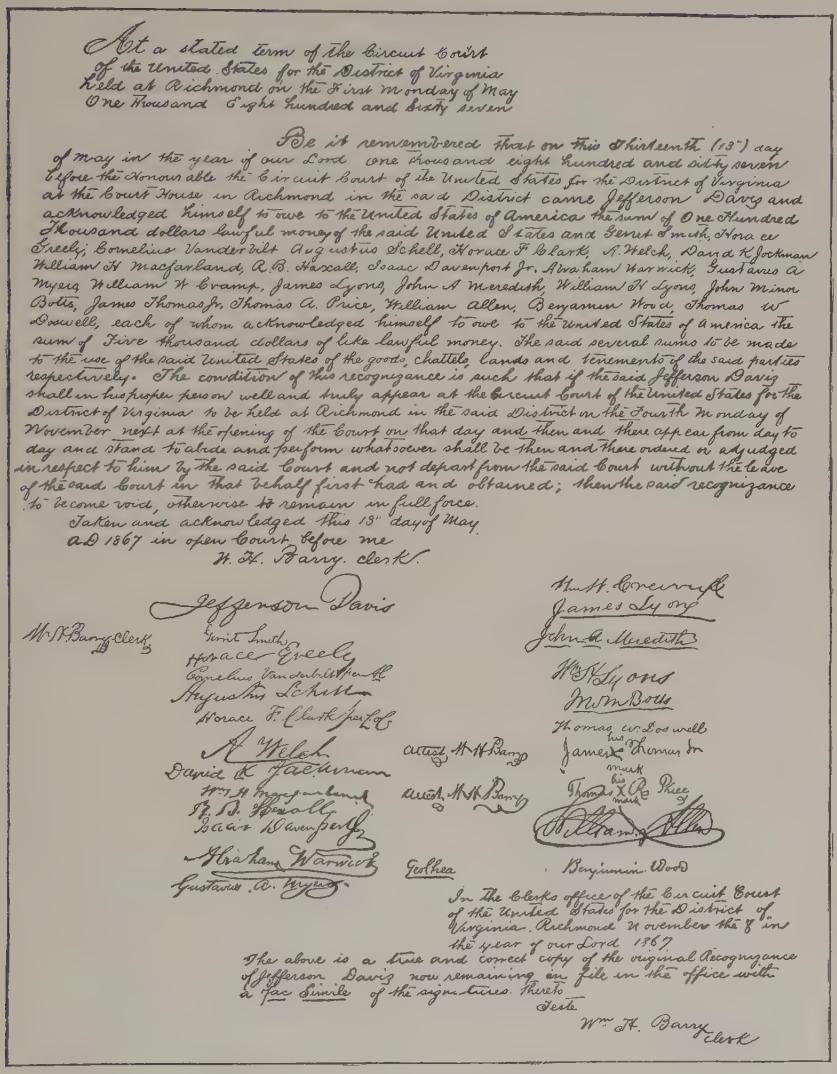
But some show of maintaining that integrity of the government which was essential to the dignity of the so-called President, was necessary to be made; and, accompanied by four members of his cabinet, the Secretary of War (Breckinridge), the Secretary of State (Benjamin), Postmaster-General Reagan, and the Secretary of the Navy (Mallory), Davis "removed the seat of government" to Danville, about one hundred and twenty-five miles southwest from Richmond, taking with them the gold in the Confederate treasury, amounting to a little less than $40,000. They also

[1] Pollard's *Life of Jefferson Davis*, p. 505.

carried nearly $300,000 belonging to Richmond banks. At Danville, on the 5th of April, Davis issued a grandiloquent proclamation in which, after setting forth the fact that "the general-in-chief found it necessary to make such movements of his troops as to uncover the capital," he announced that he and his people had "now entered upon a new phase of the struggle;" relieved from the necessity of guarding the capital, the army could move from point to point to strike the enemy far from his base and thus destroy him in detail. "If, by stress of numbers," he continued, "we should be compelled to a temporary withdrawal from her limits [those of Virginia] or from those of any other border State, we will return until the baffled and exhausted enemy shall abandon in despair his endless and impossible task of making slaves of a people resolved to be free."

But the stay at Danville was very short. If it had been the intention of Davis to secure the protection of Lee's army and move southward below its shield, that hope was cruelly disappointed. Grant's movement severed all communication between Lee and Davis; his march was south of Lee's line of retreat and north of Davis's line of flight. On the 10th Davis received the appalling intelligence that Lee had surrendered to Grant. The effects of the government were once more packed up and the fugitive officials moved southward to Greensboro, North Carolina, where the governmental bureaus remained on the railway train, and Generals Johnston and Beauregard, both of whom were under the ban of the presidential displeasure, were summoned to meet Davis in a council of war. The people of Greensboro did not receive the fleeing officers of the crumbled Confederacy with effusive hospitality. Under the circumstances, a long tarry at Greensboro was not likely to be agreeable; it was not long safe to remain; and after a fruitless conference with the two Confederate generals and some discussion of the terms of surrender to be accepted from Sherman by Johnston, the little party of official fugitives resumed their flight on April 14th.

A similarly frigid reception awaited the party in Charlotte, North Carolina, the next resting-place of the wandering government. It was explained to Davis that the inhabitants were afraid to offer him shelter, lest the roof under which he lodged should be burned by the Federal cavalry, then beginning to raid that region of country. But the hospitality of a convivial bachelor was offered and accepted, and here the party stayed until the 26th, when, the armistice with Sherman having expired, the fugitives took up their line of retreat to Washington, Georgia, the members of the cabinet dropping out as Davis continued his aimless flight, hugging the delusive notion that he might gain the security of the region beyond the Mississippi where



At a stated term of the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Virginia Held at Richmond on the First Monday of May One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty seven

Be it remembered that on this Thirteenth (13th) day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty seven before the Honorable the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Virginia at the Court House in Richmond in the said District came Jefferson Davis and acknowledged himself to owe to the United States of America the sum of One Hundred Thousand dollars lawful money of the said United States and Gerrit Smith, Horace Greely, Cornelius Vanderbilt Augustus Schell, Horace F. Clark, A. Welch, David K. Jackman William H. Macfarland, A. B. Haxall, Isaac Davenport Jr. Abraham Warwick, Gustavus A. Myers, William H. Cramp, James Lyons, John A. Meredith, William R. Lyons, John Minor Botts, James Thomas Jr. Thomas A. Price, William Allen, Benjamin Wood, Thomas W. Dowell, each of whom acknowledged himself to owe to the United States of America the sum of Five thousand dollars of like lawful money. The said several sums to be made to the use of the said United States of the goods, chattels, lands and tenements of the said parties respectively. The condition of this recognizance is such that if the said Jefferson Davis shall in his proper person well and truly appear at the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Virginia to be held at Richmond in the said District on the Fourth Monday of November next at the opening of the Court on that day and then and there appear from day to day and stand to abide and perform whatsoever shall be then and there ordered or adjudged in respect to him by the said Court and not depart from the said Court without the leave of the said Court in that behalf first had and obtained; then the said recognizance to become void, otherwise to remain in full force.

Taken and acknowledged this 13th day of May A.D. 1867 in open Court before me

W. H. Barry. clerk.

Jefferson Davis

Wm. H. Barry Clerk

Gerrit Smith

Horace Greely

Cornelius Vanderbilt

Augustus Schell

Horace F. Clark per A.C.

A. Welch

David K. Jackman

Wm. H. Macfarland

A. B. Haxall

Isaac Davenport Jr.

Abraham Warwick

Gustavus A. Myers

attest Wm. H. Barry

attest Wm. H. Barry

Gerrit Smith

Wm. H. Crump

James Lyons

John A. Meredith

Wm. R. Lyons

Wm. Bolls

Thomas W. Dowell

James Thomas Jr.

mark

Thomas A. Price

mark

Wm. Allen

Benjamin Wood

In the Clerks office of the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Virginia. Richmond 2 November the 8 in the year of our Lord 1867.

The above is a true and correct copy of the original Recognizance of Jefferson Davis now remaining on file in the office with a fac simile of the signatures thereto.

Test.

Wm. H. Barry Clerk

Facsimile of the Bail Bond of Jefferson Davis.

Kirby Smith and Magruder still held out in their isolation from more active scenes of the late war. By this time, Davis had apparently settled upon a rainbow-tinted scheme for establishing himself as a partisan chief in the wilds of the Southwest, defying armies and navies in the vast spaces of Texas, with an open door of retreat into Mexico.

The cavalry corps of Thomas's army, commanded by General James H. Wilson, was now on a wide raiding expedition through

Alabama and Georgia. As the Confederacy began to break up, Wilson captured immense numbers of prisoners and received the submission of important points heretofore secure and unvisited by Federal troops. On the 10th of May, after wanderings in which he was joined by his wife and family, Davis was finally captured by a detachment of the 4th Michigan cavalry, Lieutenant-colonel Pritchard commanding, the force being one of two expeditions sent from Wilson's corps for this purpose. The camp of the fugitives, who had now left the main travelled roads, was in a dense pine forest near Irwinsville, Central Georgia. The other expedition, under Lieutenant-general Harnden, of the 1st Wisconsin cavalry, approached the camp of Davis at the same moment that Pritchard's men were ready to surprise it. An unfortunate blunder caused a collision between the two parties in the darkness of an early dawn, and two soldiers were killed. The firing awoke the camp, and Davis, issuing from his tent, disguised in some degree, attempted to escape. He was arrested and his further flight was stayed. Davis subsequently explained that he wore his wife's shawl, mistaking it for his own garment. One of the captors of the fugitive ex-President says that Mr. Davis wore a woman's waterproof cloak tied, skirt-like, around his waist, with a shawl covering his head and shoulders; that it was asked that he (referred to by one of the party as "my old mother") be allowed to go for a pail of water. But to the last, Davis retained his attitude of intense hostility and hatred. Addressing Pritchard, commanding the Federal troops, he angrily said: "You command a set of thieves and robbers. They rob women and children." With this irrelevant bit of scolding, the Confederate chieftain surrendered himself into the custody of his captors.

Capture of Davis.

By this time, nearly all of the escort of the party from Richmond had fallen away or had been dismissed. The persons who were finally taken into custody here were about twenty in number, exclusive of a long train of servants and a guard of twelve private soldiers. The equipage of the fugitives was carried in five wagons; and three ambulances were used for personal conveyance. Mr. Reagan was the only member of the cabinet who remained with Davis until he was captured. Arriving at Macon on May 13th, both captured and captors for the first time learned that the President of the United States had offered a reward of $100,000 for the arrest of Davis. He was accused of having guilty knowledge of the plot to slay Lincoln. This charge was not pressed, however, when he was subsequently brought to trial, those proceedings being based only on an indictment for treason. And he was imprisoned two years before even this indictment was brought. Arraigned in the United States Court for the District of

Virginia, he was liberated on bail, his principal bondsmen being Horace Greeley, the well-known Republican editor and politician; Gerrit Smith, a wealthy abolitionist, and Cornelius Vanderbilt, a New York capitalist. Brought to trial in December, 1868, Davis's counsel pleaded that the penalties and disabilities sought to be imposed on him for the crime of treason could not be denounced against him, being barred by the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which in the mean while had been adopted. On a motion to quash the indictment, the court (Chief Justice Chase and District Judge Underwood) did not agree; and the case was certified to the United States Supreme Court. On Christmas Day of that year, President Johnson issued a proclamation granting full and complete amnesty to each and every person who had been in any way a participant in the late rebellion, and restoring them to all the rights and privileges to which they were entitled under the constitution and the laws. The Goverment took no further steps in Davis's case; and he was, by the operation of the general amnesty, restored to all the rights of citizenship, except the disability to hold office, a disability which Congress alone could remove. Thereafter, Davis remained in retirement in his home in Mississippi; he died in New Orleans, December 6th, 1889.

Trial and final escape from punishment.

Grand Review of the Army in Washington.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

In the midst of the grief and rage that prevailed among the people over the death of Lincoln, Captain Henry Wirz, the keeper of the Confederate prison at Andersonville, was brought to trial in Washington before a military commission, charged with having traitorously conspired with others to injure the health and destroy the lives of soldiers in the service of the United States; also, for having committed murder, in violation of the laws and customs of war. He was convicted and sentenced to death by hanging; he was executed November 10th, 1865. His more guilty superior officer, General Winder, died two months before the end of the war.

The last scene of the war was a grand military pageant in the city of Washington when the armies of the United States (some 250,000 men) passed in review before the chief officers of the Government, the Congress and representatives of foreign powers. The Army of the Potomac was reviewed on the 23d of May, the Army of the Mississippi on the following day. It was a grand sight, and everything that fine weather, brilliant sunshine, an enormous attendance of notable people, the splendid condition of the troops, and good cheer in the ranks could contribute to the enjoyment of the spectacle was there in perfection. The march began at the capitol and the serried column passed down Pennsylvania Avenue, past the White House, and thence onward over to Georgetown, where the cortege was dispersed. The great avenue, throughout its noble length, was a blaze of color, its margins banked high with seats for the cheering, exultant, and happy multitudes. Washington had a two days' holiday, and the school children in bright masses greeted the returning soldiers with songs and banners. In front of the White House were handsomely decorated reviewing stands for the President, members of the cabinet, the diplomatic corps, Congressmen, Governors of States, and other dignitaries and distinguished citizens. The march past was hailed with the mighty acclaim of the multitude, and the air was filled with strains of martial music and bright with the gay colors of multitudinous flags, banners, and streamers.

A last splendid military review.

Grant was on the reviewing stand near the President; Meade rode at the head of the Army of the Potomac, and Sherman was with his own famed warriors; Sheridan had departed to a new command in the Southwest. The appearance of the men of the Army of the Potomac was the perfection of soldierly bearing, precision of alignment and accuracy of step. But the Western men (with whom were many from the Eastern States), who had marched from Atlanta to the sea, were greatly admired for their broad, free, swinging step, and for a certain abundance of manly vigor in their general bearing that was peculiarly their own. Sherman's men had with them some of the

GRAND REVIEW OF THE ARMY IN WASHINGTON.

characteristics by which they were already known to fame; their foragers, or "bummers," followed each brigade with the spoils of war, — donkeys, game-cocks, goats, and other odd things which had been picked up by the way when the army was marching through Georgia and the Carolinas. The stern realities of war were over. This was a holiday parade; but those ranks, glittering with steel and bringing with them the terrible artillery that had belched fire and death on many a battle-field, were ranks of American citizens, — fathers, brothers, and sons on their way home. It was impossible not to recall the fate of those who had gone out with these brave fellows but who were left behind in the graves that marked where many fights had drenched the earth with the blood of patriots and heroes.

These home-returning citizens speedily melted back into the mass of the people from whose widely scattered communities they had come. By the end of July, 1865, more than 600,000 of them were mustered out and returned to the pursuits of civil life; by the middle of the next November over 800,000 of them had put off the blue uniform and had taken up their former homely tasks, glad to return to the pursuits of peace, and never once thinking that their vocation was any longer making war. The spectacle of the army dissolving into orderly civil life, without a moment of disorder or a shadow of reluctance, was one on which every American citizen looked with profound satisfaction. During the following year was organized the Grand Army of the Republic, an association whose membership is restricted to soldiers and sailors who served in the army or navy during the civil war, whether honorably discharged or still retained in the service. Besides this organization, which has numbered as many as 350,000 members, the men of the several armies, corps, regiments, and even companies subsequently formed associations which were related to the greater veteran associations of which they were an individual part.

The States had furnished to the army of the United States, during the war, 2,778,304 men; but this included many reënlistments; reducing the aggregate to a three years' standard, the returns showed a total of 2,324,516 men enlisted in the army and navy of the United States during the period mentioned. Death on the battle-field, in the hospitals, and in Southern prisons reduced these mighty ranks; more than 360,000 men fell victims before the horrid besom of war. On the Confederate side the enlistments somewhat exceeded 1,000,000, and the deaths numbered probably at least 250,000; but the confusion which prevailed when the Confederacy broke to pieces, as well as the imperfect manner of keeping the Confederate records, prevented any accurate estimate of the

The numbers engaged in the war.

numbers engaged and lost on that side of the conflict during the war. The number of Confederate troops surrendered and paroled was reported by the War Department at 174,223. The cost of the war, over and above the customary expenses of the Federal Government, was estimated at $6,189,929,908.[1] It was estimated that the Confederate Government expended less than one half that sum. The reduction of the Federal army to a peace footing began April 13th, 1865;[2] it was virtually completed by the end of the year. The reduction of the naval forces began earlier, the closing and capture of all the important ports of the South having made it possible to put out of commission many vessels that had been required in maintaining the blockade. With the fall of Fort Fisher the reduction of the fleets began; and when Congress met in December, 1865, of the 471 vessels and 2,455 guns in active service one year before, only 29 vessels and 210 guns were on duty on the home coasts of the Republic. Meanwhile, the arts of husbandry, the activities of trade, and the enterprises of commerce were repairing the wastes of war and covering the wounds of years of fighting with substantial tokens of prosperous peace.

Construction of the first Pacific railroad.

One of the direct results of the long sectional war was the construction of the first transcontinental railroad. Surveys for a railway across the continent had been made as long before as in 1854, under the authority of Congress; the routes selected being known as the northern, middle, and southern; but jealousies between the sections of the country prevented the adoption of either of these routes. The breaking out of the war found the rich and rapidly growing Pacific States comparatively isolated from the rest of the Republic. Transit by the way of the Isthmus of Panama, made extra-hazardous by the commerce destroyers of the Confederacy during the war, occupied not less than three weeks in a voyage from New York to San Francisco; and the overland wagon route, difficult at all times and liable to be occasionally beset by hostile Indians, was even more dangerous and tedious. The passage of the bills to authorize the construction of the Pacific railroad was one of those "war measures" with which the people became so familiar during the long civil struggle. Under several acts of Congress (passed between July, 1862, and July, 1864), a subsidy of Government bonds payable in gold, bearing six per cent. interest, was provided for each mile of railroad built, at the rate of $16,000 per mile from the Missouri River to the

[1] *U. S. Senate Mis. Doc.* No. 4, 39th Congress, 2d session.

[2] The numerical strength of the army, March 31st, 1865, was 980,086. The last call for troops was issued December 19th, 1864, for 300,000 men; under this call, 212,212 men were furnished; only 460 paid commutation.

Ambulance Drill.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

base of the Rocky Mountains; $48,000 per mile for 300 miles through those mountains; $32,000 per mile for the section between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, and $16,000 per mile for that portion lying west of the Sierra; by a later ruling of the Government, the subsidy for the last western section was so increased that $32,000 per mile was paid for nearly the whole of the work west of the Sierra and up to the banks of the Sacramento River.

In addition to this subsidy, the same acts of Congress gave to the companies building the road twenty sections (12,800 acres) of the public lands for each mile of road actually built, considerable choice being allowed the companies in their selection of the lands to be so allotted. The land subsidy gave the companies about 25,000,000 of acres in all. It was originally provided that the government subsidy of bonds should constitute the first lien on the work of the companies; but as they subsequently represented that the road could not be built for the amount of money thus realized, they were released from this obligation; and they were authorized to issue their own bonds at the same rate per mile. The payment of those bonds was secured by a first mortgage on the road. The building of these railroads was actually done by companies of sub-contractors which were made up of the persons who controlled the corporations to whom were issued the bonds and the lands authorized in the subsidies granted by the Government. In other words, the profits, if any, that resulted from the construction of the work, were divided among the incorpora-

Confederate and Union Artillery collected for Shipment at Broadway Landing, Appomattox River, Va., in April, 1865.

(Members of 1st Connecticut Heavy Artillery in foreground.)

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

tors of the railroad companies; they were not enjoyed by any third party in the transaction.

From the Missouri River westward the railway was built by the Union Pacific Railroad company; from the Sacramento River eastward to the meeting point of the two lines (which was at Ogden, Utah), the work was undertaken by the Central Pacific company. Naturally there was a brisk rivalry between the two companies in the matter of speed in the building of their respective lines; and the last sections of the work were constructed with a swiftness unprecedented in the history of railroad building. Work was begun in 1863; but it was not until after the last year of the war had closed that the first forty miles westward of Omaha, Nebraska, were completed. But after that, the work was rapidly pushed forward to completion and was ready for traffic throughout its entire length in May, 1869.

Another result of the war, which profoundly affected the social and industrial condition of the Southern States, was the sudden liberation of some 3,000,000 colored persons who had formerly been slaves. These people were wholly unused to a condition of freedom, were not accustomed to provide for themselves by their own individual exertions, and were singularly ignorant of their real rights and privileges, as well as incapable of making any provision for their future. At least one third of these helpless persons immediately threw themselves upon the care and liberality of the Government of the United States. Large numbers of them attached themselves to Sherman's army

when that adventurous column cut through the northern edge of the Gulf States; they were aided and fed to some extent by the soldiers; and on their arrival on the coast of Georgia were transferred to the care of agents of the Government and set to work on abandoned and confiscated plantations. This policy was pursued in other portions of the broken Confederacy; but it was found that the rapacity and inhumanity of many of the persons to whom the freedmen were farmed out eventually brought the ex-slaves into a condition which was little, if any, better than that of the actual bondage from which they had been delivered. After repeated experiments and failures, Congress finally passed, in March, 1865, the first Freedmen's Bureau law, designed to provide for ex-slaves until they should become self-supporting.

The law established a bureau of the War Department for the better management of "refugees, freedmen, and abandoned lands," to continue one year after the close of the rebellion, under the control of a commissioner to be appointed by the President; and it was provided that the President should set apart for the use of this bureau such confiscated or abandoned lands as he should select, the same to be assigned to the wards of the Government in parcels of not more than forty acres to each adult male. Another regulation of the bureau,

An Undertaker's Shop on the Battle-field.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

not specifically provided for in the law, contemplated the assignment of a working mule for each person entitled to receive a three years' lease of forty acres of land. In the course of time, it was found, every hopeful freedman expected to be endowed by the paternal Government with "forty acres and a mule." The Freedmen's Bureau was organized almost wholly by officers of the army, General O. O. Howard being the first chief commissioner. The administration of the bureau was economical and prudent during the first years of its existence; and its arrangements for the care of the freedmen, the custody of their savings, the defence of their civil and moral rights, gave full satisfaction to those who were concerned in the welfare of these helpless wards of the Nation. Later on, however, when it was sought to give the bureau power to issue fuel, clothing, and other necessaries of life for the freedmen, and to defend them in the exercise of their civil rights, the action of

The Freedmen's Bureau.

Prisoners at Andersonville.

Congress to accomplish that end aroused the enmity and anger of President Johnson; and this was eventually one of the causes of a long and bitter contest between the President and Congress. From time to time, the powers and functions of the Freedmen's Bureau were very much enlarged. Its officers were authorized to use its funds at discretion; to defend the freedmen from invasions of their civil rights, establishing military tribunals for that purpose; to

collect and distribute the pay and bounties of colored soldiers and sailors, and to do a great variety of things which were considered allowable only in a transitional condition between war and peace. The existence of the bureau was continued by acts of Congress from time to time; and the last of its functions to be exercised (that of the collection of soldiers' and sailors' pay), was not discontinued until 1872; but the original activities of the bureau ceased two years earlier.

For the purpose of keeping the peace, facilitating the process of reconstructing civil government in the States lately in rebellion, and to maintain the National authority therein, the Republic was divided, after the war was over, into five grand military divisions, to the command of each of which a major-general was assigned, as follows: the Atlantic, Meade; the Pacific, Halleck; the Mississippi, Sherman; the Gulf, Sheridan; the Tennessee, Thomas; and these divisions were subdivided into departments. To the command of these subdivisions were assigned the following generals: Hooker, Hancock, Augur, Ord, Stoneman, J. M. Palmer, Pope, Terry, Schofield, Sickles, Steedman, J. G. Foster, T. J. Wood, R. C. Wood, Canby, H. G. Wright, J. J. Reynolds, Steele, and McDowell. In the processes of reconstruction in the States many of these men were compelled to take some active part.

Signs of Andrew Johnson's ill temper.

Very soon after he succeeded to the office of President of the United States, Mr. Johnson began to exhibit traits of character which were so different from any which had been seen in the life and career of Lincoln that the people were puzzled and astonished. Two men more dissimilar in temperament than Lincoln and Johnson could hardly be imagined. Lincoln was diplomatic, conciliatory, patient, shrewd almost to craftiness, and so far-sighted that he could rely confidently upon future events and on unseen influences to justify his actions. Johnson was the exact opposite of all this. By nature combative, pugnacious and wilful, he ill brooked delay, contradiction, or opposition. At the least sign of contentious resistance, he was in arms; and once being roused, he scattered his denunciations and his invectives with a freedom that was not only amazing but was unprecedented in the high place to which he had succeeded. Up to the hour when he was sworn in as Vice-president of the United States, he had enjoyed the fullest confidence and affection of the loyal people of the republic; and by his services, his hatred of slavery, his unflinching patriotism, and his indomitable courage in the midst of trying circumstances, he had won deserved renown.

On his way to the Senate chamber to be sworn in as Vice-president, March 4th, 1865, he was ill, having just recovered from a severe

sickness; he unwisely resorted to a stimulant to carry him through the ordeal of the ceremony, and the incoherence and the undignified character of his address immediately turned against him many who supposed that his sudden elevation to power had disclosed a fatal weakness in his habits. Events subsequently proved that this was not a just judgment of the man; and although his conduct and speeches only served to deepen the unfavorable impression which the unhappy incident of his inauguration had created, one of his cabinet ministers[1] who knew him intimately and who said of him "If he had been smitten with dumbness when he was elected Vice-president he would have escaped a world of trouble," also said, "Whatever may have been his faults, intemperance was not among them." But his intemperance of speech at first provoked the animosity of those who subsequently became his political supporters; and it alarmed those who had hailed his nomination for Vice-president with deep satisfaction and enthusiasm.

The President's violent speeches.

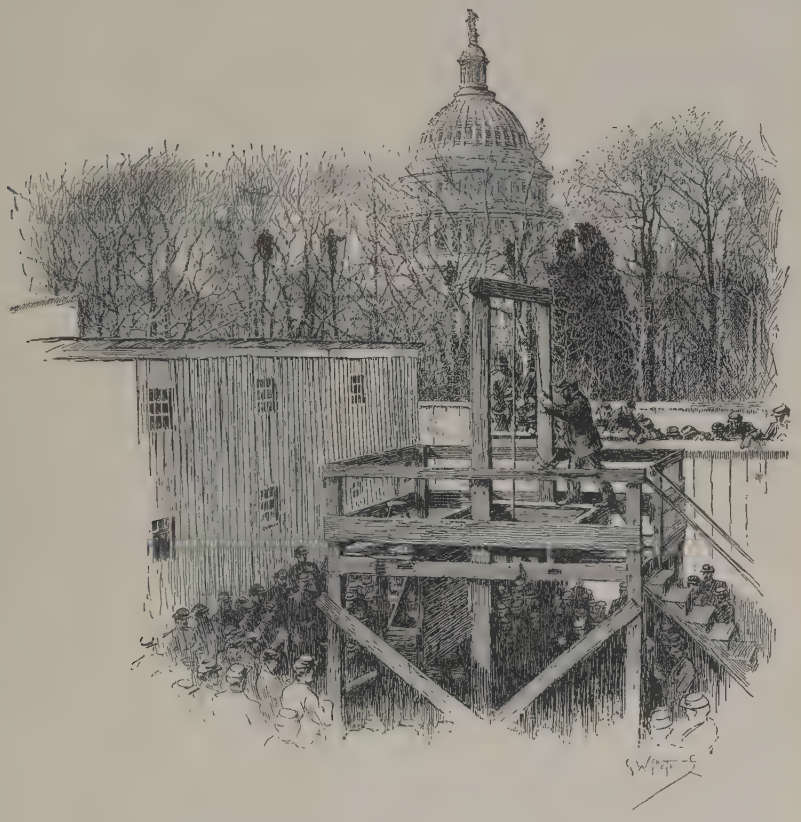
When he became President he was besieged by innumerable deputations from political associations all over the country, the nominal mission of the delegates being the assurance of the President that he would be steadfastly supported by the party which had elected him Vice-president; but it was apparent that a less unselfish purpose actuated many who congratulated and praised the newly installed Chief Magistrate with a sidewise glance at the Federal offices, which, it was supposed, would now be redistributed. The burden of the many speeches which the President made at this time was comprised in this sentence from an address made by him on April 17th, 1865: "The American people must be taught, if they do not already feel, that treason is a crime and must be punished; that the government will not always bear with its enemies; that it is not only strong to protect, but to punish. In our peaceful history treason has been almost unknown. The people must understand that it is the blackest of crimes and will surely be punished." Utterances like this filled with apprehensions of severe punishment the disarmed insurgents, some of whom in their alarm sought safety in foreign lands; and not a few loyal and patriotic men, recalling with regret the magnanimous patience of Lincoln, were distressed by forebodings of a possible reign of judicial and military terror.

A strange and complex character.

Like Lincoln, Johnson had come up from the ranks of the plainest people to the highest post in the government of the people. Born in a slaveholding State, in which manual labor was regarded as a degradation, Andrew Johnson had been apprenticed to a tailor; and while he was yet an apprentice at the needle

[1] Secretary McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, p. 374.

and the bench he had painfully learned his letters, his zeal being stimulated by a desire to read with his own eyes some of the masterpieces of eloquence which he had heard declaimed by chance customers of the shop of his master. When he was a grown man, his wife, a faithful and good helpmeet to him, taught him the rudiments of writing and arithmetic. While working at his trade he was elected mayor of the little city in which he lived. His strong, dominant



The Execution of Captain Wirz at Washington.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

nature, his vast ambition, and, above all, his tremendous energy, overcame the apparently insurmountable obstacles of poverty, low social position, lack of education, and absolute destitution of that variety of political stock-in-trade known as "personal claims." He was elected to Congress and reëlected from 1843 to 1853; was elected Governor of Tennessee; chosen United States Senator from that State; was appointed military governor of Tennessee, which place

he held when he was elected Vice-president of the United States. It was this man, — pugnacious, combative, brave, truthful, honest, opinionated, wilful, obstinate, undignified, and passionately devoted to the cause of the Union, for which he had always been ready to lay down his life, who was now to undertake the executive administration of the government of the country during its perilous passage from war to peace. Surely, the task of civil reconstruction could not have fallen into hands more unfitted for a successful performance.

Congress had failed to provide any plan for the rehabilitation of the States lately in rebellion. Briefly, it may be said that President Johnson honestly endeavored to formulate a plan that would embody the main features of that so carefully outlined in the Wade-Davis bill which was made inoperative by President Lincoln's "pocket veto" of July, 1864, and at the same time would embody the policy pursued by Lincoln up to the day of his death. Johnson's first act on coming into power was to entreat the cabinet of his predecessor to remain with him; and, so far as can be known, every measure of President Johnson had the approval of that cabinet. One of the most important events of those earlier days of the transition period was the promulgation of the President's proclamation of May 9th, 1865, in which, among other things, was this pregnant section: —

"First, That all acts and proceedings of the political, military, and civil organizations which have been in a state of insurrection and rebellion within the State of Virginia against the authority and laws of the United States, and of which Jefferson Davis, John Letcher, and William Smith were late and respective chiefs, are declared null and void."

Thus with a single stroke was swept away the last relic of all that remained of what was once known as the Southern Confederacy. It had had its seat in the State of Virginia. By the terms of this executive proclamation it existed no more. In a later proclamation (May 29th, 1865) amnesty was granted to all persons who had participated in the recent rebellion, with certain specified exceptions; and all rights of property, "except as to slaves," were restored, legal proceedings for the establishment of confiscation being considered as a bar to restoration until all such pending cases were determined in the courts.

Impatience with the French delay in Mexico.

Now that peace had returned to the distracted Union, popular attention at once turned in the direction of Mexico, where a foreigner had been established on a throne set up on the ruins of a friendly republic. The Archduke Maximilian of Austria, supported by French bayonets, accompanied by his wife, had formally entered the capital of Mexico (June 26th, 1864),

under the title of Emperor of Mexico. When Lee surrendered at Appomattox the lawful President of the Mexican Republic was a fugitive, although still preserving the semblance of a government and bravely fighting against great odds for the restoration of the towns and cities that had been taken possession of by the invader. The situation excited the liveliest sympathy of the people of the United States. Resolutions, more or less threatening to the backers of imperialists in Mexico, had been introduced into the American Congress; and even in the midst of a civil war at home many hotheaded Congressmen were impatient to give notice to the French Emperor, whom all good Americans cordially detested, that he must withdraw his legions from Mexico, a diversion in favor of the legitimate government, undertaken by the United States Government, being the alternative of a longer occupation by French arms. The wise patience of Lincoln and the sagacious skill of Secretary Seward had been able to hold in check these fiery champions of Mexican liberty and independence. But now that the American rebellion was crushed, even the men who had so lately laid down the arms with which they had fought against the Federal Union were eager to drive the French out of Mexico. Now that the war was over, the much-discussed "Mexican question" was brought vigorously to the forefront; and there was loud demand for the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine. The Emperor of the French had many good reasons to regret the downfall of the Southern Confederacy; the certainty of a speedy interference with his quixotic schemes in Mexico was not the least of these reasons.

General Grant became the exponent of the views entertained by those who advocated drastic measures with the Emperor of the French if he should not soon withdraw his hand from the support of the imperial establishment in Mexico. It was Grant's opinion that notice should be served on the French Government that the presence of French troops in Mexico could be no longer tolerated by the Government of the United States, and that unless these troops were withdrawn, our Government would be bound to interfere in behalf of the legitimate government of that republic, in accordance with the well-known policy of the United States, enunciated in the Monroe Doctrine. It was upon this question that General Grant and President Johnson first disagreed, for the general not only urged the President and Secretary Seward to adopt a line of action to which both of those officials were averse, but he marched troops to the frontier, where they would be ready in case of invasion; and a few men who thought that force and menace, rather than diplomacy, should be invoked for the deliverance of Mexico, hoped and believed that this proximity of United States troops to Mexican territory would provoke hostilities.

Fortunately, the wise policy of the statesman ultimately prevailed. It is not too much to say that Seward's masterly diplomacy finally manœuvred the French out of their position in Mexico.

Accumulation of great American fortunes.

Great fortunes began to be accumulated in the United States during the four years of conflict; and that species of social extravagance and vulgar display which is commonly regarded as the chief characteristic of a "plutocracy" became very noticeable at the close of the war. During those four years were the earliest developments of the great oil-producing industry of the United States. Explorations and experiments to determine the value and extent of the petroleum products of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio had been undertaken previous to the breaking out of the war; but the business of sinking and pumping oil wells did not assume considerable proportions until 1860. During that year the yield of the Pennsylvania region alone was 500,000 barrels of forty gallons each. This quantity, then thought to be prodigious, rose to the figures of 5,673,195 barrels at the close of another decade; and the discoveries made in other States subsequently brought the total yield up to many millions of barrels. Poor men suddenly became rich under the influence of these early developments; and the "coal-oil princes" of that period were usually men who from the lower ranks of society had blundered into enormous riches. The newly-rich man who had "struck oil" became a type of American prodigality all over the world; and those who had made fortunes during the war out of profitable government contracts vied with the suddenly rich speculators and owners of oil wells. The necessities of the National Government often required enormous purchases of ships, equipments, rations, clothing, and other war material at short notice and without the possibility of close scanning of terms and prices allowed. A government contract was regarded as a certain fortune if it were only big enough; and in the rush and feverish haste that characterized the management of the war and navy departments during the earlier days of the war, many such fortunes were made by contractors and sub-contractors. The scarcity of woollens for the manufacture of military uniforms at one time led to the adoption of the device of grinding up woollen rags and fragments into a pulp which was subsequently so treated that it took the appearance of substantial cloth; it was a fraudulent fabric, and a smart rainstorm would reduce its wearer to the condition of a tatterdemalion. This was "shoddy," and the so-called "shoddy aristocracy" of the time represented the great army of dishonest government contractors.

The revival of interstate transportation traffic at the end of the war, greatly stimulated railroad building; and speculation in these

properties soon began to run riot, enriching some and impoverishing many. But the net result was a wild fever of stock-gambling and the accumulation of large fortunes by the fortunate few. From this date began the rapid inflation of individual fortunes and the sharp separation of the population of cities into classes representing the very rich, the very poor, and the people of moderate means. The building of the Pacific railroads produced a species of wealthy men who were denominated "railway magnates," and millionaires whose riches and material influence enabled them to control legislatures, politicians, courts, and venal newspapers became conspicuous. The new brood of enriched manipulators and speculators were patrons of art, builders of costly dwellings and palaces, famous for the grandeur of their equipage and the lustre of their entertainments. These people, whether they drew their resources from oil wells, consolidated monopolies, or from profitable government contracts, were all regarded as the flamboyant types of the new era in American social and industrial life and manners. The age of plain living and frugality had passed.

Stock and gold gambling.

When specie payments were suspended, gold and silver ceased to circulate as money, and gold became an important commodity in the markets. It was only another added to the long list of objects of speculation. When it is remembered that the price of gold greatly fluctuated under the influence of war news, it will at once be seen how demoralizing the gold market's operations were to those who were immersed in them. The news of a Federal victory sent down the price of the yellow metal; tidings of defeat forced the rates upward. Doubtless the influence of the gold speculators was exaggerated; it is also doubtless true that the stories that Congressmen, government officials, and persons having access to the inner circles of the Government were concerned in stock and gold gambling were enormously inflated. But it is certain that not a few persons in high places gambled on the results of military and naval engagements. Speculations in gold and in the other commodities suddenly made scarce by unexpected demands, as well as speculations in articles affected by the legislation of Congress, was rife. Men made fortunes by dealing in paper transactions in whiskey, quicksilver, drugs, cloth, leather, tobacco, sugar, cotton, and numberless other articles of commerce, with which they had previously had no acquaintance whatever except as casual and sparing consumers. Speculations of this character were common in all ranks and classes of society. The committee rooms and corridors of Congress, as well as the offices of the great New York exchanges, were haunted by alert men and women looking for "exclusive information."

CHAPTER XX.

THE LITERATURE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

Difficulties of the Manufacturers of Books. — The Thoughts of the People mainly directed to the War and Cognate Topics. — The Humorists and Satirists of the War Period. — Poets and Song-writers. — The Popular Airs of War-time. — The Newspaper Press and its Enterprises. — The Development of the War Correspondent.

A LARGE part of the literature produced during the Civil War was of an ephemeral character, if indeed it could even be rightly called literature. Although there was much to inspire both sides engaged in the conflict to flights of song and fancy, there was little time for serious thought on subjects other than those directly involved in the war. For a time, there was great depression in the business of book publishing, saving only the consideration of such literature as bore upon the issues of peace and war. The great cost of materials and labor employed in the manufacture of books, and the high rates of taxation that burdened manufacturers, also tended to depress the trade of the publishers during the war; but as soon as the conflict closed, although these burdens were not immediately diminished, the demand for books appeared to be greatly stimulated. The sales of school-books amounted to many millions, and the histories and biographies, individual and collective, which grew out of incidents and events of the war, were very numerous. During the year 1865, there were published 289 books relating to military and naval science, historical of the war, or of events directly connected therewith. In addition to this, there were 150 biographical works, nearly all of which were of persons engaged in the war, and a very considerable number of them were biographies of Abraham Lincoln. These histories and biographies sold to the extent of from 60,000 to 100,000 copies. The volume of sketches and brief biographies, whose subjects were suggested by the recent civil war, was very great.

In some instances, books that had the misfortune to be brought out during those four years of strife, without any relation to the stirring events that were then happening, lived in a state of suspended animation until happier times, when they were revived with a success

that had been denied them earlier. The bulk of public speeches, orations, essays on war topics, controversial pamphlets, sermons, and discussions of financial questions was enormous. But few of these productions survived the age for which they were written, and in which they filled so large a measure of importance.

Apart from the actual news of battles fought and of political combinations and campaigns, the travesties, satires, burlesques, and humorous sketches, suggested by incidents of the war, were most eagerly sought for by the American world of readers, while the struggle was in progress. These airy nothings played a considerable part in forming public opinion, perhaps, and certainly they were a picturesque indication of what the people were thinking and talking about. In the great awakening that preceded the outbreak of the rebellion, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," was a powerful influence. It was not altogether the humor, or the pathos, of this famous book that gave it the wings with which it flew all abroad. Its pictures of American slavery, whether accurate or not, aroused attention, and provoked the indignation of millions of readers. But no such work as this, so influential and so widely circulated, grew out of the conditions of the war, and neither the military nor the political aspect of the long struggle suggested much creative literary work. While the fight was on, men sought amusement in the songs and humorous trifles of the time. The fun-loving American citizen found food for mirth even in the grimmest aspects of the war.

Foremost among the satirists of the time was David Ross Locke, a newspaper writer in Ohio, whose contributions to the press were signed "Rev. Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby," and were usually dated at "Confedrit Cross Roads, Kentucky." These papers were written from the point of view of a Border-State conservative, or "copperhead," and consisted, for the most part, of acrid comments on passing events in the inconsequent and illogical manner of an amateur politician who was opposed to the war and was covertly in favor of the rebellion. These papers had a great circulation, by reason of the timeliness of their topics, the keenness of their satire, and the richness of their humor. President Lincoln, whose appreciation of native humor was delicate and just, found solace and diversion in the weekly letters of the "Rev. Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby." Mr. Lincoln, too, was one of the many weary people who read with amusement the light satires of Robert Henry Newell, who, under the pen name of "Orpheus C. Kerr" (or office-seeker), began his work by touching with an airy wand the great army of political office-seekers, but finally drifted into a series of amusing burlesques of civil and military events of the day. Locke dealt with principles; Newell found subjects for

satire in men and events. Another shrewd and humorous writer who commented on the passing panorama, with facile pen, was Charles G. Halpine, an Irishman, who as writer, politician, and soldier, played many parts during his short and brilliant career, but who will be chiefly remembered as the "Miles O'Reilly" whose witty papers and occasional lyrics greatly quickened the patriotic pulse of the people.

The authorship of a series of satiric papers published under the title of "The New Gospel of Peace, according to St. Benjamin," was for a long time a closely guarded secret. These papers exposed the foolishness and malignity of the "copperheads," with much ingenuity and humor. The phonetic spelling of the names of politicians and parties added to the uniqueness of these writings, which were from the pen of the well-known author and critic, Richard Grant White.

But, after all, the poets and the song-writers were foremost in the ranks of those who held high place in public affection and esteem during the war. One of the very first of these was Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose poem "Brother Jonathan's Lament for Sister Caroline," written in December, 1860, just after the adoption of the ordinance of secession by South Carolina, found instant response in the sorrowful hearts of those who said, with the poet: —

> "Our Union is river, lake, ocean, and sky;
> Man breaks not the medal when God cuts the die!
> Though darkened with sulphur, though cloven with steel,
> The blue arch will brighten, the waters will heal!"

And all of Dr. Holmes's contributions to the poetical literature of the war were among the most notable and memorable. All of these poems found their way at once to the hearts of the multitude; they were printed in periodicals and newspapers, gaining immediate attention by the most direct means. His "Voice of the Loyal North," written January 3, 1861, gave utterance to the more emphatic resolution that by this time had formed itself in the minds of loyal men: —

> "Enough of speech! the trumpet rings;
> Be silent, patient, calm, —
> God help them if the tempest swings
> The pine against the palm!"

Harriet Beecher Stowe.

In the thirteen poems included in Dr. Holmes's book "In War Time," the student of history may trace with tolerable accuracy the progress of the

David R. Locke.
(Petroleum V. Nasby.)

long fight for the Union. In his "Choose You This Day Whom Ye Will Serve" is preserved one of the famous epithets of that day: —

"The mower mows on, though the adder may writhe,
And the copperhead coil round the blade of his scythe!"

Timeliness was a striking characteristic of the literature of the war period, whether we regard the prose or the verse. Edmund Clarence Stedman's stirring lyric, "The Twelfth of April," in which the poet linked the birthday of Henry Clay with the date of the first gun fired upon Fort Sumter, was printed in a New York newspaper on the 16th of April, 1861; this was the first poem inspired by the actual outbreak of hostilities. On the day after its appearance were printed in the same newspaper Richard Henry Stoddard's spirited verses, "Men of the North and West." Mr. Stedman's "Wanted — A Man," written in 1862, when the people were profoundly depressed and humiliated by the failure of the peninsular campaign and the disaster of the second Bull Run fight, marks another stage in the slow progress of the civil war.

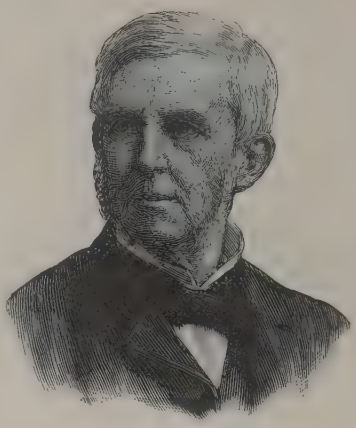
There were religious men whose principles forbade them to engage in war, even in the most remote and indirect way, but who could not restrain their patriotic ardor when the integrity of the Federal Union was in danger. James Russell Lowell, in his "Biglow Papers," printed in a Boston newspaper during the war with Mexico, directed his daring and keenly edged satire against war in general, as well as against that war in particular. He could say, in 1846: —

"Ez fer war, I call it murder, —
There you hev it plain and flat;
I don't want to go no furder
Than my Testyment fer that."

Yet, when the civil war came on, Lowell's muse was early and constant in the fray. His second series of the "Biglow Papers," if they lacked the rollicking good-humor of those which celebrated the political events of the war with Mexico, were none the less an inspiration to hundreds of thousands of readers. His imaginary dialogue between Concord Bridge and Bunker Hill Monument, commenting on the Trent incident, tickled the popular fancy, then vibrating between dread of a war with England and a hearty dislike for that unfriendly

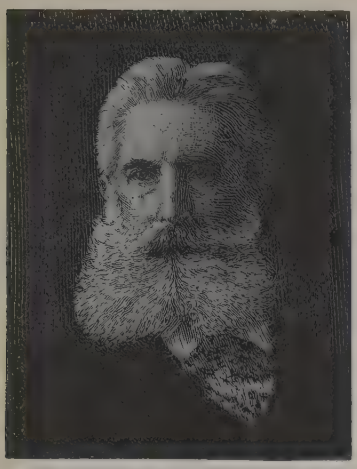
power; and Lowell's "Jonathan to John" was received with much applause, the real feeling of the people being tersely expressed in the opening lines: —

> "It don't seem hardly right, John,
> When both my hands was full,
> To stump me to a fight, John, —
> Your cousin, tu, John Bull!"



Oliver Wendell Holmes.

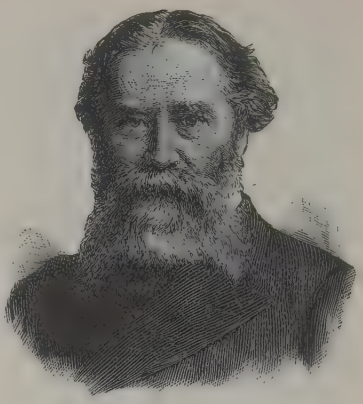
The single incidents of the war were not often illustrated in Lowell's verse, except in the inimitable "Biglow Papers." But his "Commemoration Ode" and his "The Washers of the Shroud" may justly be reckoned among the chiefest literary results of the war. Among the descriptive poems, Mr. Stedman's "Alice of Monmouth," written during the dark days of 1864, easily has first place; and no laureate so nobly sung of Lincoln's death as Walt Whitman in his "O Captain, My Captain!" Memorable, too, are such lyrics and ballads as Thomas Buchanan Read's "Sheridan's Ride," a poem which will be forever linked with the name of the hero of the battle of Winchester; George H. Boker's "Upon the Hill before Centreville," a striking picture of the first battle of Bull Run; Bret Harte's "John Burns of Gettysburg;" the same writer's "How Are You, Sanitary?" and Whittier's "Barbara Frietchie." These works have a quality which is likely to sustain them long after the incidents that gave occasion for their being have sunk into comparative forgetfulness. The same may possibly be said of such poems as Henry Howard Brownell's "River Fight" and "Bay Fight," the last-named being a wonderfully vivid picture of the battle in Mobile Bay, which the poet witnessed from the deck of Farragut's flagship. Both of these pictures are drawn with a master's hand. The war poems of John Greenleaf Whittier, with the single exception of "Barbara Frietchie," largely partake of a controversial character, and, like his political pieces written during the period just before the war, they illustrate and enforce argument; they do not find their inspiration in actual occurrences. But Whittier's solemn and colorful poem, "The Battle Autumn of 1862," and his beautiful ballad, "The Mantle of St. John de Matha," will long hold high place in literature. Forceythe Willson wrote one noble ballad, "The Old Sergeant," and shorter poems on some of the thrilling episodes of the war. His early death was a distinct loss to American literature.



Edmund Clarence Stedman.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote a martial-sounding ballad on the sinking of the Cumberland in the famous fight of iron-clads in Hampton Roads, and George H. Boker wrote two ballads on the same subject. Longfellow's "Killed at the Ford," suggested by one of the closing incidents of the war, is full of tenderness and vivid picturesqueness. The busy cares of a newspaper editor's life so engrossed the energies of William Cullen Bryant, during the war, that he gave the world very few poems of any kind while the fight was going on, but his "Our Country's Call," written early in the beginning of the conflict, rang out like a bugle blast, inciting men to arms.

On the Southern side of the line of battle, Henry Timrod's "A Cry to Arms" is a lyric whose spontaneity and spirit at once gave it a high place in the esteem of critics, both North and South. Francis O. Ticknor, another Confederate writer, did not leave many pieces of poetry as his contributions to the literature of the war; but his touching ballad "Little Giffen of Tennessee" is enough to insure the fame of any writer of verse. "Stonewall Jackson's Way" is another poem of life and action that owes its inspiration to the devotion of an army to its leader; its authorship, long time in doubt, was finally ascribed to J. W. Palmer, who gave the world little else than this ringing melody to perpetuate his name and fame. On the same side, James R. Randall, the author of one of the finest songs of the war, "Maryland, My Maryland," wrote the noble poem "There's Life in the Old Land Yet," which, notwithstanding its perfervid feeling, has a rhythmic flow which redeems its minor faults. Mr. Randall's "My Maryland" was the first favorite among all the songs (and there were many written) that were sung on both sides of the fight. Like most of these, Mr. Randall's verses were adapted to either of the two combatants as occasion arose. And it is to the songs of the war period that we must look for the true spirit and temper of the time. One of the very first and most famous of these was Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," a grand ode set to the familiar and inspiring melody which more commonly carried the doggerel of "John Brown's Body lies a-mouldering in the Grave." The soldiers on the march and around the fires in bivouac often sang Mrs.



James Russell Lowell.

Howe's noble hymn; but it must be admitted that the eccentric doggerel was the greater favorite among the rank and file. Henry Clay Work and Stephen C. Foster were the authors and composers of many ballads that were sung in all the camps of the armies of the Union, but there were numerous other songs whose authorship was then unknown, but whose strains resounded in innumerable camps and along the interminable marches of the long war. Of these were "Marching Along;" "Hold the Fort;" "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching;" "Marching through Georgia;" "We are Coming, Father Abraham;" "The Bonnie Blue Flag;" "When this Cruel War is Over;" "Who will Care for Mother Now;" "Dixie;" "The Year of Jubilee;" "The Battle Cry of Freedom;" and other songs born of the hour, giving voice to the sentiment of the time, and often suggested by an incident of a march or a fight. "The Year of Jubilee," in which was celebrated the flight of "the massa" and the coming freedom of the slave, was written when the appearance of "de Lincum gunboats" on the Roanoke River proclaimed the doom of the insurrection on the coast of North Carolina; and a black regiment, marching into Richmond after the flight of the Confederate government, carried the song to the people of Virginia. Work's "Marching Through Georgia" doubtless gave the final touch of picturesque romance to the famous march from Atlanta to the sea, — a feature of the great war which has not ceased to exert a powerful influence over the minds of men in all lands.

Of the poems of the reconstruction period it is too early yet to speak, but mention may be made of one of the best loved of these, "The Blue and the Gray," the finished masterpiece, tender and true, of one of the single-poem men, Francis M. Finch. Written when the good women of Mississippi, impartially strewing with flowers the graves of Confederate and Federal soldiers, aptly typified the closing of the wounds and the graves of the civil war, this poem never fails to touch the hearts of men who lament those who lie: —

"Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment-day;
Love and tears for the Blue;
Tears and love for the Gray."

John Greenleaf Whittier.

Although the newspapers may not be regarded as constituting any part of the body of a nation's literature, the great impetus which the war gave to newspaper enterprise cannot be here overlooked. It was through the medium of the newspapers that most of the great thinkers, the satirists, and the preachers sought their audiences during the war-time; and to the daily paper, the great public, anxious and often distressed, looked for information from battle-fields, warlike fleets, foreign courts, and domestic councils of state. To procure this information newspaper managers were obliged to employ corps of agents who were trained in an entirely new field of activity. The American war correspondent was suddenly developed from material heretofore unused and unknown. To the exigencies of the novel situation the versatile and ingenious American people proved themselves amply adequate. Some of these men evinced remarkable talents in their perilous and exhausting labors. Under great difficulties, and evading innumerable discouragements, they spread before the nation full, accurate, luminous, and often picturesque descriptions of battles on sea and land, movements of fleets and armies, and, in a word, the only comprehensive view of the mighty panorama of war.

The collection, publication, and distribution of this variety of news required the outlay of large sums of money. The weaker newspaper establishments went down in the flood on which the better equipped and more enterprising rode triumphantly to success. The war period in American journalism marks a distinct epoch in its history. From that time forward the newspaper press became more and more audacious in its far-reaching enterprises, more costly in its numerous activities, and more widely comprehensive in the field which it covered in its observation. Too often, it is true, the Northern newspapers, subjected to a less rigorous censorship and actuated by a more dauntless spirit of adventure than that which characterized the Southern press, furnished information to the enemy and actually defeated the plans of the Government. But the heads of the National Government, as well as the great mass of the American people, eagerly sought the daily journals for reports of battles, engagements, and military and naval movements, which came with official tardiness to headquarters through the regular channels. The daring, the adven-

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Julia Ward Howe.

turousness, and the ingenuity with which the war correspondent brought home his budget of news was one of the most interesting developments of personal character of the many which the long struggle evolved from the American people.

It was not seldom that the Government, with all its vast machinery for rapid communication with the commanders of armies and fleets, derived from the newspapers its first information concerning some of the most important events of the war. The news of the fall of New Orleans and the entrance of the National force into that city was first given to the authorities in Washington and to the astounded people of the United States by a single New York newspaper. Its correspondent with the Federal fleet conceived the happy thought of paddling down the Mississippi, boarding a mortar-boat bound to Havana, and thence reaching New York by a mail steamer; and thus he was able to distance all competitors in the race, and place his "exclusive information" before a world of astonished readers long before other reports could arrive northward by the official despatch boats, or penetrate the great belt of hostile and devastated country that lay between the mouths of the Mississippi and the National capital. It was related of President Lincoln that he could be sometimes seen in his anxiety and with his characteristic indifference to official dignity, looking up and down the avenue in front of the White House for the appearance of a newsboy crying the news for which all the people waited with longing and suspense.

CHAPTER XXI.

ANDREW JOHNSON'S STORMY ADMINISTRATION.

BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS OF RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES UNDER THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION. — DISCONTENT IN CONGRESS. — SIGNS OF OPEN OPPOSITION TO THE PRESIDENT. — MR. JOHNSON'S VIOLENT SPEECHES. — CONGRESS ATTEMPTS TO PROTECT THE EX-SLAVES. — POLITICAL RIOT IN NEW ORLEANS. — THE LAW-MAKING POWER EXCLUDES THE PRESIDENT. — LAWS ENACTED WITHOUT EXECUTIVE ACTION. — THE PRESIDENT ATTEMPTS TO REMOVE THE SECRETARY OF WAR. — THE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF MR. JOHNSON. — COLLAPSE OF THE EMPIRE IN MEXICO. — THE ALASKA PURCHASE. — AN ACTIVE STATE DEPARTMENT.

BEFORE the end of Mr. Lincoln's life, there had arisen in Congress considerable opposition to the policy which he pursued in the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion. There were murmurs that the President had usurped the powers of Congress in these attempts to adjust the civil governments of those States so that they could be brought back into their normal relations with the Federal Union. But the confidence of the people in Lincoln was so implicit that politicians who chose to disagree with his views did not venture to break with him openly; outwardly, at least, there was a semblance of complete agreement between the President and Congress. But no sooner did Andrew Johnson succeed to the presidential office than the radical leaders sought him joyfully in the expectation that they would find in the vehement and threat-breathing Unionist and hater of Disunion a warm ally in their plans for the further punishment of the South. Men like Senator Wade, of Ohio, congratulated themselves on the arrival of a new era in politics; there would be "no more nonsense" about magnanimous treatment of the States and the people lately in rebellion.

The difficulties of the political situation were undoubtedly very great. It is not certain that Lincoln, with all his matchless skill and shrewdness, could have met these difficulties in such a way as to accomplish the end in view — the pacification and reconstruction of the South — without rousing the opposition and clamor of the Republican majority in Congress, and awakening the distrust of a goodly proportion of the loyal people of the North. It was certain that

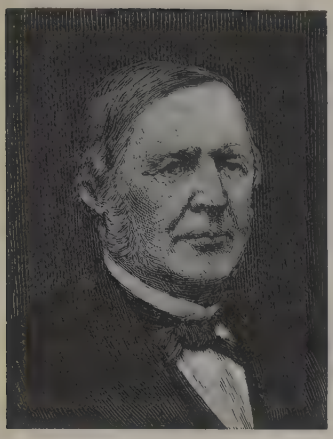
Mr. Johnson was by nature, disposition, and political education wholly unfitted for such a task. We have seen how Lincoln could disarm criticism, win friends, and reconcile hostile factions by his patience, wisdom, and kindliness. But Johnson's temper, his rashness, and his instinctive pugnacity were certain to bring him into difficulties at the very first signal of an impending difference of opinion between him and any other branch of the Government. In any such conflict public opinion was sure to strike at the President; it would strike at Johnson more unsparingly than at Lincoln; and where Lincoln could have parried the blow and evaded contest, Johnson was certain to strike back and defy everybody to come on and fight him.

Johnson's unfitness for this task.

Through the summer of 1865 there was at least an appearance of calm. In each of the lately rebellious States there were begun the processes of reconstruction which had been prescribed in the famous amnesty proclamation of Lincoln. Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Louisiana having already been provided for, provisional governors were appointed for the other States as follows: William W. Holden, North Carolina, May 29th; William L. Sharkey, Mississippi, June 13th; Andrew J. Hamilton, Texas, June 17th; James Johnson, Georgia, June 17th; Lewis E. Parsons, Alabama, June 21st; Benjamin F. Perry, South Carolina, June 30th; William Marvin, Florida, July 13th. The President's plan of reconstruction was simple. It provided for the appointment of a provisional governor, the assembling of a convention composed of and raised by white persons who were able to take the amnesty oath, the adoption of a State constitution forbidding slavery, repudiation of the Confederate debt; and the ratification of these proceedings by popular vote, and by the election of a legislature, State officers, and Representatives to Congress. This scheme did not materially differ from that already set up by Mr. Johnson's predecessor in the executive office. President Johnson, at the same time, issued another amnesty proclamation, in which the number of "excepted classes," forbidden to exercise civil rights without first securing special pardon, was somewhat increased. In these excepted classes were graduates of the naval and military schools of the National Government who had entered the service of the Confederate Government, rebel persons worth over $20.000, and a variety of others who had not heretofore been excluded from the general provisions of amnesty for so-called treasonable actions.

Plans for reconstruction.

The progress of these events had been regarded with dissatisfaction by those who had expected that Mr. Johnson's often reiterated threat that "treason is a crime and should be punished as such" was about



Hugh McCulloch.

to be executed in a most condign manner. The severity which compelled some of the late rebels to sue personally for pardon was thought to be more than offset by the celerity with which a very small minority of these people were enabled to reconstitute themselves into a sovereign State. As soon as Congress assembled in December, 1865, symptoms of a storm began to appear. By the act of Congress, July 2d, 1862, was prescribed the so-called "iron-clad oath," by which the person taking it not only promised to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, but also swore that he never gave aid or comfort to its enemies or accepted office under any government hostile to the United States. During the months immediately succeeding the accession of Mr. Johnson and prior to the reassembling of Congress, it was necessary in order to set up again in the Southern States the civil machinery of the National Government, to appoint a large number of subordinate officials. It was claimed by members of the President's cabinet, especially by the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster-general, that they could not find enough men to take the "iron-clad oath" who were also competent to discharge the duties of subordinate officers of the Government. Both of these cabinet ministers asked Congress to modify the test oath; this was refused, and the course of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Hugh McCulloch, was animadverted upon in and out of Congress with great bitterness, his policy being denounced as a part of the so-called surrender to the South which Mr. Johnson was accused of being now ready to make, in spite of his protestations of an intention to punish treason and make rebellion forever odious.

The "iron-clad oath."

Soon after the assembling of Congress in December, 1865, opportunity for an exhibition of the diametrically opposed views of Congress and the Executive on the subject of the legal status of the States lately in rebellion was afforded in the proclamation of the Secretary of State announcing the ratification of the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery. In that proclamation, dated December 18th, 1865, it was declared that the requisite number of States had ratified the amendment, and among the States set down as participating in the act of ratification were Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, and others whose legal existence as States was at that time denied by the

men who insisted that the States lately in rebellion had committed *felo de se* when they adopted ordinances of secession. But with curious inconsistency, these men, who held that the so-called rebel States had gone out of the Union and had been captured, brought back, and reduced to a condition of conquered territories, raised no objection to receiving a ratification of a constitutional amendment when that ratification was necessary to give life to the new provision of the Constitution which forever abolished slavery throughout the length and breadth of the American Republic. It was tacitly held that the States lately in rebellion, although incapable of self-government, by reason of their condition as conquered territory, were yet authorized to participate in the high function of amending the Federal Constitution.

When Congress met in December, 1865, the President's work in the so-called restoration of the States lately in rebellion was accomplished as far as he could go. Congressmen elected from those States, with the exception of Texas, were waiting for admission, and the various State legislatures had been organized for the enactment of local laws. As yet the opinion of Congress upon the burning question of reconstruction was not fully crystallized. The extreme radical view of "State suicide," of which Representative Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, was the chief exponent, had not been very generally accepted by the Republican majority. But while many Republican Congressmen were in favor of a less drastic policy towards the South than that which would be involved in the acceptance of the theory of State suicide, the attitude taken by the States so far reconstructed was such as to inflame the minds of the loyal men of the North with indignation. The mass of legislation which had been framed by the States lately in rebellion, during the interval between the end of the war and the reassembling of Congress in 1865, was pointedly hostile to the interests of the colored people made free by the operations of the war. This legislation indicated a purpose to reduce again to bondage the unhappy people lately freed. It was urged that the negroes, who had been demoralized and unfitted for self-government by a life of slavery, could not be controlled and guided to orderly citizenship without the enactment of restraining laws. But the operation of these laws was manifestly cruel and unjust. Thus in Virginia it was enacted that all persons who refused to work for the wages common and usual in the locality where they lived should be declared vagrants; and in case a laborer broke a contract, he should be captured and returned to his former employer, and set to work with ball and chain attached to him. Combinations of employers reduced the rate of wages at will, and "vagrants" could

Perversity in the South.

be furnished to order to meet any demand. The code of black laws in Mississippi was the most comprehensive and brutal of any of the Southern States. Negroes who were without means of support satisfactory to the authorities were to be apprenticed for a term of years, subject to corporeal punishment, and to recapture in case of flight. The old laws relating to the treatment of "slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes" were reënacted in a body for the government of "freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes." The old system of passes for the exemption of colored persons from arrest was reëstablished, and a great variety of petty offences, such as the making of insulting gestures, the carrying of arms without a license, disturbance of the peace, and preaching without a license, were made punishable by fines; and inability to pay such fines subjected the offender to a species of servitude, for he was to be hired out to the highest bidder, and remain a convict laborer until his fines were worked out. In South Carolina a negro engaging in business or working as a mechanic was compelled to pay a considerable annual sum for that privilege; and no negro could enter the State without giving bonds for his good behavior and self-support. The excuse for this iron system of laws was that the idleness and the pilfering habits of the newly emancipated blacks not only incapacitated them from taking care of themselves without interfering with the good order of society, but made some such code needful for the protection of the whites among whom they lived.

Other laws enacted by the Southern State legislatures were designed to discriminate as sharply as possible between the black and white races, making the latter the stronger party in all legal transactions, suits at law, contracts, and agreements. Stay laws protected employers against suits to recover wages due; pension laws set aside portions of the public income for the support of Confederate soldiers and their dependents; and every possible means was employed to glorify the names of the Confederate military chieftains, living and dead, irritating the loyal North by innumerable petty devices to keep alive the spirit of the rebellion, which, as many orators alleged, had been put down only by superior brute force, or "conquered by the mere force of numbers."

Thaddeus Stevens.

All these things were done by legislatures in States governed by the presidential policy; only the interposition of the Freedmen's Bureau, whose officers were specially charged with the protection of the ex-slaves, made tolerable the lives of these unfortunate people. Naturally, the defiant attitude of the leading men of these States and their harsh treatment of the freedmen swung the whole mass of the Republican party into a solid opposition to the policy of President Andrew Johnson. It was bitterly complained that he had no sympathy whatever with the ex-slaves, that he reserved all his generosity and aid for the attempted uplift of the poor whites of the South, who were abundantly able to take care of themselves, for they were not proscribed and badged with a form of servitude as were the colored freedmen. Congress immediately called upon the President for a report as to the condition of the States lately in rebellion; and the President replied in a written report signed by General Grant, who had recently returned from a tour of the Southern States. Congress also created a joint committee on reconstruction, consisting of six Senators and nine Representatives, whose duty it was to inquire into the condition of the States lately in rebellion, with a view to determine whether any of them were entitled to representation in Congress; all of the claimants for admission to seats were denied. This was an open declaration of war against the policy of the President. And Congress now proceeded to undo as far as possible the work which he had accomplished in the Southern States.

Hostility in Congress to the President's plan.

Mr. Johnson accepted the challenge to battle with cheerful alacrity. At the first indication of hostility he was in arms and eager for the fray. The written documents emanating from the White House during the stormy period that ensued were dignified in tone, irreproachable in language, and persuasive in logic, whatever may be said of their conclusions. But the President's speeches amazed and humiliated the American people by their coarseness and violence. The first serious break over the bounds of official decorum was made by the President on the 22d of February, 1866,[1] when the opposition of the Republican majority in Congress had become definite and fixed. In reply to a concourse of citizens who called upon him to assure him of their support, Mr. Johnson referred to the Reconstruction Committee of Congress as "an irresponsible central directory," in which nearly all the powers of Congress had been lodged without even consulting the legislative and executive branches of the Government. Warming with his subject, he alluded with bitterness to men on "the other end of the line" from well-known rebels, who were

[1] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia*, 1866, p. 751.

just as truly opposed to the Union; and when asked by the crowd to name three such men, he replied by naming Representative Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Wendell Phillips, the well-known abolitionist. A voice in the throng called out the name of J. W. Forney, the editor of a Washington newspaper which was severely criticising the President's policy; whereupon Mr. Johnson cried, "I do not waste my fire on dead ducks!" Some person in the jovial throng having made an allusion to the fact that the President had begun life as a tailor, he took up the word and shouted: "Now that don't affect me in the least. When I was a tailor I always made a close fit, and was always punctual to my customers and did good work." He even intimated that his opponents possibly intended to instigate his assassination; and he asked: "Have they not honor and courage enough to effect the removal of the presidential obstacle otherwise than through the hands of the assassin?"

Johnson's intemperance of speech.

Utterances like these grieved and mortified the mass of the American people, although they amused the thoughtless; the Democrats and Conservative Republicans who stood by the President in his policy were dismayed, and his active enemies found their hands strengthened by his indiscretion. An idiosyncrasy of temper, not habits of intemperance in drink (as was sometimes unjustly asserted), must account for the violence of the President's harangues. He apparently lost his head as soon as he addressed himself to those who were arrayed in hostility to him. For example, Mr. Hugh McCulloch, who was Secretary of the Treasury during Mr. Johnson's administration, has put on record the fact that he endeavored to dissuade the President from speaking to the concourse of citizens who called upon him on the occasion above alluded to, being apprehensive that he would say something that would widen the breach already existing between him and his party. To the Secretary's well-meant advice the President replied, "Don't be troubled, Mr. Secretary, I have not thought of making a speech, and I sha'n't make one. If my friends come to see me I shall thank them and that 's all."[1] Yet in the uproar and jubilation that greeted him when he made his appearance on the spot so often occupied by the wise, thoughtful, and greatly beloved Lincoln, the President forgot his discretion, and, roused to the utmost pitch of combativeness, made a speech that disgusted and annoyed his friends and delighted his enemies.

Meanwhile, Congress, proceeding to set aside every act of the President which was in the way of the Congressional plan of readmitting

[1] McCulloch's *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, p. 393.

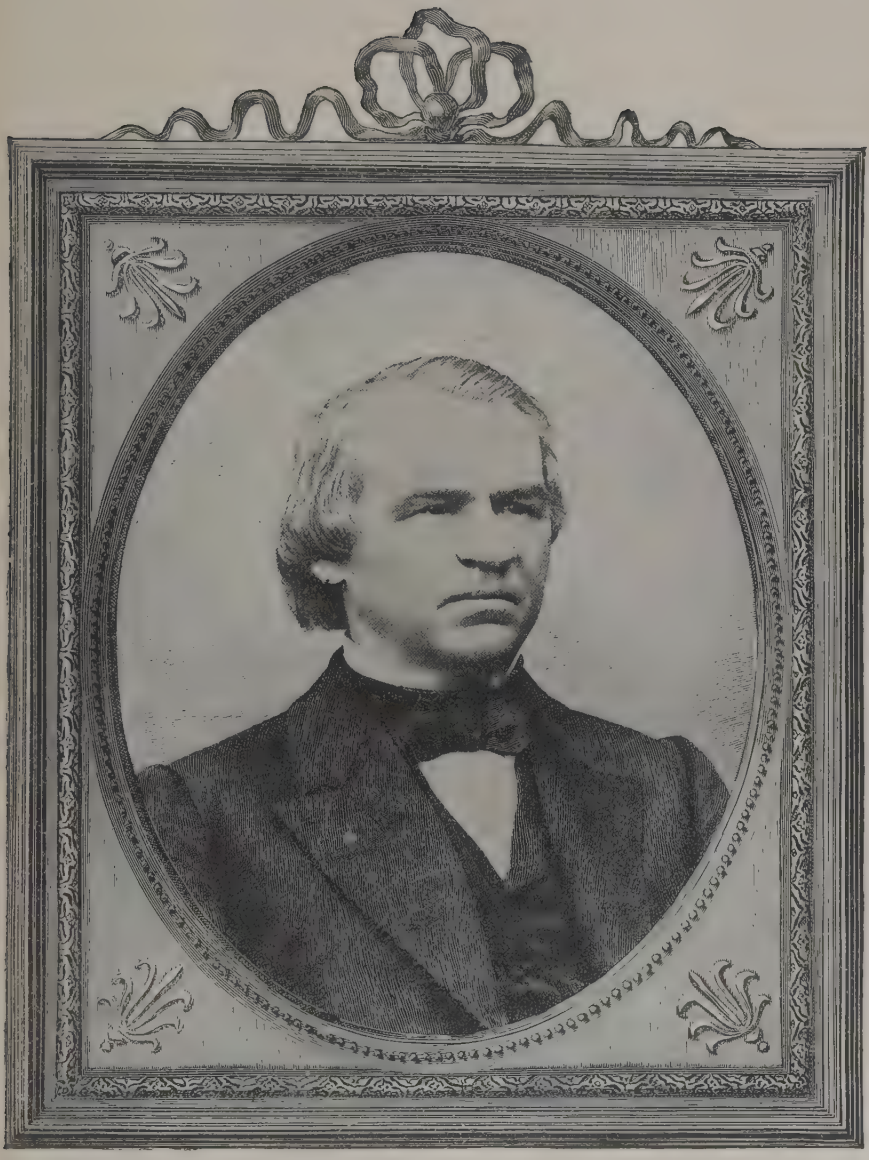
the States lately in rebellion, passed another amendment to the Federal Constitution (the XIVth), which was primarily meant to insure the civil and political rights of colored people throughout the Union, but which also guarded the National debt and made impossible any assumption of payment of the Confederate debt. In order to guard against the dreaded contingency of any State's practical reëstablishment of slavery, the amendment also provided that when any State should deny to the negro the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, the Congressional representation of such State should be proportionally reduced. Under Mr. Lincoln's administration, the precedent that an amendment to the Federal Constitution did not require presidential approval to give it vitality had been established. But Mr. Johnson took pains to manifest his profound disapproval of the Fourteenth Amendment. It may be said here that every one of the States that had participated in the rebellion, except Tennessee, rejected the amendment. But the matter was kept open until 1868, when, on the 28th of July, it having been ratified by three fourths of all the States, it was declared in force.

The Fourteenth Amendment.

Congress, in furtherance of its efforts to protect the ex-slaves from the oppressions of their former masters, enacted measures to add to the powers and duties of the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau in the Southern States. In effect, that branch of the public service was so strengthened that it became the military guardian of the colored people, interfering with the civil courts in their behalf, punishing offenders against the rights of the freedmen, and removing to its own tribunals the cases of those to whom civil justice was likely to be denied. These and similar measures were promptly vetoed by the President as soon as they were laid before him for consideration, and were as promptly passed by Congress over the veto as soon as returned to that body. Another stringent measure for the better protection of the colored people was the civil rights bill, passed by Congress in the spring of 1866, vetoed by the President, and repassed over his veto; for by this time the President had contrived to put himself entirely outside of the law-making power, the majority in Congress being sufficiently numerous to pass any bill which its caucus might recommend, without the slightest reference to the wishes or opinions of the President. The civil rights bill provided for the absolute guarantee of all civil and other rights to the colored people; it made liable to charge of misdemeanor any person who withheld such rights, removed to Federal courts all cases arising under this law, and gave to officers of the Freedmen's Bureau and to special agents the duty of executing the statute.

The civil rights bill.

Under the terms of reconstruction now offered to the States lately



ANDREW JOHNSON.

in rebellion, they could be restored to the Union only on these conditions: ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, repudiation of the Confederate debt, disqualification of certain specified classes of Confederate leaders until pardoned by Congress, and a concession to Congress of all power to protect and maintain the civil rights of the ex-slaves. As yet there was no attempt made to take from the States the right to control the suffrage; but every effort was made to induce the several States to grant universal suffrage and thus increase their representation in the House of Representatives. One of the popular political cries of the time was "Universal Suffrage and Universal Amnesty."

In June, 1866, Congress, by the adoption of a report from the committee on the proposed restoration of the States lately in rebellion, now commonly known as the Committee of Fifteen, made a new declaration of policy which must be considered as an outline of the theory upon which reconstruction was to be pursued. The report asserted that the seceding States, by their action in 1860–61, had deliberately abolished their State governments and constitutions, so far as these were related to the Federal Union, had repudiated the Federal Constitution, and had renounced their representation in the Federal Government. But instead of promulgating the statement that this action was equivalent to "State suicide," the report went on to declare that the Federal Constitution was still binding on individuals, if not on States, and that the people of the seceding States must execute guarantees for future security which would be satisfactory to the law-making power. In other words, the States were still in existence, although in a condition of suspended animation. But as Congress was the final arbiter of the required guarantees of peace and order, "the law-making power," of which so much was said and for which so much was claimed, reserved to itself sole control over all the conditions precedent to the full rehabilitation of States lately in rebellion.

Congress master of the situation.

There was no longer made any secret of the final and irreparable breach between the President and Congress, nor any pretence offered that the condition of warfare was possible of amelioration, much less of pacific adjustment. But Mr. Johnson's friends were not idle. They organized a new party, the nucleus of which was the National Union Club of the city of Washington; and from this club emanated a call for a National convention to be held in Philadelphia August 14th, 1866. The call was signed by six prominent gentlemen who had heretofore acted with the Republican party; it was indorsed by four equally prominent Democrats. Approval of the call was made a test of loyalty to the Johnson Administration, and application of

the test speedily caused a disruption of the cabinet, which had been left by Lincoln and accepted by Johnson. Secretary Seward, who thenceforward was regarded as the "guide, philosopher, and friend" of the President, cordially and effusively indorsed the call; but Attorney-general Speed, who approved of some of the principles set forth therein, did not approve of the call for a convention; he resigned and was succeeded by Henry Stanbery, of Ohio; Postmaster-general Dennison resigned and was succeeded by Alexander W. Randall, of Wisconsin, who was one of the signers of the call; Mr. Harlan, of Iowa, having been elected a Senator from that State, resigned, and Mr. Orville H. Browning, of Illinois, was appointed in his place. Mr. Welles remained in the Navy Department, and Mr. Stanton in the War Department. The convention, which took the name of its parent, was called "the National Union Convention," and was composed of delegates from every State in the Union; a dramatic effect was sought to be secured at its opening by the entrance of the delegates from South Carolina and Massachusetts arm-in-arm, an incident which gave the assemblage the popular title of "the Arm-in-Arm Convention." Beyond an expression of the approval of the policy of President Johnson on the part of the delegates, and the fleeting organization of a political party which was to be known as "the Johnson party," the convention accomplished very little. In the wild rush for offices under the National Government which followed, only Democrats and such Republicans as were willing to "Johnsonize" were entitled to prizes.

The "Arm-in-Arm" Convention.

In the latter part of August, 1866, the President left Washington to take part in the ceremonies incident to laying the corner-stone of a monument to Stephen A. Douglass, in the city of Chicago. He was accompanied by Postmaster-general Randall, Secretaries Seward and Welles, General Grant, Admiral Farragut, and others of less distinction. On this celebrated excursion, which was popularly known as "swinging round the circle," President Johnson made a series of speeches in the worst possible taste and temper. They were, like his address of February 22d, grossly undignified, violent, and abusive of his adversaries. For example, in Cleveland, Ohio,[1] where he was brought face to face with one of the numerous audiences who delighted to bait him, he exchanged vituperative epithets with the crowd, which never lost its temper, although the badgered and enraged Chief Magistrate quickly lost his. In the riotous confusion of the hour Mr. Johnson shrieked and shouted, to the infinite amusement of most of his hearers; and when some one in the throng cried

[1] Lalor's *Cyclopædia of Political Science*, etc., vol. iii. p. 550.

"Traitor!" he shouted: "I wish I could see that man. I would bet you now that if the light fell on your face, cowardice and treachery would be seen in it. Show yourself! Come out where I can see you." Incidents like this, duly reported in the newspapers, encouraged the people of other cities through which the excursion was to pass to come out and make sport of the President, who went on his way cheerfully contributing to the hilarity of the mob and playing into the hands of his enemies. When the western end of the journey had been reached, the party broke up and the President went back to Washington silent and comparatively alone.

Riot in New Orleans.

A political riot in New Orleans, during that summer, created a painful sensation throughout the country, and added new capital to the stock of the party opposed to the reconstruction policy of the President. The riot grew out of an attempt to revive the convention of 1864 for the purpose of revising the existing constitution of the State, which was the fourth in order of construction. J. Madison Wells had been elected Governor of the State; his course was highly unsatisfactory to the colored people, who were still denied the right of suffrage under the constitution of Louisiana; their attempt to initiate measures to secure the right of suffrage by the revival of the convention of 1864 was resisted by the conservatives, as they were called, and the city authorities of New Orleans dispersed the convention with such needless violence as to provoke the indignation of General Sheridan, military commander at that point, who denounced the proceedings as murderous. The riot, which caused the death of forty persons and the wounding of four times that number, strengthened the hands of the majority in Congress, who pointed to the sanguinary affair as an evidence of the rebel spirit being still ready to flame up on provocation.

Bills to cripple the President's political power.

Congressional elections were held during the autumn of this year; and when Congress assembled for its second session, in December, 1866, it met with an assured and continued majority hostile to the President and large enough to control all legislation, without regard to the exercise of the veto power of the Executive. The Republican caucus now became the governing authority of the Nation; and Congress at once proceeded to call the President to account for the deeds done by him in the vacation, and to frame laws which should take away as much of his executive power as was possible under the Constitution. The seceding States, having rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, were now told that negro suffrage was to be imposed as a condition precedent to readmission. The President was threatened with impeachment by the House of Representatives for having corruptly used the pardoning power, the veto power, the

In the House of Representatives, March 2d 1867.
The President of the United States having returned to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, the bill entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States" with his objections thereto, the House of Representatives proceeded, in pursuance of the Constitution, to reconsider the same; and Resolved, that the said bill do pass, two-thirds of the House of Representatives agreeing to pass the same.

Attest

Edward McPherson
Clerk H. of R.

In Senate of the United States.
March 2, 1867.

The Senate having proceeded, in pursuance of the Constitution, to reconsider the bill entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States," returned to the House of Representatives by the President of the United States, with his objections, and sent by the House of Representatives to the Senate, with the message of the President returning the bill: Resolved, That the bill do pass, two-thirds of the Senate agreeing to pass the same.

Attest:

J. W. Forney
Secretary of the Senate.

Facsimile showing the Passage of a Bill over President Johnson's Veto.
From the original at the State Department.

appointing power, and for corruptly interfering with the elections. But a motion to impeach failed for lack of the requisite vote in the House.

The Senate was asked to withhold its confirmation from executive appointments made during the recess for political reasons, and a bill (the tenure-of-office bill) was passed to limit the power of removal by the President so that he could not create vacancies in office without the consent of the Senate. Universal suffrage was granted to the District of Columbia. The command of the army was taken from the President and vested in General Grant, who was made irremovable; and, to crown all, it was ordered that each succeeding session of Congress should begin on the fourth day of March, thus making the session practically continuous at the pleasure of Congress, and depriving the President of the nine months of Congressional absence from the National capital which he had heretofore enjoyed. Preparatory

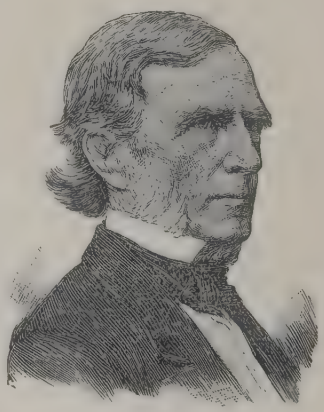
to the final imposition of universal suffrage upon the States lately in rebellion, Congress required this of Territories applying for admission as States. Thus Colorado and Nebraska were admitted to the family of States only on condition that there should not be in those States any denial of the right of suffrage, or any other rights, to any person on account of color, excepting Indians not taxed. And a bill to provide for the application of this principle to all Territories thereafter became a law in spite of the veto of the President, who returned to Congress bill after bill without his approval, only to find each one passed over his veto with a lack of excitement that indicated how completely he had ceased to be regarded as an active partner with Congress in the exercise of the law-making functions of the National Government. The President's veto was expected as a matter of course. Equally as a matter of course came the passage of the bill over the veto, the action and the message of the Executive being regarded with only languid interest.

By the reconstruction act of March 2d, 1867, an entirely new system was introduced into the process of restoration. The first section of the act divided "the rebel States" into five military districts, the preamble to the bill reciting that "no legal State governments or adequate protection for life and property" then existed in such States. It was further provided that all forms of civil governments then existing in the ten States specified were to be regarded as merely provisional and subject to the superior authority of the United States, represented of course by the military arm. Readmission to the sovereign rights of statehood was to be granted only when a State constitution satisfactory to the law-making power should be framed, due provision being made for the exercise of the elective franchise for all persons, without distinction on account of race or color, both in the framing of said constitution and in the participation in all proceedings under it.

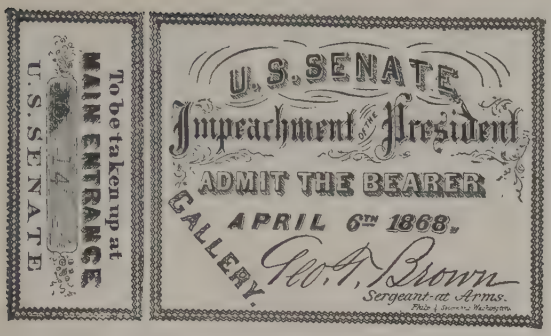
President Johnson, who appears to have executed without serious demur or delay the laws of Congress whose enactment he had sturdily opposed, appointed commanders for the five military districts formed by Congress, as follows: For the first district (Virginia), General Schofield; for the second (North Carolina and South Carolina), General Sickles; for the third (Georgia, Alabama, and Florida), General Pope; for the fourth (Mississippi and Arkansas), General Ord; for the fifth (Louisiana and Texas), General Sheridan. Attempts were made on behalf of Mississippi and Georgia to bring to the Supreme Court for review the reconstruction acts of Congress, a motion being made for leave to file a bill to enjoin the President from carrying out the provisions of said acts. Chief Justice Chase denied the motion,

declaring that if the President should refuse to obey the mandate of the court, there was no power to enforce its process; and if, on the other hand, the President should obey the court and refuse to execute the laws of Congress, a collision might occur between the executive and the legislative branches of the Government, and the President would be liable to impeachment by the House of Representatives. Subsequent to the assignment of the several military commanders to their posts of duty in the Southern States, Mr. Johnson became dissatisfied with their administration of affairs, especially so in the case of Sheridan in the fifth district, and Sickles in Virginia. He ordered changes which should displace both of these generals, much to the displeasure of General Grant, who vainly protested against making the new assignments. Sheridan was succeeded by Hancock, and E. R. S. Canby took command in Virginia in place of Sickles. A palpable breach between General Grant and the President was thus perceptibly widened.

Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War, had made himself obnoxious to the President by his evident sympathy with Congress in its war upon that functionary, and by his exercise of power in the War Department, as alleged, for the thwarting of the policy of the President. The estrangement between the President and the Secretary of War proceeded so swiftly that it was evident by midsummer, 1867, that the Secretary could not longer remain a member of the cabinet; and on the 12th of August the President suspended the Secretary from his office, as he had a right to do under the tenure-of-office law, the Senate not then being in session. General Grant was assigned by the President to discharge the duties of Secretary of War, *ad interim*. The law provided that the Senate should be notified, within twenty days after its reassembling, of any suspensions from office which had been ordered by the President during the vacation. In this instance, due notice was sent to the Senate of the suspension of Mr. Stanton, and the Senate voted to nonconcur in that action. Grant at once vacated the office which he had held *ad interim*, notifying the President that under the law his functions must cease with the determination of the vote of the Senate. It was surmised that the vacating of the office by Grant, and the immediate reoccupation of the place by Stanton, was a part of a plan by which Stanton



William Pitt Fessenden.



Ticket of Admittance to the Impeachment Trial of President Johnson.

From an original in the possession of Noah Brooks, Esq.

was returned to the place without any chance for some other person to be thrust into it before him. A voluminous and acrimonious correspondence between the President and General Grant ensued, the former alleging and the latter denying that it was expressly understood and agreed between the two high functionaries that Grant should not vacate the place without giving the President opportunity to put some one else into it; or, which was much more to the purpose, Grant, according to the President, was to hold the office in spite of the Senate's non-concurrence, and thus compel Mr. Stanton to resort to the courts to secure his own reinstatement.

Mr. Johnson now resorted to another device to keep Stanton out of the War Department. Of his own motion he had procured from General Grant the appointment of General Lorenzo Thomas as adjutant-general of the army, and he now assigned that officer to act as Secretary of War, *ad interim*, under a law of Congress which allows such an assignment, without confirmation by the Senate, for a period not longer than six months. In this case, however, the President notified Stanton that he was removed, not suspended; and Mr. Stanton notified the Speaker of the House of the action of the President. Great excitement prevailed throughout the country. It was found that the open rupture between the President and the party which had elected him to the vice-presidency had finally been overshadowed in importance by a more serious calamity, — the imminence of a violent struggle between the legislative and the executive branches of the Government. The people, just abandoning themselves to the luxury and enjoyment of profound peace, were disturbed by rumors of violence and armed collision in Washington; and men were ready to ask wearily if the land was once more to be rent by discord and strife.

Andrew Johnson was roundly denounced as a traitor by many, and not a few ardent and sincere patriots who had bravely fought to secure the unity of the Nation were ready to demand the impeachment of the man who, succeeding Lincoln, had, as they said, endeavored to betray the country into the hands of its enemies. Johnson's

undoubted sincerity in his defence of the cause of the Union, his great services during the war, and his honest zeal and patriotism were all forgotten and brushed aside as of no account. It was at this time that Johnson's purpose became infirm and wavering. He appeared to have lost for a time that vigorous dash which had heretofore characterized him. In his blind feeling around for some means of extricating himself from his difficulties, he turned to General Sherman, whom he sought to allure to Washington as brevet-general of the army, as if Sherman, the brother in arms of Grant, could be induced to antagonize his beloved comrade and set himself up as the President's personal representative and mouthpiece in the National capital, a city for which Sherman had a profound and almost comic horror as a sink of political iniquity and mysterious chicanery.

After some tentative endeavors on the part of Thomas to secure an entrance into the War Department, Stanton was left in possession, the whole question being referred by tacit agreement to the result of the trial of the President on impeachment by the House of Representatives. To this complexion things had come at last. From the foundation of the Government, the right of the President to remove, or request the resignation of, a member of his cabinet had never once been called in question. It had been the custom for cabinet officers to withdraw at the slightest intimation on the part of the President that their presence in the executive council was no longer desired; and in this instance Mr. Stanton had not been appointed by Mr. Johnson; like the other members of the Lincoln cabinet who had survived their illustrious chief, he had held over from the previous administration at the request of Mr. Johnson. The constitutionality of the tenure-of-office act, under which Mr. Stanton's removal was sought, had not been tested; but it had been seriously questioned; and the veto message of Mr. Johnson, in which grave objections were urged against the bill in question, was written by Secretary Stanton. But by vote of the House, February 24th, 1868, the necessary two thirds being secured for that purpose, a resolution of impeachment was adopted, the vote being 126 to 42.

The House resolves to impeach the President.

The managers on the part of the House were John A. Bingham, of Ohio; George S. Boutwell and B. F. Butler, of Massachusetts; James F. Wilson, of Iowa; Thomas Williams and Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania. The counsel for the President were Henry Stanbery and W. S. Groesbeck, of Ohio; William M. Evarts, of New York; Thomas A. R. Nelson, of Tennessee, and Benjamin R. Curtis, of Massachusetts. The articles of impeachment were eleven in number, nine of which related to the President's alleged violations of the statute commonly known as the tenure-of-office law. The other two were

based upon Johnson's personal conduct and public speeches, the tenth being to the effect that he had used, in regard to Congress, threats, language, and harangues which were "highly censurable in any, and particularly indecent and unbecoming in the chief magistrate of the United States, by means whereof the said Andrew Johnson has brought the high office of President into contempt, ridicule, and disgrace, to the great scandal of all good citizens." The eleventh article accused the President of declaring that Congress was no constitutional Congress, but a Congress of a part of the States, thereby intending to deny that its legislation had any binding effect upon him, or that it had the power to propose constitutional amendments.

The trial which followed was unprecedented in the history of nations. It was the arraignment of the chief magistrate of a republic before its Senate, the lower branch of the legislative department of the Government appearing as prosecutor, the Senate sitting as jury. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Salmon P. Chase, sat as presiding officer of this august tribunal. The trial begun on the 5th of March, 1868, and ended on the 26th of May. The sessions of the high court of impeachment were attended by throngs of spectators. During that period the attention of the country was strained to the highest pitch; but it soon became evident that there would not be a conviction. To convict it was necessary to secure the votes of two thirds of the Senators. The Senate then numbered fifty-five, of whom thirty-six must be found to vote for the conviction of the President of the high crimes and misdemeanors charged against him. It was certain that the twelve Democratic Senators would vote against conviction; and it was certain that at least seven of the Republican Senators must be induced to vote with them in order to clear the accused.

Final failure to convict.

The order of voting directed taking up the eleventh article (that relating to the President's denunciations of Congress) before the others. The result revealed the weakness of the case before the Senate, there being thirty-five Senators who voted "guilty" and nineteen who voted "not guilty." This vote was taken on the 16th of May; the Senate adjourned, and another vote (this time on the second and third articles, relating to the President's action under the tenure-of-office law) was taken with the same result, the vote being thirty-five to nineteen. Whereupon the court of impeachment adjourned *sine die*, and no further proceedings in the matter were taken. The seven Senators who had voted for the acquittal of the President were overwhelmed with abuse from the radical members of their party; they were denounced as traitors, and some of them were threatened with party excommunication, or they were denounced as being already deserters to the camp of the enemy.

Bitter feeling against Senators who voted for acquittal.

It was felt at the time that the eleventh article was the strongest of the series. If the House had waited for some overt act on the part of the President to give emphasis to his declaration that the Congress was an unconstitutional body whose legislation was not binding upon the Executive, his conviction could not have been avoided. The coarse and brutal allegation that vast sums of money were spent to secure the acquittal of the President and to corrupt the minority who voted against conviction soon lost any influence with thinking men. Undeniably, some of the Republicans who voted with the Democrats for acquittal suffered permanently in public estimation. But this was due to their subsequent desertion of their party, rather than to their vote on the articles of impeachment. Foremost among the Republican Senators who voted for acquittal was William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, a man of austere morals, unimpeachable virtue, and wise patriotism. In his speech explanatory of his vote he stated with great clearness the case as it presented itself to his acute mind. Concluding his address, he said: "To the suggestion that popular opinion demands the conviction of the President, I reply that he is not now on trial before the people, but before the Senate. The people have not heard the evidence as we have heard it. They have not taken an oath to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws. I have taken that oath. I cannot render judgment upon their convictions, nor can they transfer to themselves my punishment if I violate my own. I should consider myself undeserving of the confidence of that just and intelligent people who imposed upon me this great responsibility, and unworthy a place among honorable men, if for any fears of public reprobation, and for the sake of securing popular favor, I should disregard the convictions of my judgment and conscience. The consequences that may follow from the conviction or acquittal are not for me, with my convictions, to consider. The future is in the hands of Him who made and governs the universe, and the fear that He will not govern well would not excuse me for a violation of His law."

The impeachment trial was conducted with dignity and impressive simplicity; there were no military attendants or guards employed, and, coming as it did directly after a period of martial domination, the spectacle was specially significant of the return of civil rule. At each session of the court of impeachment the members of the House of Representatives proceeded in a body from their end of the capitol building to the Senate wing, where they sat, silent spectators and listeners, while their managers and attorneys presented their case, and the attorneys for the President responded. There was great relief all

over the country when the trial was over; many men were deeply disappointed by the result, and not a few who had been opposed to beginning the proceedings regretted that, having been begun, the trial had ended in a failure to convict. During the remaining months of Mr. Johnson's official term a semblance of peace prevailed between the warring factions. Congress had practically finished its work of providing laws, rules, and regulations for the rehabilitation of the States in rebellion. Its plans and schemes no longer excited the belligerent passions of the President. Nevertheless, after so long and exciting a conflict, it was natural that the people should greatly desire that relief which could only come when a successor to Mr. Johnson, who could command the respect and confidence of the people of the country, should be chosen.

During the administration of Andrew Johnson two important

The Capture of Maximilian at Querétaro by Mexican Troops.

The Execution of Maximilian and his Companions, Miramon and Mejia.

events occurred in the history of the diplomatic relations of the United States. The empire of Maximilian, set up in Mexico while the American Republic was in the throes of civil war, came to a violent and bloody end. And the United States, by a treaty with Russia, acquired the vast territory on the northwest coast known as Alaska.

At the beginning of Mr. Johnson's administration, peace having returned to the United States, the desire of the American people for the deliverance of Mexico from the humiliation of foreign invasion was strongly manifested in every possible way. Congress was memorialized, public meetings were held to express the popular sympathy with the distressed people of the Mexican Republic, and every attempt on the part of France to secure from the United States Government even the slightest approach to a recognition of the empire of Maximilian was greeted with indignant public clamor. There were many such attempts; but the State Department, under the wise and able management of Secretary Seward, steadily and inflexibly withheld even the faintest shadow of recognition of the imperial government in Mexico. From first to last, although Juarez, the fugitive President of the republic, could not always be reached by the agents of the United States, his authority was consistently regarded by the Johnson Administration as the only legitimate authority in Mexico. Military disasters overtook the ill-starred expedition of the French in Mexico, and the European troops employed to

The downfall of the Empire in Mexico.

bolster up the tottering throne of the Austrian Archduke fought to great disadvantage against the guerrillas and partisan rangers of the Juarists. When the civil war in the United States was ended, and the attention of the American people was turned with absorbing interest to the affairs of the sister republic, the fleeting reign of Maximilian had already passed its meridian splendor. The finances were in a condition of inextricable and hopeless confusion. The extravagant expenses of an imperial establishment accumulated an indebtedness for which there were no adequate means of liquidation. The foreign troops were gradually driven out of all the provinces to the north and south of the central portion of Mexico; and in this comparatively circumscribed territory the imperial army was alone sustained. Throughout the major portion of the republic bands of men, more or less attached to the Juarist party, but wholly hostile to the imperialists, ranged unchecked. President Juarez established his seat of government in some one of the chief cities of Mexico; and although he was occasionally driven out by the imperialists, he eventually returned in triumph to resume the formal operations of his peripatetic government.

This state of things could not long endure. Napoleon III., although reluctant to submit to the loss of prestige which a withdrawal from the Mexican expedition would assuredly entail, could not fail to see that his army in Mexico must be greatly reënforced, or brought home. The venture had proved to be unpopular with the French people; it was certain to be finally disastrous unless further and enormous expenses were incurred. After some parleying with the State Department of the United States and its foreign representatives, the French Government gave notice of an intention to withdraw its troops from Mexico. The withdrawal was to be effected in instalments, the troops to be carried away in three separate detachments. A change in this order excited the people of the United States; they saw in the abandonment of the date of the first withdrawal of troops an intention to cancel the entire programme and persist in the occupation of Mexico. But it was eventually conceded that military reasons justified the change which provided for the recall of the whole force at one time, instead of breaking up that force into three detachments and

Ferdinand Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico.

taking each away at intervals of time. In December, 1866, Marshal Bazaine, the commander of the French forces in Mexico, issued a circular announcing the intention of the Emperor of the French to recall his troops, and authorizing all persons of French nationality enrolled in the Mexican army either to remain under the banners of Maximilian, or return to France, at their own option.

A few of these remained, but the greater portion embarked on French transports at Vera Cruz. On the 5th of February, 1868, the French evacuated the city of Mexico, and by the 1st of March Maximilian was left at the head of his native troops with a small Austrian contingent, his entire force numbering only a few thousand men. These were distributed in nearly equal divisions among the three principal points then left in possession of the imperialists, — the city of Mexico, Puebla, and Vera Cruz. Marquez supported himself in the capital for a time by a system of forced loans, extorting large sums from the citizens, the city being besieged by General Diaz, who speedily captured Puebla from the imperialists. Maximilian and his two leading generals, Miramon and Mejia, were shut up in Querétaro, the capital of the State of that name, about 120 miles to the northwest of the city of Mexico, where they were besieged by a Republican force under General Escobedo. On the 15th of May, 1868, aided by the treachery of General Lopez, the Juarist forces entered Querétaro and took prisoners to the number of 8,000 men, including Maximilian and his two generals, together with some 400 other general officers. The siege of Querétaro, which lasted two or three months, excited the liveliest concern in Europe; and the Emperor of Austria, alarmed for the safety of his brother, the Archduke Maximilian, appealed through his minister in Washington to the United States Government to intercede in behalf of the unhappy prince. This appeal was in vain. Courteously replying to the diplomatic representative of the United States (Mr. Lewis D. Campbell), the President of the Mexican Republic declared that the Archduke had chosen to continue his work of desolation and ruin after the French were gone, and that imperialists captured were not prisoners of war, but offenders against the laws of nations.

End of Maximilian and return of Juarez.

Maximilian, Miramon, and Mejia were tried by a court-martial convened by order of General Escobedo, in June, and on the 19th of that month, being convicted of crimes against the laws of the republic, were condemned to be shot. Notwithstanding the protests of many of the European governments, this sentence was carried out, Miramon and Mejia, regarded as renegade Mexicans, being stripped and shot in the back. The body of the Archduke was delivered to the Austrian consul-general, and was sub-

THE FRENCH FORCES STORMING FORT SAN GUADALUPE
AT PUEBLA, MEXICO.

sequently carried back to Europe. On the day of Maximilian's execution, the city of Mexico capitulated and was taken possession of by General Porfirio Diaz in the name of the republic. On the 15th of July, President Juarez returned to the national capital, and amid great popular rejoicings reëstablished his government in the city which he had quitted under a stress of circumstances, May 31st, 1863. By this time the feeble fragments of the Austrian army of occupation had been permitted to leave Mexico without further interference.

Nearly all of the leading Mexican generals who had taken arms under the Empire were executed by the victorious Republicans. These sanguinary slaughters and the summary execution of Maximilian excited the indignation of many who had sympathized with the Mexican people in their long struggle to rid themselves of the invader. The wrath of most of the governments of Europe was so great that their diplomatic relations with the Mexican Republic were broken off, and were not renewed for years after the death of the imperial prince who had been so ruthlessly sacrificed by the French Emperor. The Mexicans justified their treatment of the captured imperialists by reciting their crimes; and the fact that Mexican Republican generals, captured in war by the troops of Maximilian, had been barbarously shot, was cited as further justification of the execution of the captive Emperor and the renegade generals taken with him. On Maximilian's part, it was declared that when he ordered the shooting of captured Mexican generals, in the earlier campaigns against the Liberals, he had apparently authentic information that Juarez had left the country, abandoning it to the guerrilla warfare in which his partisans were engaged.

Disorder on the Mexican border.

The war in Mexico kept the American border in a state of constant turmoil and confusion while it lasted. General Sheridan, commanding in Louisiana and Texas, was forced to exercise the greatest vigilance to preserve the neutrality of the United States. Arrests were made of adventurers who impudently endeavored to enlist troops for service in the distracted republic on the further side of the Rio Grande; and occasional indiscretions on the part of subordinate American commanders elicited angry protests from the imperialist authorities in Mexico. Encouraged by the government of Maximilian, a few officers and agents of the lately rebellious States of the Federal Union had embarked in commercial and industrial enterprises in Mexico; and honors and preferment were expected by these men, who had left their own country to better themselves in a foreign land which was supposed to be permanently under an imperial rule. But almost without exception these ventures came to grief. The climate of the country, its unsettled condition, and the swiftness of the ruin which overtook the imperial establishment

caused the failure of all such fantastic schemes to make pleasant and profitable the voluntary expatriation of discontented American citizens.

Activity of the State Department under Secretary Seward.

With great secrecy the Department of State concluded a treaty, in 1867, with the Russian Government for the purchase of the territory known as Aliaska, or Alaska, the price paid being $7,200,000. The news that negotiations had been concluded and that the treaty needed only confirmation by the Senate created a profound sensation throughout the country, and indeed throughout the civilized world. The Russian Government had never before consented to the alienation of any part of its vast domain; and it was felt that the sale, which came soon after the close of a war in which Russia had openly manifested sympathy with the United States Government in its struggle to preserve its integrity, was another evidence of the friendship of the Empire for the Republic. On the whole, the purchase was popular, although the frigidity and supposed barrenness of the newly acquired region were somewhat derided by critics of Mr. Seward's methods. The treaty was executed by representatives of the two powers on the 30th of March, 1867; ratifications were exchanged, after a long and interesting debate in the Senate, on the 20th of the following June. Formal possession was taken by the United States at Sitka, October 9th, 1867, General Lovell H. Rousseau, of the United States army, acting as the agent of the Government. As one of the greatest of the sources of wealth of the newly acquired territory was the fur-bearing seal herd that frequented Alaskan waters, the Government resolved to preserve these animals by limiting their numbers to be slain annually, and leasing the sealing-grounds to a company which should have an exclusive right to take the animals for their skins, under certain restrictions and regulations prescribed by the Treasury Department. This brought the civil government of the Territory under the immediate control of that department; and although judicial districts were organized for the better preservation of order, and a chief governing officer was provided, the communities were never given any political framework which could be called a Territorial Government. The attempt to maintain a governmental monopoly of the fur-seal industry on the shores of Alaska eventually became a fruitful source of annoyance in later years.

The Department of State, following the traditions established during the late Lincoln Administration, continued its cordial interest in the affairs of Central America and South America. This interest was manifested in various friendly ways during the later years of Secretary Seward's term of office; and it was denounced as "meddle-

some" by certain foreign critics. Those republics, for themselves, usually welcomed the "interference" of the United States Secretary of State with more hopefulness than could be reasonably expected; they apparently desired frequent intervention in their affairs. Writing to the United States Minister to Santiago, General Judson Kilpatrick, in 1867, Mr. Seward, after disclaiming any intention to interfere in the affairs of the Central American republics, said: "We maintain and insist that the republican system in any of these States shall not be wantonly assailed and shall not be subverted by European powers." This was the Secretary's moderate statement of the famous Monroe doctrine, which was destined to become more and more an article in the cardinal belief of the American people.

Another instance of the activity of the State Department at this time was the conclusion of a treaty between Nicaragua and the United States, which was signed in June, 1867. By this treaty Nicaragua granted "to the United States and their citizens and property the right of transit between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, through the territory of that republic, or any route of communication, natural or artificial, whether by land or by water, which may be constructed," "to be used and enjoyed in the same manner and upon equal terms by both republics and their respective citizens." In return the United States agreed "to extend their protection to all such routes of communication and to guarantee the neutrality of the same." This was an agreement under which it was hoped that a canal across the isthmus might eventually be constructed to connect the two oceans.

Annexation projects.

In October, 1867, was signed a treaty between Denmark and the United States by which the first-named power agreed to sell to the latter the West India islands of St. Thomas and St. John, with their neighboring islets, rocks, and keys; the price named was $7,500,000. From time to time the Government of the United States had considered with some degree of solicitude the feasibility of establishing a naval station in the West Indies, and this project of Secretary Seward's was regarded by such naval experts as Admiral Porter and others with lively approval. Under the treaty the Government of Denmark required as a condition precedent to the sale that the inhabitants of the islands should express by ballot their consent to the transfer of their homes and lands to the Government of the United States. With considerable enthusiasm and with almost complete unanimity, the islanders ratified the bargain; but while further consideration of the scheme was pending in the United States, Nature interposed to prevent ratification of the treaty. St. Thomas was devastated by an appalling earthquake; a terrific tornado swept over the devoted region, and the island was so engulfed by tidal waves that

it was said that "only a gull above it flying" marked the spot where St. Thomas had been. Popular opinion in the United States, already regarding with suspicion everything that originated with the Department of State, was greatly affected by exaggerated reports of the disasters that had overwhelmed St. Thomas. Immeasurable ridicule was poured upon the Secretary's unfortunate project; and when Congress assembled in November, 1867, a month earlier than the usual date for its meeting, the President's recommendation for the purchase was treated with cold contempt. Congress was in angry mood; the powers of the President were to be clipped, not extended. The quarrel between the President and Congress was then approaching an acute climax in the attempt of the Executive to remove Secretary Stanton. The scheme to acquire the islands of St. Thomas and St. John was abandoned with scant courtesy to Denmark, whose Government was necessarily subjected to the mortification of having its proposed bargain refused.

Of other possibilities for acquiring outlying territory which the exploring eye of Secretary Seward detected on the horizon it may be said that a dim project for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, during the year 1867, came to nothing. A reciprocity treaty between the Hawaiian Government and the United States was at that time pending; it was hinted that a strong party in favor of annexation existed in the islands. The hopeful spirit of Mr. Seward was stirred by this information; and writing to the resident minister at Honolulu, he advised him that the United States Government greatly preferred annexation to reciprocity; but nothing came of the proposition, and a tentative adventure in the direction of Santo Domingo, undertaken a little earlier than this, also resulted in disappointment.

An important embassy from China.

Quite as important as any of these interesting incidents was the conclusion of a treaty of commercial exchange and amity between the United States and the Imperial Government of China. A regular monthly line of steamers was established between the ports of San Francisco, Japan, and China in 1868. At that time the United States Minister to Pekin was Anson Burlingame, who had been distinguished as a member of Congress for Massachusetts in the 34th, 35th, and 36th Congresses. He was appointed minister to Austria early in Lincoln's Administration; but the Austrian Government declined to receive him on account of his cordial attitude towards Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, during a visit to this country, and his sympathy manifested for the struggling kingdom of Sardinia. He accepted an appointment to China; and as his stay in Pekin was about to terminate, after a useful career, in November, 1867, the Chinese Government offered him a commission

Chinese Secretaries and Interpreters.

J. McL. Brown, English Secretary. | Chih Tajen. | Mr. Burlingame. | Sun Tajen. | E. Deschamps, French Secretary.

ANSON BURLINGAME AND THE FIRST CHINESE EMBASSY TO THE UNITED STATES.

as its envoy to all the Western powers. Up to that time China had never been represented to any of the powers of Europe or America, and this departure from ancient usage was regarded by the nations with astonishment. The appointment of Mr. Burlingame was not received with favor by the European courts, where it was inferred that the Americans had secured some advantage over the other nations by this unexpected movement on the part of the imperial government of China. Accompanied by a shining retinue, and himself being clothed with powers and titles of the first rank, Mr. Burlingame arrived in San Francisco, March 31st, 1868, where he was received with great acclaim. A curious incident of his arrival on American soil grew out of the discovery that the Empire of China had no official ensign; the dragon was the symbol of the Empire, and yellow was the imperial color; combining these two, Mr. Burlingame hastily designed a national flag, which for the first time floated over the hotel in which he and his suite were quartered in San Francisco. In New York and other American cities the embassy was received with great enthusiasm mingled with curiosity and interest. The members of the party were fêted and generally treated with great consideration by State and municipal governments, and on their arrival in Washington, early in June, were greeted with much cordiality. A treaty of commerce and amity between the United States and China was very soon concluded, and was ratified by the Senate, July 16th, 1868. This new attitude of China towards the Western powers naturally attracted much attention throughout the civilized world; and the prejudice which had existed on the part of the English press very soon disappeared when it was found that similar treaties were to be negotiated with the great European powers, and it came to pass that England formally and openly recognized the authority and obligations of the supreme Government of the Chinese Empire. The chief purpose of the treaty between the United States and China was the recognition by both the powers of the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance and to migrate freely from one country to another, for the purpose of curiosity, trade, or permanent residence; and both parties to the treaty agreed to pass laws making it a penal offence for their citizens to take to other countries the citizens of either of the other nations without their free and voluntary consent; in other words, the new treaty was designed to facilitate the passage of the people of China and of the United States from one country to another, respectively, and to promote that freedom of commercial intercourse which was naturally to result from the establishment of more intimate commercial relations between the two countries.

CHAPTER XXII.

GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT, PRESIDENT.

Political Chaos. — Weakness of the Reconstructed State Governments. — The Rough Riders in the South. — Grant's Nomination and Election. — His Queer First Cabinet. — Progress to Final Reconstruction. — Cuban Complications with the United States. — Completion of the Pacific Railway. — The San Domingo Scheme. — Frequent Cabinet Changes. — The Treaty of Washington and the Geneva Award. — The Fisheries Dispute. — Great Fire in Chicago. — Explosion of the Tweed Ring. — Republican Disorganization. — The Liberal Republican Movement. — Horace Greeley's Campaign, Defeat, and Death. — The Credit Mobilier Exposures. — Political Reputations damaged.

During the four years of Andrew Johnson's administration, greater confusion existed in American politics than at any previous time. The Republican party was distracted by dissensions caused by Johnson's erratic policy. Not a few prominent members of the party, having given their adhesion to the so-called conservative policy of Mr. Johnson, became so far alienated from their more radical associates that they were never afterwards identified with the organization that had twice elected Lincoln and had carried the country through the civil war. The Democratic party, now beginning to resume coherency and solidity, was recovering from the long paralysis caused by the departure of its war element to the ranks of the Unionists. Many war Democrats continued to act with the Republicans; not a few of them remained permanently in that party; but hosts of them returned to the Democratic camps, and, now that the great issues of peace and war were settled, resumed their ancient allegiance to the party which they had left for an excursion into other fields.

In the Southern States the confusion was indescribable. The white people, loyal and ex-rebel, were endeavoring to get back into their own hands the political power which had passed into the hands of the blacks under the operation of the reconstruction laws and the acts of Congress disfranchising those who had aided and abetted the recent rebellion. It was becoming apparent that the reconstructed governments, deprived of military support, would be in danger of

overthrow. Dependent as they were upon the numerical political strength of the black majorities, majorities made up of ignorant and unintelligent voters, it was hardly possible that these governments could long withstand the attacks of the determined men whose trained political sagacity and overpowering unanimity made the contest between the opposing forces very unequal. Secret political associations, masked and disguised under various titles, but uniformly bent on the extinction of the negro vote, were organized in nearly all the Southern States; whether these were the "Invisible Empire," "Knights of the White Camellia," "Kuklux Klan," or "Caucasians," their common purpose was the suppression of the right of suffrage so recently guaranteed to the colored men. Loyal Southern white men who had stood by the Federal Union more or less openly during the dark and trying times of war, hesitated to lend a hand to support the colored voters of the South in the retention of their newly secured right to vote and hold office. White citizens of Northern birth who had flocked into the States lately devastated by rebellion, in the hope and expectation of finding a fertile field for the investment of their capital and for the exercise of their political skill, were universally denounced as "carpet-baggers;" the native born whites who joined these men in their schemes for securing political favor were stigmatized as "scalawags;" and the honest and dishonest were alike banned by those whose opposition to the Congressional plan of reconstruction was gradually becoming more hopeful in the North, more potential in the South. Signs of conflict were conspicuous on every hand.

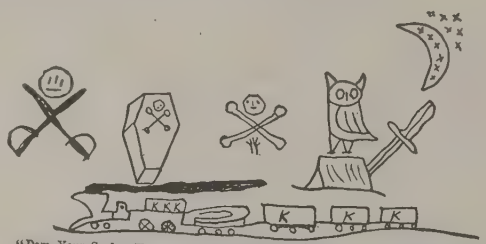
Political confusion in the South.

The irresistible logic of events pointed to General Grant as the Republican candidate for the presidency in 1868; it shaped with equal certainty the leading issues of the political campaign of that year. Congress, two years before, had decreed that no State lately in rebellion should be represented in the Senate or the House of Representatives until a vote of the two Houses should declare it entitled to such representation. As conditions precedent to a recognition of this right of a State, ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the extension and guarantee of the elective franchise to the colored people, and other legislation to secure that end were declared absolutely necessary. It was inevitable that both the great parties should make the reconstruction of the Southern States the prominent issue in their declaration of principles on entering the political canvass of 1868. The Republicans, it may be said, could not have nominated any man other than General Grant with any prospect of success. The party needed him for a standard bearer and leader far more than he needed the presidency to round out his

career and gild his great honors. The National convention of the party assembled in Chicago May 20th, and promptly and unanimously nominated Grant for the presidency. Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, who had served with distinction in the House of Representatives as member and as Speaker, was nominated for the vice-presidency on the sixth ballot. The platform resolutions of the convention committed the party to "the reconstruction project of Congress" in all its parts. In his letter accepting the nomination, General Grant declared his invincible respect for the will of the people, pledging himself, if elected, to a faithful, economical, and peace-inviting administration of affairs; and he closed his letter with the memorable saying, — "Let us have peace."

Nomination of Grant and Colfax.

Although the Democratic party had its policy already marked out for authoritative enunciation in its platform, the nominating convention, which met in New York July 4th, was not presented with "a logical candidate," as the Republican convention had so fortunately been. Horatio Seymour, who, as Governor of New York, had won the esteem and confidence of those who were opposed to the war for the preservation of the Union, was naturally regarded as the best exponent of the principles of the reviving and reuniting Democratic party. He was the presiding officer of the nominating convention. But there were not a few Democrats who appeared to think that Andrew Johnson, by his opposition to the reconstruction policy of Congress, had won the right to lead the party whose chief purpose now was to defeat and destroy all further operations under that policy. Mr. Johnson was more than willing to accept the honor. There was also developed in the party a considerable element in favor of nominating Chief Justice Chase for the presidency. And for a time there was some prospect that the chief justice would be the nominee of the Democrats, but a great wave of enthusiasm finally moved the convention to the selection of Horatio Seymour.



"Dam Your Soul. The Horrible *Sepulchre* and Bloody Moon has at last arrived. Some live to-day to-morrow "*Die.*" We the undersigned understand through our Grand "*Cyclops*" that you have recommended a big Black Nigger for Male agent on our nu rode; wel, sir, Jest you understand in time if he gets on the rode you can make up your mind to pull roape. If you have any thing to say in regard to the Matter, meet the Grand Cyclops and Conclave at Den No. 4 at 12 o'clock midnight, Oct. 1st, 1871.

"When you are in Calera we warn you to hold your tounge and not speak so much with your month or otherwise you will be taken on supprise and led out by the Klan and learnt to stretch hemp. Beware. Beware. Beware. Beware.

(Signed) "PHILLIP ISENBAUM,
"*Grand Cyclops.*
"JOHN BANKSTOWN
"ESAU DAVES.
"MARCUS THOMAS.
"BLOODY BONES.

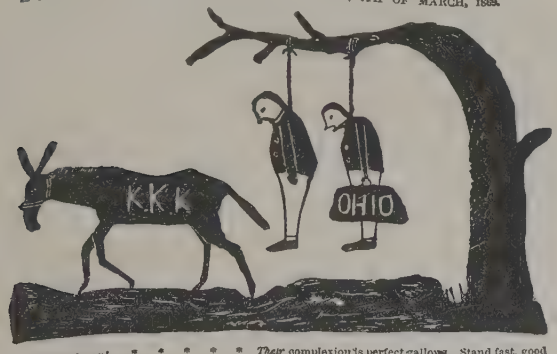
"You know who. And all others of the Klan."

Facsimile of a Kuklux "Warning" in Mississippi — put in evidence before the Congressional Committee.

This result, however, was not accomplished without many checks and hindrances. There were nearly twenty candidates balloted for; among these were Andrew Johnson, George H. Pendleton, General W. S. Hancock, General Frank P. Blair, Jr., General McClellan, Franklin Pierce, and Salmon P. Chase. Mr. Seymour was nominated on the 21st ballot, taken on the fifth day of the session. Amidst great confusion, Mr. Seymour made a speech in which he positively declined the honor, closing with the words, "Your candidate I cannot be." But having nominated General Frank P. Blair, Jr., for Vice-president, the convention adjourned, leaving the nominee for President to be labored with by the party leaders. Mr. Seymour subsequently accepted the nomination in a long letter written August 4th, 1868. The platform of resolutions adopted by the convention differed in many respects from one which had been framed for it by Chief Justice Chase; its essential features were embodied in the first two resolutions, which demanded for the Southern States "immediate restoration to all their rights in the Union under the Constitution," and amnesty for all past political offences, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens."

The Democratic nominations.

[From the Independent Monitor, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, September 1, 1868.]
A PROSPECTIVE SCENE IN THE CITY OF OAKS, 4TH OF MARCH, 1869.



"Hang, curs, hang! *Their* complexion is perfect gallows. Stand fast, good fate, to *their* hanging! If they be not born to be hanged, our case is miserable."

The above cut represents the fate in store for those great pests of Southern society—the carpet-bagger and scalawag—if found in Dixie's land after the break of day on the 4th of March next.

A Newspaper Cutting put in Evidence before the Congressional Committee.

The elections in the States for the choice of local officers in September and October of that year were so disastrous to the prospects of the Democrats that a panic seized some of the party leaders, and one of their influential newspaper organs boldly demanded that Mr. Seymour's name should be taken out of the canvass and another's substituted. It was even suggested that the military fame of the candidate for the vice-presidency (General Blair) would make him more acceptable to the people then than a Peace Democrat could possibly be. But comforted and assured by a vigorous endorsement of Mr. Seymour's candidacy by President Johnson, the Democratic leaders indignantly denounced all suggestions of a change of front; Seymour

took the field in his own behalf, and the canvass was closed November 3d, when Grant was elected by a popular majority of 309,684. He carried every State which had a vote in the Electoral College excepting Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Oregon. The States of Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia gave no vote for President, their reconstruction being as yet incomplete under the policy of Congress. They had failed to conform to the conditions prescribed for the rehabilitation of the States lately in rebellion, consequently they were still deprived of all the Federal functions of Statehood.

The Republican triumph.

At this time General Grant was in the prime of his mental and physical powers, being forty-seven years old. To accept the high civil station to which he had been elected by the people he was obliged to surrender the more unique rank of general of the army to which he had been promoted after passing rapidly through the grades of brigadier, major-general, and lieutenant-general. Used to camps and battle-fields, and wholly untried in even the humblest station of civil office, he was now called upon to frame a cabinet of statesmen and to shape the foreign and domestic policy of a great nation. It was his profound ignorance of the weight of the duties about to be laid upon him, and not his self-conceit, that induced him to say in his inaugural address: "The responsibilities of the position I feel, but I accept them without fear."

The announcement of the names of men chosen by President Grant as members of his cabinet surprised the whole country. These and some of his subsequent acts betrayed his unfamiliarity with civil office. The only man called into this ill-assorted council of advisers who had been regarded as closely identified with Grant's political fortunes was Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, one of the ablest of the Republican leaders in Congress, who had been a stanch friend of General Grant from the time that redoubtable warrior emerged from his seclusion in Galena to his final triumphs in the fields of war and peace. Mr. Washburne's appointment as Secretary of State, however, was wholly unexpected; for his restless energy and active temperament did not in the least suggest his fitness as a bureau officer. His term of office was short. He resigned the portfolio of State and was appointed minister to France, May 23d, 1869, being succeeded by Hamilton Fish, of New York. Another surprise was the nomination of Alexander T. Stewart, a wealthy New York dealer in dry goods, to be Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Stewart had never taken any part in politics, or, indeed, in public affairs of any kind; and when it was remembered that the statutes forbade the employment in the revenue service of the Republic of any person

Grant's first cabinet.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

(From a photograph by Walker, June 2, 1875. General Grant had shaved his beard on purpose, the portrait being for use in cutting a cameo. Only two copies each of the right and left profile were printed.)

who was engaged in foreign commerce or navigation or the importation of goods, the President's lack of knowledge of civil administration was made evident. General Grant naïvely asked Congress to enact special legislation to remove Mr. Stewart's legal disability, and a bill for that purpose was actually introduced in the Senate. But objection to its consideration was at once made by Senator Sumner, undoubtedly to the President's annoyance, and Mr. Stewart's name was withdrawn, that of George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, being substituted. Mr. Stewart had been confirmed with the rest of the cabinet without question or examination of his antecedents. Mr. Boutwell was now confirmed, and the knot was untied. General J. M. Schofield was continued in the office of Secretary of War until March 11th, 1869, when General John A. Rawlins, formerly Grant's chief-of-staff, was appointed to succeed him. Secretary Rawlins died in office September 6th, 1869, and was succeeded by William W. Belknap, of Iowa. The gentleman chosen by the newly elected President to be Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Adolphe E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, was wholly unknown to the public; he resigned his office June 25th, 1869, and was succeeded by Mr. George M. Robeson, of New Jersey. The other members of the cabinet kept their places longer. E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, was Attorney-general; J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, was Postmaster-general; and General J. D. Cox, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior.

When he vacated the office of President of the United States, Mr. Johnson departed from the usage of his immediate predecessors so far as to issue a long valedictory message addressed to the people of the United States. In this document the retiring chief executive reiterated his arguments in favor of the justice and reasonableness of his attitude during the conflict in which he had been engaged with Congress, reviewed with pride and gratification his own administration, and commented with severity upon the "usurpations" of the law-making branch of the National Government. Returning to Tennessee, the ex-President became a candidate for reëlection to the United States Senate, and failed by a very few votes of gaining that honor. He subsequently remained in retirement until 1872, when he was a candidate for Congress, but was again defeated. He died July 31st, 1875.

An important law was enacted by Congress in 1869, making further provision for the enforcement of its reconstruction policy. Virginia, Texas, and Mississippi having held out against all efforts to induce reconstruction under the plan adopted in the other States, the law of April 10th, 1869, authorized the President to call elections to ratify or reject the new State constitutions

More reconstruction measures.

that might be submitted to the people. The delay of these recalcitrant States caused an addition to be made to the conditions previously exacted of them. They must now ratify another amendment to the Constitution, the Fifteenth, which explicitly guarantees to the negro his right to vote. This amendment, proposed by Congress, February 27th, 1869, was subsequently ratified by the requisite number of States, the legislatures of twenty-nine States having voted affirmatively, as follows: North Carolina, West Virginia, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Maine, Louisiana, Michigan, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, New York, New Hampshire, Nevada, Vermont, Virginia, Alabama, Missouri, Mississippi, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Nebraska, and Texas. Official proclamation of this fact was made March 30th, 1870. The amendment provided that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and that Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Compliance with the hard conditions imposed by Congress was not readily secured in the three States that had paused on the threshold of reconstruction. The process was attended with some friction; but the prerequisites having been satisfactorily accepted, Congress passed a bill, which was approved by the President, January 26th, 1870, to readmit Virginia to representation in Congress. Gilbert C. Walker, who had been chosen Governor of the State and had been acting as Provisional Governor, was formally installed as chief executive of the Commonwealth; he issued a proclamation reciting the material facts relating to this consummation of reconstruction, dated January 27th, 1870. Similar action was taken in regard to Mississippi, the bill to readmit that State being approved February 17th, 1870. General Adelbert Ames was chosen Governor of that State; and in the newly elected delegation to Congress from Mississippi was H. R. Revels, who was the first colored man sworn in as a Senator of the United States. The bill readmitting Texas to representation in Congress became a law March 29th, 1870, and the civil affairs of the State passed into the hands of its people.

Political troubles in Georgia.

The process of reconstruction in Georgia was attended with many difficulties, and the work was not finally accomplished without opposition and consequent delays. The great body of the native white citizens were bitterly opposed to the new constitution which was framed in 1868, and they were determined to prevent its ratification by the people if possible. "Negro supremacy" was alleged to be the cause of their hatred of the newly formed fundamen-

Schuyler Colfax.

tal law; and the campaign conducted by the so-called Conservatives against its adoption bristled with angry personalities, bitter speeches, and some personal violence. But the election passed off quietly, and the general commanding the department, General Meade, issued an order, dated May 11th, 1868, declaring that the new constitution had been adopted by a majority of 17,699 votes. Rufus B. Bullock, the Republican candidate for Governor, was elected by a majority of 7,047. The Conservative candidate was General John B. Gordon, an ex-Confederate officer who had not taken the oath of allegiance, but whose eligibility was not affected thereby, as he had not previously held any office under the Federal government. In due course of time, the conditions precedent to admission having been fulfilled, the State government was turned over to the citizens of Georgia. In the first legislature under the new order of things, the Senate was equally divided between the two parties, and of the forty-four Senators three were colored men. In the House the Democrats were largely in a majority, and of the 175 Representatives 25 were colored. Under the old code of Georgia colored persons were not eligible to hold office; and after some discussion, all of the colored members of both houses were expelled from their seats, and the (white) men who had received the next highest number of votes in the recent elections were put into their places. Great excitement followed this incident, and rumors that the negroes were drilling in armed militia companies having been spread abroad, Governor Bullock was requested by the legislature to issue a proclamation of warning. In spite of this a bloody collision took place in Mitchell County, September 19th, in which nine or ten negroes were killed and twenty or thirty wounded. The excitement flamed out anew; but the National election in November went off quietly without serious disturbance, the Democratic electors being chosen by 45,688 majority in a total vote of 159,954.

The attention of Congress was called to the condition of affairs in Georgia, the expulsion of the colored members of the legislature being the incident on which Governor Bullock and others demanded intervention in behalf of the guarantee of the inviolability of republican institutions. By the Democrats it was insisted that neither the reconstruction acts, nor the civil rights bill, nor the Fourteenth

Amendment to the Constitution, required any State to provide that colored citizens shall be eligible to office; and that the State constitution was silent on that subject. A general denial was entered as to all allegations of persecution and violence offered to the colored citizens in Georgia. The matter went over to the next Congress, which assembled March 4th, 1869. Meanwhile objection was made to the counting of the electoral vote of Georgia when the two houses of Congress met in joint convention to open and count the returns from the several States, in February, 1869, one of the grounds of that objection being that the November election in that State was not "a free, just, equal, and fair election;" it was also objected that at the date of that election the State of Georgia had not been readmitted to representation in Congress. Notwithstanding this, the presiding officer of the joint meeting made formal declaration of the result of the count, which was to the effect that, "including the votes of the State of Georgia," the whole number of votes was 294, "of which the majority is 148; excluding the votes of the State of Georgia it is 285, of which the majority is 143." He then proceeded to state what the majority for Grant and Colfax was with, and without, the votes of Georgia, that majority, in either case, being sufficient to elect. This did not satisfy the Representatives who had objected to the counting of the electoral vote of Georgia; and in their own subsequent session, General B. F. Butler, of Massachusetts, being their spokesman, they protested (but ineffectually) against the ruling of the presiding officer of the joint convention. The ultimate result of this controversy was a revision of the joint rule of Congress governing proceedings on counting the electoral votes of the States and the strengthening of popular feeling in favor of the Fifteenth Amendment, providing that race, color, or previous condition of servitude shall not be a bar to the eligibility of citizens of the United States to hold office in any State. The Georgia Senate rejected the Fifteenth Amendment; the Assembly ratified it. But in the following year, 1870, both branches of the legislature ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, although the Fourteenth had already been ratified by a preceding legislature. A bill to readmit Georgia to representation in Congress became a law July 15th, 1870; and subsequently the Senators and Representatives chosen were admitted to their seats; and the commercial prosperity of the State, which had been greatly retarded by these distracting political conditions, began to revive.

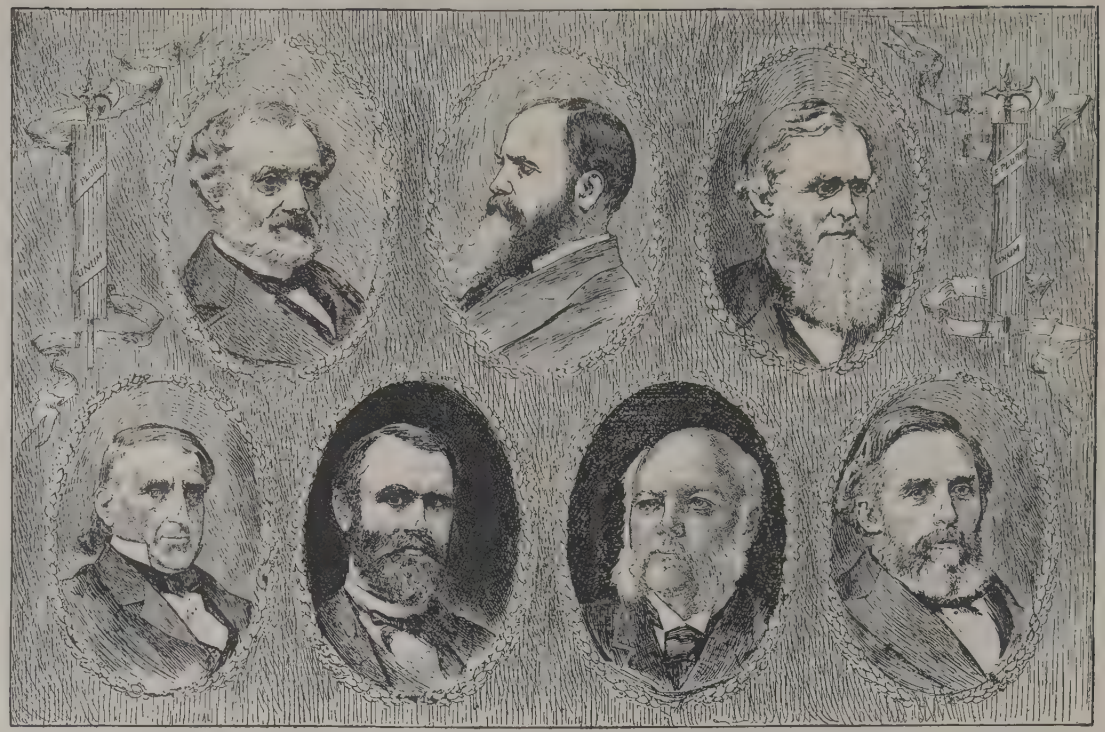
Georgia's vote in the electoral count.

The people of the United States were deeply interested in the progress of events in Cuba during all the years of President Grant's administration. A revolution which broke out in 1868, and which

A. E. Borie,
Navy.

J. A. J. Creswell,
Postmaster-General.

E. R. Hoar,
Attorney-General.



Drawn by Alfred Brennan.

E. B. Washburne,
State.

J. D. Cox,
Interior.

J. M. Schofield,
War.

G. S. Boutwell,
Treasury.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S FIRST CABINET.

had its origin in the distressed condition of labor, the oppressions of the Spanish Government, and the restlessness of the Cuban people, continued through the eight years of this administration, and was not quelled until nearly two years later. The insurgents, having declared a republic, chose General Cespedes as their Provisional President, and hostilities soon became active; armed reënforcements from Spain were sent out to the relief of General Valmesada, the commandant of the forces in Cuba, which was now in a state of war. Cespedes, as "Commander-in-chief of the Republican Forces of Cuba," addressed a memorial to President Grant, invoking the concession of belligerent rights and the recognition of Cuban independence on the part of the United States. The President, kindly disposed toward the revolutionists, was inclined to accede to the concession of belligerent rights. But no attempt had been made by the revolutionists at that time (March, 1869) to organize a civil government; and the central authority was divided between General Quesada, who held sway in the Central Department, and General Cespedes, who was the leader in the East; and a third division in the Santa Clara district was independent of both these chiefs. These confusing conditions were simplified later when, in April, a so-called Congress proclaimed "the Republic of Cuba" and chose Cespedes President and Quesada "Commander-in-chief of the Forces," the former having previously resigned all his provisional functions for the purpose of making himself eligible to the new post to which he was now called with cheerful unanimity by the "Congress" which met in the village of Guaimaro, in the Central Department. The atrocious orders of Valmesada, who decreed a general slaughter of all male persons over fifteen years of age caught away from their habitations, and the indiscriminate burning of suspected houses and villages, excited great indignation in the United States, from whose shores expeditions of volunteers and war material were numerously launched.

Revolution in Cuba.

One of the most important of these expeditions was fitted out under the leadership of General Thomas Jordan, and carried three hundred men armed with first-class rifles, a considerable force of artillery, four thousand stand of arms and revolvers, stores, and other warlike supplies. The sympathy of the Administration, as well as that of the people, was with the insurgents. But existing circumstances, it was held, did not justify that recognition of belligerent rights which was so importunately besought of the United States Government. The most that the President could do was to tender to Spain the "good offices" of the United States Government in the settlement of the existing dispute between the Cubans and the

The Jordan expedition.

mother country. This was courteously declined, and the offer was subsequently withdrawn in consonance with diplomatic usage. The island of Cuba now became a pandemonium in which murders and private incendiarism, as well as open warfare and military destruction of property, were common. Unspeakable barbarities were practised; citizens of the United States complained of the seizure and confiscation of their property; two Americans, Speakman and Wyeth, were brutally murdered by the Spanish authorities, and the United States Government was incessantly importuned to intervene in behalf of its own citizens as well as on behalf of civilization and humanity. The Department of State was constantly bombarded with complaints, protests, and petitions for redress. The House of Representatives, in June, 1870, adopted a resolution authorizing the President "to remonstrate against the barbarous manner in which the war against Cuba has been conducted," and, if he should deem it expedient, to invoke the coöperation of other governments to devise measures to secure a better observance of the laws of war. The Senate declined to consider this resolution.

The *Virginius* affair.

A serious complication between the United States and Spain arose in October, 1873, when the *Virginius*, a ship sailing under the American flag, was captured on the high seas, off Jamaica, by a Spanish man-of-war; the *Virginius* was charged with an attempt to land men and munitions of war in Cuba. Four prominent Cubans were taken from the vessel and shot. In the following month, Captain Fry, commander of the *Virginius*, and a number of the passengers and crew were executed by the Cuban authorities, there being fifty-three persons, all told, who suffered death after the capture of the ship. The Spanish Government promptly interfered to stay the executions; but the Cuban local government, deeply incensed by the alleged discovery of the revolutionary character of the enterprise of the *Virginius*, were too swift for the home authorities, and before regular proceedings could be had, they wreaked their vengeance on the captives. For a time great excitement prevailed in Cuba and in the United States, and war between

A. T. Stewart.

(Mr. Stewart always refused to sit for a portrait. The accompanying likeness is from a painting made after his death by Thomas Le Clear, and now at St. Paul's School, Garden City, Long Island.)

Spain and the United States appeared to be inevitable. But diplomatic negotiations finally adjusted the difficulty and a peaceful settlement was secured. The *Virginius* was formally restored to the naval authorities of the United States, and ample reparation was promised by the Spanish Government.

While "the ever faithful isle" was thus afflicted, the gradual rise of prosperity that had become more and more marked in the United States was conspicuous. The completion of the first transcontinental railway was an industrial event of signal importance in 1869; and the junction of the two lines, one built from the East and the other from the West, which took place in May, at Promontory Point, Utah, was hailed all over the country with great acclaim. The work had been completed one year earlier than had been promised, the two constructing companies having run a race to decide which should secure a larger share of the subsidies granted for each mile of the road laid down. The net increase in the mileage of railways constructed in the United States up to January 1st, 1870, as compared with that of 1864, was nearly fifteen thousand miles. In the work of building the Pacific railways, more especially the section constructed by the California company, thousands of Chinese laborers were employed. It was claimed by the railroad builders that without this variety of labor, which was now becoming common (and popularly objectionable) in California, the Pacific Railway could not have been so speedily built. Immigration from all parts of the world was greatly stimulated by the large industrial operations of this period, the more numerous class of immigrants being that of laborers. During the year ending June 30th, 1869, the arrival of foreign immigrants at the ports of the United States was greater than at any corresponding period since 1854, having reached the maximum of 352,569. During the civil war the tide of immigration had slackened until it was less than 100,000 in 1861 and 1862, and less than 200,000 in the last two years of the war. The total volume of immigration, from July 1st, 1865, to June 30th, 1869, five years, was 1,514,816.

Completion of the Pacific Railroad.

This was also a time of considerable political activity and social unrest. An indication of this uneasiness was to be found in the increasingly popular custom of holding conventions for the consideration of an almost infinite variety of topics that were believed to be of immediate and pressing importance to the people. Thus, in 1869, although the next coming National elections were yet a great way off, no less than seven National conventions were called in various parts of the Republic. A colored convention, to take into consideration the condition of the colored people of the United States,

A year of conventions.

was held in Washington in January; an Irish National Republican Convention, to organize the Irishmen who were members of the Republican party, was held in Chicago in July; a National Labor Congress was convened in Philadelphia in August, to protest against existing laws relating to finance, taxation, hours of labor, and land monopoly, and to demand legislation to promote the interests of labor; a National Temperance Convention, to take steps preliminary to forming a Prohibition party, was held in Chicago in September; a National Capital Convention, to concert measures for the removal of the capital from Washington to some point in the Mississippi Valley, was held in St. Louis on October 21st; on November 24th, a National Woman Suffrage Convention, to form an association to embrace all the States of the Union in the movement to secure woman suffrage, met in Cleveland, Ohio; and a National Colored Labor Convention, organized for the promotion of the interests of the colored laborers in the South, was held in Washington, December 10th. In all these assemblages there was patent a growing interest of the people in public affairs, as well as a determination on the part of the delegates to secure what they considered to be their rights under a paternal form of government. By this time the women's suffrage movement had assumed formidable proportions, under the leadership of such women as Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and others. At the Cleveland convention, a permanent organization was effected with Henry Ward Beecher as president.

A favorite scheme of President Grant's was one for the annexation of San Domingo to the United States. Negotiations looking to this end were begun in 1869, and were continued in the following year, General O. E. Babcock, one of General Grant's military secretaries, being the agent on the part of the United States. These negotiations were kept in the hands of the President, the Department of State having small part in the business. The political administration of the Dominican Republic was in a state of great confusion, owing to the cabals and strifes of rival chieftains. Offers of annexation to the United States came first from one of the Dominican leaders, General Baez; and General Babcock, being sent on an errand of inquiry, reported in favor of the project. A treaty for the annexation of the entire Dominican Republic was accordingly negotiated by General Babcock and Raymond H. Perry, a commercial agent of the United States; at the same time an alternative proposition for a lease of the bay and peninsula of Samana, as a coaling station, was attached to the convention to be acted upon separately. President Grant warmly urged upon the Senate an immediate

The San Domingo scheme.

Joseph F. Rainey, of South Carolina.
(The first colored member of the U. S. House of Representatives. Admitted December 12, 1871.)

Hiram R. Revels, of Mississippi.
(The first colored member of the U. S. Senate. Admitted February 25, 1870.)

THE FIRST COLORED CONGRESSMEN.

ratification of the annexation treaty. He favored the acquisition of the island for the purpose of securing thereupon a suitable rendezvous for the United States navy, and to prevent its occupation as a military station and depot by any possible foreign enemy who might thus establish himself at our very doors. Both treaties were defeated in the Senate; and Senator Sumner, having taken a conspicuous part in the opposition to their ratification, thereby incurred the displeasure of President Grant, who, from this time, became wholly alienated from the Senator.

Ratification of the San Domingo treaties being defeated in the Senate, another attempt was made to accomplish the purpose of annexation by joint Congressional resolutions; it was proposed to send to San Domingo a commission to report to Congress upon the desirability and feasibility of annexing the islands. This removed from the project the privacy which had characterized it while the Senate, in secret session, had discussed it. Both Houses of Congress were involved in animated debates. Senator Sumner denounced the scheme with great severity; and the whole country now became interested in what was deemed to be a pet measure of the Administration. The two treaties were very generally discussed by the people. In the end, however, the undesirableness of acquiring foreign territory separated from the United States by sea, and the suspicious character of the Dominican agents for annexation, combined to defeat the whole project; the powerful opposition of Senator Sumner contributing to that end. As a result of this unhappy business, Mr. Sumner's con-

tumacy was punished by the recall of his personal friend, Mr. John Lothrop Motley, from the post of United States Minister to England; and by vote of the Senate, Mr. Sumner was subsequently removed from the influential place of chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Affairs, which he had held for several years.

Two important cabinet changes took place about this time, one of which was intimately connected with the events immediately preceding those narrated. E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, a personal friend of Senator Sumner, resigned the office of Attorney-general of the United States, and was succeeded by Amos T. Akerman, of Georgia; and General J. D. Cox, who retired from the place of Secretary of the Interior, was succeeded by Columbus Delano, of Ohio. Mr. Akerman subsequently resigned his place, December 13th, 1871, and was succeeded by George H. Williams, formerly United States Senator from Oregon.

The Franco-Prussian War.

In the summer of 1870, war between France and the North German Confederation having broken out, President Grant issued a proclamation of neutrality; and the United States Minister to France, E. B. Washburne, with the consent of the French Government, was permitted to accept from the German Government the difficult and delicate duty of assisting in the departure of German subjects expelled from France, the "useless mouths" of foreigners having become to the French military authorities a source of great uneasiness. Throughout the war that followed, Minister Washburne conducted the affairs of the United States Legation in Paris with marked ability, discretion, and generosity. This service won the applause of both the combatants and of disinterested spectators of the conflicts that raged in and around Paris.

One of the most important events of Grant's first administration was the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington, which made provision for the settlement of the claims growing out of the depredations committed upon American shipping by Anglo-Confederate cruisers during the civil war. These vessels, built and equipped in British ports and largely manned by British sailors, destroyed so great a number of American vessels, with their cargoes, that the total sum of damages amounted to many millions of dollars. In addition to this were the cost and expense of chasing the cruisers, many vessels having been built or chartered for this express purpose. These two classes of damages sustained by private owners and by the Government of the United States were regarded as direct losses. There were also sundry contingent losses, incurred by loss of ocean-carrying trade, by increased rates of marine insurance, and by the prolongation of the war which was caused by the aid given the Confederates by these means.

Joining of the Central and Union Pacific.
(The continent spanned. Scene at Promontory Point, Utah, May 10, 1869.)
From a photograph.

Satisfaction of these claims had been demanded by the United States Government very soon after the depredations began, in 1863. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the patriotic and exceedingly able American Minister to London, pressed the claims upon the attention of the British Government from time to time; and he collected a vast amount of evidence bearing on the subject, while the nefarious business of fitting out pirates was going on in British ports under the eyes of officials who refused to see, and who superciliously replied to his protests that their Government was exercising due diligence to prevent the acts of which complaint was made. Negotiations looking toward the settlement of the claims were begun and broken off again in 1865 and in 1868. Finally, in 1869, Mr. Reverdy Johnson, then United States Minister to London, concluded a treaty; but his large concessions to the British rejoinders, resulting as it was said from his excessive friendship for his British entertainers, made the treaty an undesirable one, and it was promptly rejected by the Senate. In January, 1871, the British Government, having been greatly irritated by

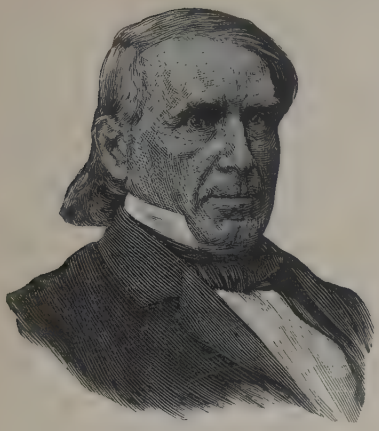
Susan B. Anthony.

the complaints of Canadian authorities relative to the encroachments of Americans on their fishing grounds, proposed a joint commission for the settlement of the disputes arising out of these frequent misunderstandings. To this Hamilton Fish, the well-equipped and alert Secretary of State, replied that the adjudication of the so-called Alabama claims must be considered before anything else "as an essential to the restoration of cordial and amicable relations between the two governments." The clamor of the Canadians had now brought the occasion which was the American opportunity, and the British Government consented that the two matters in dispute — the Alabama claims and the fisheries — should be submitted to a joint commission.

This august body, which met in Washington, February 27th, 1871, was made up as follows: Earl de Grey and Ripon, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John Macdonald, Lord Tenterden, and Professor Mountague Bernard, on the British side; and Hamilton Fish, Robert C. Schenck, Judge Samuel Nelson, E. Rockwood Hoar, and George H. Williams, for the United States. Of these, Thornton was the British Minister at Washington, Macdonald was Canadian Premier, Bernard was an Oxford professor of international law; Hoar had been United States Attorney-general, Nelson was a justice of the Supreme Court, Schenck was then United States Minister to England, and Fish was the Secretary of State.

The Treaty of Washington.

The Joint Commission completed a convention known as the Treaty of Washington, on May 8th; this was immediately ratified by both governments, and steps for the proposed arbitration of the Alabama claims were at once taken. Not only were the Alabama claims to be submitted to an international tribunal, but provision was also made for a settlement of the fisheries dispute, the vexed question of the Northwestern boundary line between the United States and British American possessions, the common uses of water-ways along the Canadian frontier and for the transit of imported merchandise, free of duty, across the territory of either country, under certain conditions. The tribunal of arbitration was to be composed of five members, one to be appointed by each government and one each by the Emperor of Brazil, the President of Switzerland, and the King of Italy.



E. B. Washburne.

The conclusion of the Treaty of Washington greatly gratified the people of the United States, even although the results of the arbitration now agreed upon were yet hidden in uncertainty. The wounds inflicted by British commercial thrift and British sympathy with the secessionists still rankled deeply in the hearts of the American people; and it was with something of a feeling of exultation that it was found that the British Government, so bitterly hated by many incensed American citizens, had admitted in the preamble to the treaty "the regret felt by her Majesty's Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports." These claims, for the most part, were held by well-to-do American citizens, some of whom had been seriously crippled, however, by the losses incurred on the seas during the war; but in some instances, especially those in which the humble crafts of fishermen and whalers had been destroyed, the privations incurred were severely felt. As the sequel proved, the final award did not altogether cover the losses of these people.

The Geneva tribunal.

Before the meeting of the international tribunal at Geneva, Switzerland, to consider the Alabama claims, a Joint Commission, consisting of three members, one appointed by each government and a third by these two, was convened in Washington (September 26th, 1871) to consider war claims other than those included in the list to be submitted to the Geneva arbitration. The American claims of this class, amounting to less than $1,000,000, were all rejected; and of the $96,000,000 claimed by British subjects as constructive damages, less than $2,000,000 in amount were allowed. The Northwestern boundary dispute arose from the British claim that the line between the United States and the British American possessions in the Northwest should be run through the Rosario Strait, which would include the large island of San Juan de Fuca and its outlying islets. The American claim was that the line should be run through the Haro channel, which would throw San Juan into the jurisdiction of the United States. By the Treaty of Washington, the Emperor of Germany was requested to settle the disputed question. His decision, based upon the reports of German experts in geography and topography, was given in 1872, and was in favor of the United

States. This decision, which fixed the boundary of the United States to the westward of an important group of islands, was greeted in England with a general chorus of derision and objection.

It may be truly said that the attention of the civilized world was fixed upon the deliberations of the tribunal which met in Geneva December 15th, 1871, to consider and settle the dispute pending between the governments of the United States and Great Britain. The members of that tribunal were: Charles Francis Adams, for the United States; Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, for the British Government; Baron Itajuba, Brazilian Minister to France; Count Sclopis, an Italian statesman; and M. Jaques Staempfli, of Switzerland. These three last-named had been appointed by the heads of their respective governments at the instance of the two great powers that were signatories to the Treaty of Washington. The counsel of the United States were Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, a lawyer of renown, who had been in former days an active Democratic politician and was at one time Commissioner to China, and subsequently Minister to Spain; William M. Evarts, of New York, a distinguished and eloquent member of the bar, who subsequently became Attorney-general of the United States; and Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio, an able jurist, who was afterwards Chief Justice of the United States. To these were added a large corps of trained legal assistants. Great excitement had prevailed throughout England when it was found that in the formal demand of the United States for damages were included what were known as "the indirect claims," or claims for indirect damages. These were somewhat comprehensive and, among other matters, included a statement of the injury inflicted upon the United States by the premature recognition of the belligerent rights of the insurgents by the British Government. In this form the case of the United States had been served upon the British cabinet. Those claims were subsequently modified, but not until after there had been angry debates in the British Parliament, during which the Premier, Mr. Gladstone, curtly declared that the indirect claims were not within the scope of the arbitration which his Government had agreed to, and therefore could not be submitted to the Geneva arbitrators with the permission of the British cabinet. The excitement broke out anew when Mr. Adams opened his budget at Geneva and it was seen that his case, which was in the main impregnable, included the now famous "indirect claims." The United States Government was vigorously denounced by British speakers and newspapers for the presentation of this class of claims, and for a time it was thought possible that the British Government might withdraw from the Geneva arbitration, and that the violent rage manifested in

The indirect claims.

Hon. F. Villiers. Henry Langley. Lord Tenterden. T. H. Sanderson. Mr. Markeim. Mr. Cohen.

Eugene Hamilton. Mountague Bernard. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn. Sir Roundell Palmer.

THE ENGLISH PARTY AT GENEVA.

Mr. Hachette. J. C. Bancroft Davis. Caleb Cushing. William M. Evarts. Mr. Beamann.

Charles Francis Adams. Morrison R. Waite.

THE AMERICAN PARTY AT GENEVA.

England would lead to war. But after a recess of the Geneva tribunal, the Commissioners, on re-convening in June, 1872, announced its decision that the indirect claims were inadmissible, and the case was resumed.

All the circumstances attending the outfitting, sailing, and depredations of each cruiser were taken up separately; and when consideration of damages inflicted by each was in order, the five arbitrators sat together secluded behind closed doors. In the American case were included the doings of fourteen cruisers and four tenders, whose exploits have been described in a previous part of this history. The final award was made to the exclusion of all but the *Alabama* and her tender; the *Florida* and her three tenders; and for the *Shenandoah* only for that part of her cruise which was made after she was refitted and recruited in the British port of Melbourne, Australia, and allowed to go on her errand of destruction among the whalers of the North Pacific. The total amount of the damages awarded by the tribunal was $15,500,000, of which $2,000,000 was interest on the original amount of the damages, at 6 per cent., calculated from the various periods when the damage in each case was regarded as having actually occurred.

The Geneva award.

The Geneva award naturally pleased the people of the United States, who welcomed it with almost as much cheer as they had received the news of Union naval or military victory during the civil war. The money award was regarded as a substantial acquisition, but the moral victory over England was a much greater triumph; and the fact that the course of the British Government had been declared wrong and unjust by a high tribunal whose impartiality was beyond question elated the American people and enormously inflated the National pride. In England there was a correspondingly great depression, with some wrath, at the blow administered to British superiority in wisdom, statesmanship, and diplomacy; Lord Cockburn, the English member of the court of arbitration, was so angered by the final award that he left the court without a word of farewell, and subsequently printed his opinions relating to the questions in dispute in a document of learned length and considerable heat. Mr. Adams, the American Minister and arbitrator, was a man of singularly cold manners and austere presence. He had won one of the greatest cases ever submitted to the arbitration of any court by his skill, patience, and wonderful knowledge of the intricacies of international law; and he had also won the plaudits of all impartial observers of this unique controversy and the gratitude of his fellow countrymen. In the midst of his personal triumphs he preserved his habitual demeanor, was unruffled, and blandly serene.

The great sum which England paid as the price of her sympathy with the cause of Southern secession was promptly handed over to the United States Government. Congress wasted four years in wordy debates over the manner of distributing this award and the character of the claims which were finally to be recognized in its distribution. The money was placed at interest, just as the Shimonoseki award of damages from the Japanese Government had been; and before a court of claims for the determination of cases and demands was established by act of Congress, the sum paid by England amounted to more than $20,000,000. One of the problems that vexed Congress while lobbyists and claim agents importuned the law-makers was the demand of marine insurance companies interested in the distribution of the award. It was finally ordered that insurance companies that could show that their losses on vessels destroyed by the inculpated cruisers exceeded the premiums received should be paid the difference, with interest at four per cent. In these discussions, which were unreasonably prolonged, the American press and people participated with lively interest. Of far greater importance to the civilized world was the formulation of the principles laid down at the outset for the guidance of the Geneva tribunal of arbitration. These are as follows: —

A neutral government is bound to use due diligence to prevent the departure, fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a power with which it is at peace; not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other; to exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of these obligations and duties.

What was decided at Geneva.

Among the numerous objections raised by Great Britain during the adjustment of the preliminaries of the proposed arbitration was one that these rules were not a fair statement of the principles of international law during the American civil war. But Great Britain finally agreed that the Alabama claims should be decided in accordance with these rules; and both parties to the Treaty of Washington subsequently agreed that the rules should thereafter be adopted in their dealings with other nations, and that other powers should be invited to accept the same. The Geneva tribunal declared that "due diligence" varied with circumstances; that the greater the damage to either belligerent likely to arise from neglect of due precaution to prevent the escape of cruisers from its port, the greater must be the care taken to prevent such an escape.

The tribunal also decided that a neutral had a right to detain a cruiser if it should reënter his jurisdiction after an escape therefrom, although the cruiser might have been regularly commissioned during the interim. The third proposition decided by the tribunal was that if a nation's regulations for carrying out its acknowledged international duties were not effective, they must be changed. International law, not local legislation, must determine a nation's responsibility in all cases for damage arising under circumstances similar to those under review. It will be recollected that Minister Adams, upon being told that the Enforcement Act of Great Britain was so constructed that the escape of vessels like the *Alabama* could not be prevented, civilly replied that that act should be amended. Then he was virtually told to mind his own business; local legislation was a matter for purely local concern. The Geneva tribunal decided otherwise.

The fisheries dispute.

Although the final settlement of the Alabama claims and the adjustment of the Northwestern boundary question was a source of great satisfaction to the American people, another branch of the business embraced in the provisions of the Treaty of Washington — the fisheries dispute — was not disposed of to the liking of a majority of the citizens of the United States. Under the treaty concluded between England and the United States, at the end of the war of the Revolution, it was agreed that citizens of the United States should fish in British waters so long as they kept outside of a line drawn three marine lines from the coast, and they might land and dry and cure their fish, wherever caught, upon certain convenient parts of the British shore, the waters and coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia being especially the chosen fields of their profitable industry. These rights were by Great Britain said to have lapsed by the war of 1812; and no provision for their revival was made in the Treaty of Ghent, which was concluded at the end of that war. After many vexatious troubles arising out of these misunderstandings, a new treaty, concluded in 1818, virtually conceded the fishery rights that the Americans had claimed; but it actually limited the exercise of those rights to certain territories, and in various ways greatly curtailed the privileges of our fishermen in British waters. Fresh troubles arose, and under the famous "headland theory" the Canadians so defined the three-mile limit that the line of exclusion was drawn from headland to headland instead of following the indentations of the shore. By this device they shut out the Americans from sundry great bays in the waters of which they had been wont to ply their calling. On their part, the Americans were persistent, angry, and aggressive. They pushed their way into waters from which they

had been so jealously excluded; and they did not regard even the line of the three-mile limit with much respect. Disputes and collisions were of frequent occurrence among the Americans and the Canadian fishers and coast guardians.

The reciprocity treaty of 1854, which opened to reciprocal trade the coasts of British North America and the ports of the United States, under certain restrictions, for a time removed these prolific causes of dispute; but that treaty contained a clause providing for the termination of the agreement at any time after the lapse of ten years, on the giving of one year's notice. During the civil war the attitude of the Canadians, both government and people, was so unfriendly and offensive, that the United States Government was impelled to give notice, in 1864, that the reciprocity treaty must be abrogated; and in March, 1865, with much ill-feeling on both sides, the reciprocity in fishing and trading came to an end, and the troubles began again. As the vexatious rules of 1818 were now declared to be in force, American skippers were compelled to take out and pay for licenses to fish in provincial waters; and in 1870, complaining

The Chicago Court House before the Fire.
Drawn by Lawrence Hague from a photograph

The Chicago Court House after the Fire.
Drawn by Lawrence Hague from a photograph.

that the Americans did not provide themselves with these licenses, even that concession was revoked. The power and importance of the colonial government had now become rather imperious under the consolidation act which gave to the united colonies the lofty title of the Dominion of Canada, and the acts of the Dominion Parliament were correspondingly austere and imperious in tone.

Excessive award to the Canadians.

Under the Treaty of Washington, therefore, it was sought to compose these long-standing difficulties and readjust the much vexed question of fishing rights on a fair and enduring basis. This laudable purpose was defeated. The new treaty revived that part of the reciprocity treaty of 1854 which related to the

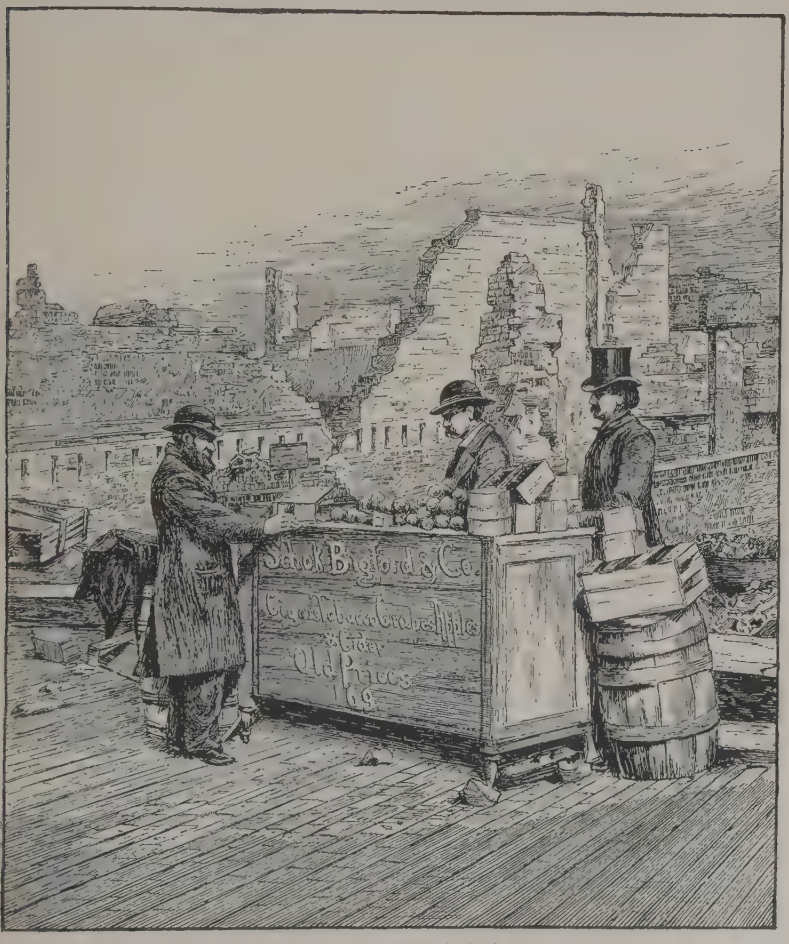
fisheries, with some modifications, and provided for free trade between the two countries in salt-water fish and fish-oil. As this reciprocal division of fishery rights was more valuable to the United States than to Canada, it was agreed that a commission to determine the value of the concession to the United States should be organized and that the award of that commission should be final. Great was the wrath of our people when, by some diplomatic mismanagement on the part of the United States Government, it was found that the real power vested in the Fishery Commission was in the hands of a diplomat notoriously friendly to Great Britain, M. Maurice Delfosse, Belgian Minister to Washington. This gentleman justified the apprehension of Americans by making the excessive award of $5,500,000 due to the Canadians on account of the so-called reciprocity. The Canadians were jubilant over this decision, and British opinion was inclined to regard the incident as ample revenge for the blow dealt to British national pride by the award of swingeing damages for the losses inflicted by the Anglo-Confederate cruisers. It was openly boasted that "the smart Yankees had been beaten at their own game," and that they had been overreached was the irritating reflection of our people. As in the case of the Geneva award, it was not the money value of the decision, but its moral effect, that roused popular animosity; and this eventually resulted in so prejudicing the people against the whole arrangement, that it was resolved that it should be terminated; and so in later years the famous fisheries dispute assumed great proportions and became more than ever a cause of irritation.

During the summer of 1871, two cities of the American Union were the theatres of notable historic events. Chicago was swept by one of the most destructive fires of modern times; and New York was shaken to its centre by the sudden explosion that attended the breaking up of a combination of municipal thieves. The Chicago fire began on Sunday morning, October 8th, in a small wooden barn on De Koven Street, in what is known as the Western District of that city. A woman was milking a cow by the light of a small kerosene lamp which the animal kicked over and broke. The little flame then kindled spread rapidly, fanned by a strong westerly wind, raged all that night and the following day, and was not checked until 2,124 acres of city property had been burned over, 17,450 buildings reduced to ashes, 98,500 people left homeless, 250 lives lost, and property to the value of $196,000,000 destroyed. This enormous devastation was accomplished in parts of the city which were representative of the whole. In the sheets of flame were destroyed great blocks of costly and ornate business houses, elegant private residences, and buildings of the United States, the county, and the local

The Chicago fire.

governments. The same destructive flood swept away vast piles of lumber, extensive shops and factories, thousands of tons of coal, and the humble homes of working people and the poor. Structures of stone, brick, iron, or marble, erected in a belief that these were absolutely fire-proof, were reduced to heaps of calcined material or warped and twisted metal. In the seething flames that seemed to lick the heavens, everything but the solid earth on which the city was built was utterly destroyed; and when the torrent of fire was finally stayed, acres of blackened débris, sullenly smoking in ruin, covered the site of two great divisions of Chicago.

The panic in the city was very great; and for miles around, the



The First Merchants in the Burned District at Chicago.

Drawn by Lawrence Hague from a photograph.

flame of the burning was seen from afar; clouds of smoke darkened the October sky by day; scared fugitives camped on the level prairies outside the city limits, where their most pressing needs were attended to by relief corps organized by sympathizing citizens of other parts of the country. The destitution caused by the fire was very great, and money and provisions were at once sent on by the people of the United States and from some parts of Europe. The appalling calamity gave occasion for a wonderful exhibition of generosity and sympathy. The relief and aid society that was instantly organized when the fire was quelled received contributions to the amount of more than $3,000,000. Temporary houses were constructed for homeless families, and clothing, food, and other supplies were bought for the sufferers, many of whom had been reduced from comparative comfort to absolute beggary in almost a moment of time. Taxable property was wiped out; the city was destitute of funds, and the State legislature came to its relief with enactments to reimburse it for some of its previous expenditures and extend a temporary loan to the municipality. More than fifty insurance companies in various parts of the United States were compelled to suspend payments on account of the losses sustained by the fire; and the derangement in business caused by these disasters was severely felt in the money markets and in the stock exchanges of the great cities of the Republic in an immediate decline in prices.

An unhappy incident following the Chicago fire was the controversy which unexpectedly sprung up between the Governor of the State, J. M. Palmer, and General Sheridan, then in command of the military division of which Chicago was the headquarters. During the panic which prevailed when the city had been rendered temporarily destitute of the ways and means of enforcing police regulations, General Sheridan telegraphed to the nearest military posts in his jurisdiction for tents, camp equipage, and supplies, and for two companies of infantry, these last being intended to assist in preserving order. In the social disorganization that followed the fire, there was much apprehension on the part of the law-abiding, and not a little violence and crime on the part of the criminal classes. The mayor issued a proclamation calling out a volunteer force of policemen to coöperate with the military, eight companies of the regular troops being now on the ground.

W. M. Tweed.

State troops were also sent by Governor Palmer, and comparative order was restored. Very soon, however, the Governor strenuously objected to the employment of United States troops to preserve order; and he sharply lectured the mayor for his having permitted their continued stay in the city; his dictum was that the troops were there in violation of law. The country had not yet recovered from the feverishness with which the employment of United States forces anywhere was regarded; and some sympathy was felt with Governor Palmer when he said to the mayor: "Every act of the officers and soldiers of the United States Army that operates to restrain or control the people is illegal, and their presence in the city, except for purposes of the United States, ought no longer to be continued." The contention of Governor Palmer and those who sympathized with him in his opposition to the employment of a military force in the city was that inasmuch as martial law had not been proclaimed and no occasion for such proclamation had arisen, the presence of men acting as a military guard was an invasion of civil rights. The killing of a citizen who refused to reply to a challenge from a sentinel (a member of the Chicago Volunteer Corps) added bitterness to the controversy that ensued. The United States troops were soon withdrawn; but on the 28th of the month, certain bankers and merchants, fearing a raid by roving bands of disorderly men, applied to General Sheridan for a guard; and the general's reply with a detail of four companies of infantry caused the dispute to break out with renewed violence. The legislature was drawn into the controversy. President Grant was appealed to, and the excitement did not subside until the legislature had adjourned, after passing a series of resolutions complimenting and placating all the parties concerned in this curious incident.

Controversy between General Sheridan and Governor Palmer.

The recovery of Chicago after the disaster of the great fire of 1871 was one of the marvels of the age. It was as if the community had received a new inspiration of energy, thrift, and enterprise, unexampled in the history of the American people. A new city rose on the ashes of that which had been destroyed. The ruin wrought by the fire was repaired with incredible swiftness.

It was believed that the disclosures which resulted in the breaking up of the thievish combination in the city of New York known as the "Tweed Ring" were made by one of the former comrades of the plotters who had quarrelled with his associates. At any rate, the developments of fraud and corruption in the municipal government of New York, published in one of the newspapers, astounded the people by the audacity of the thieves and the extent of their robberies. The most prominent man in the combination was a prosperous

Horace Greeley.

B. Gratz Brown.

and wily politician, William M. Tweed, formerly an humble mechanic, and then holding the comparatively uninfluential office of Chief of the Department of Public Works. Richard B. Connolly, the City Comptroller, was another of the conspirators, and Peter B. Sweeny, head of the Department of Public Parks, and usually known as "the brains of the ring," was the third. There were other and lesser members of the gang, most of whom fled from the country when the explosion came. One of the persons included in the indictment subsequently found was A. Oakey Hall, the mayor of the city, who was brought to trial for alleged misdemeanor in auditing and allowing accounts against the city which were subsequently found to be fraudulent. In Hall's case the jury disagreed and his trial was resultless. It was pleaded in his behalf that his duties in auditing these accounts were merely "ancillary," and that he had no guilty knowledge of the doings of the combination.

Methods of the Tweed ring.

The method pursued by the thieves was simplicity itself. Having managed to secure control of all the political machinery of the city, they proceeded to fill the treasury by legislative enactments which were procured from a pliant State legislature; and then, by means of forged accounts, they plundered that treasury with brutal boldness. Bills for work, supplies, and official service were inflated to five, ten, or twenty times their normal proportions, and the money on these accounts was duly drawn from the treasury, the vouchers having passed the nominal scrutiny of the conspirators themselves. Thus articles bought for the city's use were apparently purchased at prices many times greater than their market value; work not done was paid for in the same manner, and vast quantities of material were ostensibly bought, and actually

paid for, on account of the city, but were appropriated for the use of the creatures of "the ring." To facilitate this looting of the city treasury, a marble court house was built at a nominal cost of $12,000,000, but which could have been fairly well paid for at one sixth of that sum. The unravelling of the city's accounts eventually showed that the tax-payers had been robbed of about $160,000,000, which the thieves had divided among themselves. Much of this vast plunder, however, was distributed among the unclean creatures who fattened on the corruption of the official government. Humbler servants of the central organization, who suspected much and knew little, were pensioned or subsidized with sinecure places, or with cash payments for services for the performance of which not even a pretence was made. The principals in the robberies rioted in luxurious living; they were clad with gorgeous apparel and were decked with costly gems; they appeared in elegant equipages and for a time basked in the sunshine of popular favor with their generous display and prodigal charities. When Tweed was at the zenith of his power, it was actually proposed to erect in one of the public squares a statue of this head thief. He had the wit to see the future of such an offering to his vanity, and the city was spared that humiliation. It is worthy of record that none of these municipal robbers, save Tweed alone, ever suffered any punishment other than that indirectly caused by their flight and exile. Some of these men never again set foot upon American soil after their first frantic escape from tardily awakened justice. But not one of them, except Tweed, was given a penal sentence. Tweed escaped from jail after he had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of $12,550 and suffer imprisonment for twelve years. This sentence was set aside by the highest legal tribunal in the State, but in the mean time other suits had been brought against him, one of them being an action to compel him to restore $6,000,000 of his plunder. While these proceedings were pending, Tweed, who had been loosely guarded, and was secretly allowed to make nocturnal visits outside of the jail, managed to elude his keepers. He fled to Cuba and from thence to Spain, where he was caught and returned to the United States late in the autumn of 1876, his surrender being an act of courtesy on the part of Spain, with which kingdom the United States had no extradition treaty. Wearied and broken by exile, Tweed confessed many of his offences and divulged the secret proceedings of "the ring," but he did not receive that immunity from further punishment for which he had hoped and schemed. He died in prison, April 12th, 1878.

The end of Tweed.

As the fourth year of General Grant's term of the presidential office came on, the party estrangements caused by his course became

Charles Sumner.

deeper and more bitter. The soldier President had made many enemies within the ranks of the political organization that had elected him. His stubborn treatment of those who honestly differed with him (as in the case of Senator Sumner, one of the most famous and distinguished of the Republican leaders), his manifest favoritism in the disposition of official patronage, his persistence in the project for the annexation of San Domingo, and, above all, his frequent toleration of men about him whose reputations were not spotless, were complained of and animadverted upon by men who had idolized him as a brave and patriotic soldier, and had witnessed his elevation to the presidency with sincere gratification and confidence. They lamented the obvious unfitness of the soldier for the post for which he had few high qualifications and many unfortunate disqualifications. One after another, men who had been early recruits in the ranks of the Free Soil and the Republican parties evinced their reluctance to support Grant for a second term. In addition to Senator Sumner as an opponent, the friends of Grant saw the departure of Lyman Trumbull, United States Senator from Illinois; General N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, who had been one of the famous Speakers of the House of Representatives and had commanded the Red River Expedition; General Carl Schurz, one of the most eloquent orators of the Republican party, formerly an officer of renown in the Army of the Potomac; Horace Greeley, the erratic but wonderfully gifted editor; and others whose names are less historic, but who were equally influential in the times in which they lived.

Entrance of the Liberal Republicans.

Out of the uneasy politics of Missouri, in which there had been so much yeasty restlessness during the civil war, came the nucleus around which gathered the so-called Liberal Party of 1872. The Republican Party in Missouri had split in twain in 1871, the radical element setting up for themselves and nominating what was known as the "Liberal" ticket. The movement was continued into the next year; and in January, 1872, a National convention was called to meet in Cincinnati, May 1st. These proceedings were responded to with a cordial endorsement from various parts of the country; several eminent New York Republicans signed an emphatic message of approval sent to the Missourians; and Charles

Francis Adams, then on his way home from the Geneva Tribunal of Arbitration, wrote a letter of sound advice, virtually putting aside the presidential nomination which some persons had said he had earned by his great public services. The Liberal Republican Convention duly met in Cincinnati, numerously attended and with General Schurz as chairman. The platform which was adopted condemned the suspension for a number of years of the writ of habeas corpus, denounced corruption in office, declared against a second term in the presidential office, demanded a tariff which should not interfere with American industries, and a return to specie payments; it was rounded off with a eulogy of the soldiers and sailors of the Union. As Horace Greeley was a lifelong and uncompromising advocate of a high protective tariff, and was the inevitable nominee of the convention, the management of the tariff issue in the coming campaign was regarded with some degree of uneasiness by those who hoped to win the support of Democrats, who were wedded to the doctrine of low tariff. The platform, with what was considered great craftiness, "remitted the discussion of the subject [the tariff] to the people in their Congressional districts." The tariff was thus to be eliminated from the contest. Mr. Greeley was nominated on the sixth ballot in the convention, Mr. Adams being his most formidable competitor for the honor; Senator Trumbull and Judge David Davis, of Illinois, were among the other leading candidates balloted for. B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, was nominated for Vice-president. Many Liberal Republicans, General Schurz among the number, were dissatisfied with Greeley's nomination; they subsequently met in New York and nominated William S. Groesbeck, of Ohio, for President, and Frederick Law Olmstead, of New York, for Vice-president. In the subsequent excitement of the contest this artless ticket was submerged and forgotten.

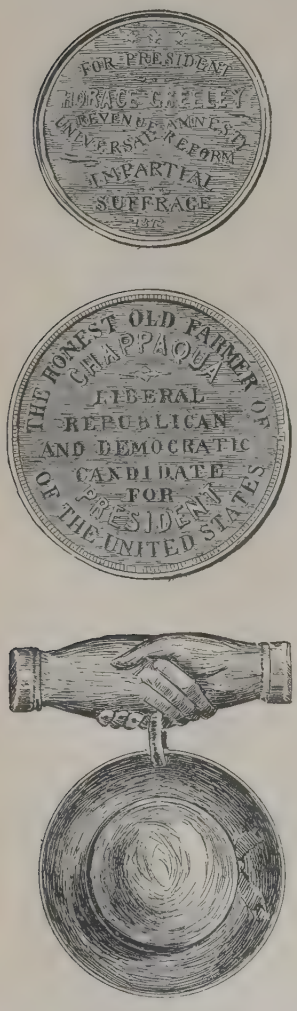
The Republican National Convention met in Philadelphia, June 25th, and renominated Grant by acclamation. Henry Wilson, Senator from Massachusetts, was nominated for Vice-president. The platform resolutions declared in favor of a reform in the civil service, complete equality in civil, political, and public rights, and strongly approved of the President's policy in the Southern States.

Doings of the Democrats.

The Democratic National Convention met in Baltimore, July 9th, and the result was the nomination of Greeley and Brown by large majorities over the other candidates presented. The platform adopted was almost identical with that framed by the Liberal Republicans, the question of the tariff being remitted to "the people in their Congressional districts" in the same bland terms employed by Greeley's friends in Cincinnati. It was noted

that the presiding officer of the Democratic National Convention was formerly a Republican, James R. Doolittle, Senator from Wisconsin, who had broken away from his party when the erratic adventures of President Johnson caused a division in the party ranks.

Certain dissatisfied Democrats, who insisted that none but an uncompromising Democrat should be the leader of their party, met in Louisville, Kentucky, September 28th, and nominated Mr. Charles O'Conor, a famous lawyer, of New York, for President, and John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, for Vice-president. Like that of the dissatisfied Liberal Republicans, this ticket was lost sight of in the subsequent proceedings of the presidential campaign. There were three other nominating conventions that year. The soldiers and sailors of the late civil war met in Pittsburgh, September 17th, and ratified the nominations of Grant and Wilson; the colored citizens of New England did the same in Boston, September 6th; and the National Women's Suffrage Association, in New York, denounced Greeley for his habitual attitude of ridicule and derision of the movement to give women the right to vote.



"Clasped Hands" Badge and Greeley Campaign Medals.

The canvass that ensued was unique in the history of American politics. It was a purely personal campaign, so far as the opponents of the Liberal Republican movement were concerned. The friends of Greeley dwelt upon the persistence with which war issues had been kept alive in the country, both North and South; they derided the "waving of the bloody shirt" by those who made much of the alleged outrages committed by the Kuklux Klan and similar organized foes of the colored race; they bitterly complained of the nepotism practised by the Administration, and told strange stories of the adventurers and corrupt schemers who infested the executive offices in Washington.

On the other hand, while the Grant Republicans pointed to the beneficent changes which a cessation of war had made possi-

Grant and Wilson Campaign Medal.

ble, and extolled the statesmanship that had reduced the burdens of taxation and decreased the public debt, they chiefly directed their energies to ridiculing the Liberal Republican candidates and the real status of the motley party that supported them. Greeley, a protectionist and a famous Free Soil fighter, was the standard-bearer of hide-bound Democrats of the old school, lately reconstructed rebels, and others who were not reconstructed. As the canvass waxed hotter and hotter, it became purely personal, and satire, caricature, and lampoon were invoked, to the utter disregard of any political issues at stake. Greeley and his supporters were held up to popular ridicule in a series of laughter-provoking cartoons by a famous caricaturist, and one of the leading Republican newspapers employed an expert facetious writer to follow around the Liberal Republican candidate for the presidency and indite diverting descriptions of his sayings and doings. The name of the Liberal Republican candidate for Vice-president was scarcely mentioned, but a tag bearing the inscription "B. Gratz Brown" was depicted attached to Greeley's coat-skirts. The Liberals retorted with feeble attempts at similar coarseness, picturing Grant as a military despot; but the anomalousness of their situation and the eccentricities of their nominee clearly placed them at a disadvantage in this curious contest.

The famous Greeley canvass.

Greeley took the field to speak for himself, and in a tour of several of the New England and Middle States he delivered a series of speeches which were remarkable for their freshness, vigor, and felicity of diction. These numerous addresses, apparently extemporaneous, were notable for the diversity of subjects chosen and the varying manner of their treatment. Even his enemies conceded that Greeley's talents were great and versatile. Wearied by these unaccustomed exertions, which told severely on his physical powers (he

was now past sixty years of age), Greeley returned to his home in Chappaqua, New York, to attend at the deathbed of his beloved wife. Before he could rally from this blow, the election came on and he was defeated by a tremendous majority. He carried only six States, — Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, South Carolina, Tennessee, all in the South. Grant's total vote was 3,597,070; Greeley's was 2,834,079. Crushed by grief and disappointment, Greeley's mind gave way, and he relapsed into a pitiable condition from which he never emerged; he breathed his last on the 29th day of November, just as the disorder and confusion of the campaign were being followed by the triumphal processions of the victors.

Death of Horace Greeley.

Whatever may have been the weaknesses and foibles of Horace Greeley, he was sincerely beloved and respected by the people for his purity of character, impeccable honesty, and sincere sympathy with the weak and distressed. His proudest boast might have been that he was indeed one of the Tribunes of the People. His pen was ever ready in the defence of those who had no helper, and his open generosity made and kept him comparatively poor where other men would have amassed wealth. His tragical death, which was caused by the monumental blunder of his life, deeply touched the hearts of his fellow countrymen. It was lamented that the trenchant pen was laid down forever, and that the heart of the noble philanthropist had ceased to throb. Derision and triumph were alike forgotten by his late opponents; and at his funeral, which was attended by many of the foremost citizens of the Republic, General Grant appeared, a sincere mourner.

During the political campaign of 1872, great excitement followed the exposure of the so-called Credit Mobilier speculations. In the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, it was found expedient to organize a corporation of contractors to do the work. Large profits were expected from the operations of the company, which was named "The Credit Mobilier of America." During the years 1867 and 1868, the chief promoter of this enterprise, Mr. Oakes Ames, a rich manufacturer and a Representative in Congress from Massachusetts, sold many shares of the stock to members of Congress. As the fortunes of the company might be affected by the action of Congress (although this was denied), the holding of stock by men whose votes might determine this action was naturally regarded as improper, to say the least. The fact that Ames did not demand cash payments for the stock so disposed of, but allowed the payments to be deferred until the earnings of the company should bring generous dividends to the shareholders, was cited as evidence that this was practically a gift

Oakes Ames.

of stock to each man who received it on those conditions. The publication of the facts, which were vastly exaggerated and over-colored, added zest to the canvass of 1872; and when the House of Representatives in the following year took up the matter and ordered an investigation, the volume of political gossip was greatly increased. Letters and other documents were produced, and a popular saying which long survived was extracted from the proceedings. Ames had declared that in the distribution of Credit Mobilier stock he had placed it "where it would do the most good." The House Committee, after a long and patient examination, exculpated all the men who had been involved in the charges of corruption, but recommended that the stigma of "absolute condemnation" be fixed upon James Brooks, of New York, a member of the House and a Government Director of the Union Pacific Railroad, and upon Oakes Ames; the former was thus censured for "the use of his position to procure the assignment of Credit Mobilier stock;" and Ames's offence was declared to be that of "seeking to procure Congressional attention to the affairs" of his corporation.

The Credit Mobilier exposures.

The investigation blighted many reputations of men who had before that time stood high in public esteem. While the inquiry was in progress, popular interest was kept on the alert to see which of the prominent men in Congress would next fall before the deadly influence of the famous "little memorandum book" from which Mr. Ames refreshed his memory while under examination. The very name of his corporation became a byword and a hissing; and it sufficed to ruin any public man's fair fame to say truly of him that he was "a Credit Mobilier statesman." On the other hand, the divulging of facts which showed the enormous profits of this peculiar enterprise greatly whetted the popular appetite for speculation and to a considerable extent demoralized the people. Oakes Ames's defence was able and manly. But he betrayed a lack of delicacy in regard to the proprieties of public life which, while it was not inconsistent with absolute honesty of purpose, went far to justify much that was alleged of him. He suffered deeply under the storm of obloquy with which he was unfairly whelmed; he died in May, 1873, while the echoes of the scandal had hardly yet subsided.

Old Swedes' Church, Philadelphia, built in 1700.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph by Rau.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S SECOND TERM.

More Cabinet Changes. — Public Scandals multiplied. — Frauds of the Whiskey Ring. — Downfall of Secretary Belknap. — Renewed Bloody Indian Troubles. — Death of Custer and Murder of Canby. — Third Presidential Term discussed. — Political Disorders in the South. — A Revolution in Louisiana. — The Nomination of Hayes and Wheeler, Tilden and Hendricks. — A Contested Election. — The Cipher Dispatches. — An Electoral Commission to decide the Contest. — Hayes declared elected. — The Centennial Exposition of 1876.

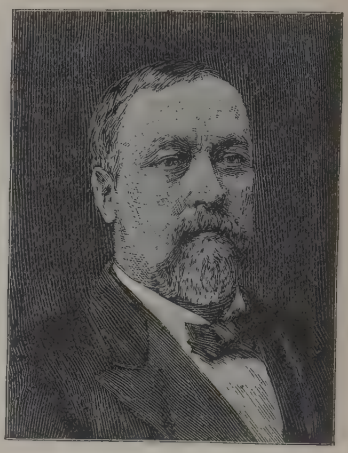
The second term of President Grant, it must be admitted, justified to some extent the evil prophecies of those who believed that the general's easy good-nature and his unacquaintance with civil affairs would open the gates to doubtful schemes and schemers. As time wore on, many of the rumors of alleged hidden scandals and official corruption were dispelled, but serious and unhappy disclosures did subsequently shock the people. Changes in the cabinet of President Grant also served to unsettle popular confidence in the Administration and occasion much uneasiness as to the causes which underlay these goings and comings of the President's advisers. Postmaster-general Creswell resigned in June, 1874, and was succeeded by Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut. Mr. Jewell resigned his place in July, 1876, and James N. Tyner, of Indiana, took his place. William A. Richardson resigned the Treasury portfolio in June, 1874, and was succeeded by

Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky, who retired from office in June, 1876, and Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, took up the Treasury portfolio. In May of the same year, Alphonso Taft, of Ohio, who had for a time held the office of Secretary of War, taking the place of W. W. Belknap, who had retired in disgrace, was transferred to the office of Attorney-general, and J. Donald Cameron, of Pennsylvania, became the head of the War Department; the office of Attorney-general had become vacant by the appointment of the incumbent, Edwards Pierrepont, of New York, to be Minister to England. These changes created a vast amount of political gossip as they were announced from time to time; and some of them were directly related to the public scandals of the day. Postmaster-general Jewell made a vigorous fight to clear the postal service of the corruption that had crept into nearly all its branches. In fighting the pernicious system of "straw bids," by means of which the Government had been shamefully cheated, Mr. Jewell incurred the animosity of a horde of dishonest speculators and politicians who denounced him for the "bad politics" that characterized his official methods. Secretary Bristow, as soon as he became familiar with the interior workings of the great and intricate machinery of the revenue service of the United States, began to institute reforms which brought confusion and dismay to the corrupt officials and peculators who infested that branch of the Government. One of the most notable of the reforms accomplished during his administration resulted in the uncovering of a conspiracy managed by men who composed the so-called "Whiskey Ring." These men chiefly operated in St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Evansville, Indiana; and by their manipulations they had managed to defraud the Government of at least $4,000,000 within two years. This was accomplished by various devices, usually with the connivance of corrupted subordinate officials of the Government, who were facile instruments in the hands of evil men. In the prosecution of these frauds, 24 distilleries and 37 rectifying houses were seized, and over 50 United States gaugers and storekeepers were arrested. One or two of the leading spirits in this widely ramifying conspiracy were able to invoke the protection of men who were very near to the President. When these suspicious circumstances reached General Grant's notice, he briefly expressed his determination to punish all offenders by the famous dictum to the prosecutors, — "Let no guilty man escape." Nevertheless, Mr. Bristow finally found his place so uncomfortable that he withdrew from the cabinet.

Cleansing the public service.

The Whiskey Ring.

But the most direct blow dealt at the integrity of Grant's administration during his second term of office was the impeachment of



Benjamin H. Bristow.

the Secretary of War, William W. Belknap, for high crimes and misdemeanors. The specific charge in this case was based upon the declaration of one Caleb P. Marsh, a contractor, February, 1876, to the effect that Belknap had offered to turn over to him the control of the post-tradership at Fort Sill, Indian Territory, in order that he, Marsh, should be able to extort from the post-trader the yearly sum of $12,000, thus "farming out" the contract for a certain consideration. The investigation that followed disclosed a chapter of damning facts. It appeared that the Secretary of War had been guilty of a variety of acts of doubtful honesty, and had actually received, directly or indirectly, at least $24,450 as tribute from persons who controlled the profitable post-traderships on the western frontier. The allegation that he had made $90,000 on contracts awarded by the Government for headstones provided for the graves of Union soldiers failed of being sustained. Proceedings against Belknap were virtually stopped by his resignation from office and the President's unfortunately precipitate acceptance of that resignation. Articles of impeachment were preferred by the House of Representatives; but before they could be adopted and presented to the Senate, his resignation made him a private citizen of the United States, and on that ground his counsel argued that articles could not be entertained against him. Nevertheless, the trial proceeded, and Belknap was acquitted by a vote of 35 to 25, a two-third vote being necessary to convict. Most of the Senators who voted "not guilty" declared that they did so on the question of jurisdiction. Belknap, by quickly putting his resignation into President Grant's hands, had escaped punishment.

Belknap's downfall.

During this period much bitter complaint was made of the mismanagement of the Indian service. As in other departments of the Government, the Indian bureau had its ring, or combination of traders, who defrauded alike the Government and its Indian wards. The rations and supplies ordered and paid for by the Government were of poor quality and of insufficient quantity. Contractors grew rich and the Indians were deprived of the sustenance due them under the treaties which they had made with the Government. Collisions with discontented and hostile Indians were frequent; and although the

W. W. Belknap.

failure of the Government to do its whole duty by the tribes was not always the cause of their uneasiness, roving bands of Indians carried terror along the border, where sparsely settled villages and isolated dwellings invited attack. An attempt to remove a band of Sioux to a new reservation in June, 1876, resulted in a frightful defeat of United States troops under General George A. Custer, on the Little Big Horn River, Montana. The troops were surprised by a greatly superior force and were cut to pieces, the entire command being obliterated. In this lamentable fight the Indian force was estimated at from 2,500 to 3,000 warriors. Custer's little column consisted of only five incomplete companies, less than 300 men, all told. This tragedy carried great sorrow over all the country, and the savage fiendishness of the victors further inflamed the passions of those who insisted that "the only good Indians are dead Indians." The assertion that Custer disobeyed orders and drew upon himself and his command the tragical fate that overtook them was finally disproved; but it was evident that his reckless courage, so often evinced in dashing cavalry charges and bold adventures during the civil war, precipitated him into a fight which a more cautious soldier would have avoided.

General Custer's fight.

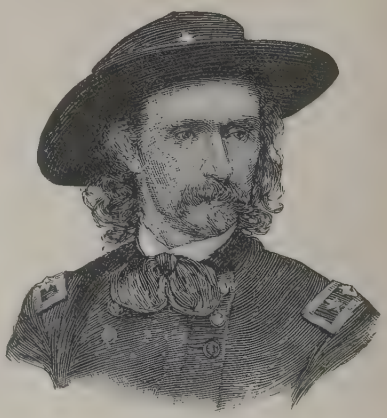
Another distinguished army officer, General E. R. S. Canby, lost his life in 1873 while attempting to negotiate with a band of discontented Indians, the Modocs, of Oregon. These Indians had been made uneasy by white settlers and explorers who crowded them in all directions. Finally they took to the lava beds of the eastern part of the State, where, intrenched in a broken and rocky country, full of caves and circuitous passages, they were able to defy their besiegers. The Modocs were invited to meet under a flag of truce for an adjustment of their grievances. General Canby and Peace Commissioners Meacham and Thomas (civilians) met the chief of the band, Captain Jack, on the banks of a creek, where negotiations were opened. Suddenly, without a word of warning, the treacherous red men opened fire; General Canby and Commissioner Thomas were killed, and Commissioner Meacham was seriously wounded. This was the Indian declaration of war. A vigorous campaign was opened against them and resulted in the capture of the

The Modoc war.

band, including Captain Jack and his associates, in June, 1873. The treatment of the captives was a new departure in the Indian policy of the United States. The principals were tried for murder in a civil court, and seven of them convicted and sentenced to be hanged. Three of the assassins of Canby and Thomas, Captain Jack, Sconchin, and Black Jim, were duly executed at Fort Klamath; the others were respited and sent to a reservation in Dakota, where they were kept under a close guard.

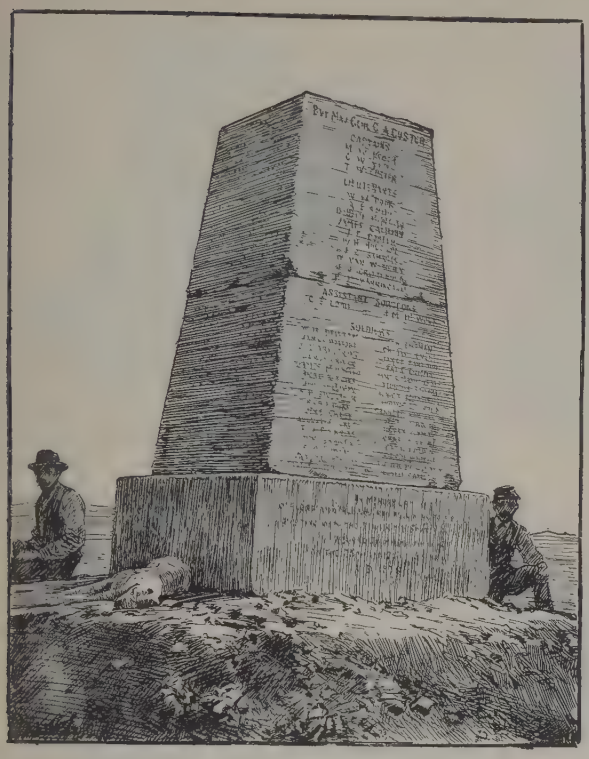
Early in 1876, the Centennial year of the Republic, the attention of the people was aroused to the importance of the approaching presidential campaign. Some of General Grant's over-zealous friends began to circulate a report that he would not be averse to accepting a nomination for a third term; and others openly urged that his reëlection was loudly demanded by the needs of the country. Against this suggestion it was argued that a third presidential term was highly unadvisable, both as a matter of precedent and, at this time, as certain to result in the accumulation of further political scandals. The advisability of extending the presidential term to six years and making the incumbent of the office ineligible for reëlection was discussed by the people and in Congress through the session of 1875–6; and the House of Representatives adopted a resolution declaring that a third term in the presidential office would be a departure from settled usage "unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with evil to our free institutions." General Grant maintained a discreet silence while these discussions were going on; but when finally constrained to speak, he frankly expressed his indifference to accepting a third nomination, although he at the same time observed that the Constitution did not restrict the President to two terms, and that there might arise an exigency when it would be inadvisable to dismiss a president after he had served eight years. As for himself, he would not accept a third nomination unless it were offered "under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty, — circumstances not likely to arise."

Action of the House.



General George A. Custer.

When the time for nominating presidential candidates arrived, every Southern State was apparently certain to vote for the Democratic nominee, except where the Republican governments were up-



The Custer Monument, erected on the Battle-field.
Drawn by John Macdonald from a photograph by Barry.

held by the Federal bayonet in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. Disorders in the South still continued, in spite of the stringent legislation enacted by Congress. In order to repress these disorders, and to protect the colored people at the polls, Congress had passed, in 1871, what was known as the Force Act. It was the harshest and most severe law of the many so-called reconstruction measures. This law, which virtually suspended State government in the lately reconstructed States, as well as in those which were still outside the pale of Congressional recognition, excited grave doubts and fears in the minds of the more conservative members of the Republican party. It was one of the causes that induced the "bolt" of the Liberal Republicans in the following year. Briefly, it "empowered the President to employ the army, navy, and militia to suppress combinations which deprived the negro of the rights guaranteed him by the Fourteenth Amendment. For such combinations to appear in arms was made rebellion against the United States, and the President might suspend *habeas corpus* in the rebellious district."

Persecution of the negroes.

In spite of this and other severe repressive measures, the South was filled with violence and turmoil. Terror prevailed in regions where masked ruffians still rode on their nightly raids, visiting with threats and even murder and incendiarism the homes of Northern men who had taken up their abode in those regions, and flogging and otherwise cruelly using the colored people who were guilty of no offence save that of a black skin and an

Rain-in-the-Face.

From a photograph by Barry.

Sitting Bull.

From a photograph by Notman.

TWO FAMOUS SIOUX CHIEFS WHO FOUGHT AGAINST CUSTER.

acceptance of the freedom so lately guaranteed to them. There was a manifest intention to expel from these States every man of Northern birth, to punish with bloody severity any white man who should be suspected of fraternizing with the negroes, and to reduce to servile obedience the colored people who were just beginning to understand and exercise their new-born rights as free men. Meantime State legislation was relied upon to remove their disabilities from persons disfranchised under national authority as punishment for complicity and activity in the late rebellion. These men were able to hold local offices of importance.

Louisiana suffered longest and most severely in consequence of the political confusion that reigned throughout the South with varying degrees of recklessness. The anarchy in that State resulted in frequent armed collisions, and near the close of August, 1874, it reached its culmination. Six Republican officials were brutally murdered near Coushatta, Red River Parish, the crime being the outcome of a long and merciless conflict between the blacks and whites. The murdered men had resigned their offices under threats, and at the time of their killing were being escorted to the Texas boundary to be expelled from the State. A band of desperadoes, said to be members of the so-called White League of Louisiana, fell upon the cavalcade, killed the captives, and made their escape unharmed. Thereupon President Grant prepared to send an armed force to sustain Governor Kellogg in his efforts to maintain order. D. B. Penn, who had been the defeated candidate for Lieutenant-governor in the last previous State election, and who now claimed to be the lawful Governor of

the State, in the absence of McEnery, the defeated candidate for Governor, issued an inflammatory address to the citizens, denouncing Kellogg as a usurper and calling upon the people to drive him from power. The streets of New Orleans were barricaded, and on September 14th a severe fight took place between the Kellogg forces, who were chiefly Metropolitan Police, and the insurgents, in which twelve or fourteen persons were killed on each side. Governor Kellogg had in the mean time taken refuge in the custom house, which was in fact a fortification. All of the State and city buildings and other public properties were in the hands of the insurgents. About 10,000 men responded to Penn's call for militia; and the revolution being apparently complete and Kellogg's little army defeated, Penn was formally inducted into office and assumed the duties of governor, in which capacity he addressed dispatches to President Grant requesting him to abstain from taking any part in the contest. The President, upon receipt of a dispatch from Governor

Anarchy in Louisiana.

"Comanche," Captain Keogh's Horse.

(This horse, and the half-breed scout, Curley, were the only survivors of the Custer party. "Comanche" was afterwards found several miles from the battle-field with seven wounds, and the Secretary of War subsequently issued an order forbidding any one to ride him, and detailing a soldier as his attendant.)

The Region occupied by the Modocs, showing the "Lava Beds."

Kellogg applying for aid, issued a proclamation warning the insurgents to disperse within five days. Orders were given for United States troops and vessels of war to proceed to New Orleans; and General W. H. Emory, commanding the Department of the Gulf, was instructed to preserve order and to refrain from any recognition of the Penn government. Thereupon Emory demanded the surrender of all State property and the disbanding of the State forces. McEnery, in whose absence Penn had assumed gubernatorial functions, had meanwhile returned to the city, and he complied with General Emory's demand, the Kellogg government being reinstated.

More Federal interference.

In January, 1875, as the Louisiana legislature was about to assemble, grave apprehensions of trouble existed, the Democrats having claimed that they had elected a majority of that body. President Grant assigned General Sheridan to command in the department, and preparations were made to quell any disorder that might arise. The Democratic members managed to organize and choose a Speaker of the Assembly, although the roll-call showed 50 Democrats and 52 Republicans present. Five Democratic claimants were at once admitted to contested seats, and the Democrats proceeded to complete the organization of the House. At this point Governor Kellogg interfered, and at his request the five members who did not hold certificates from the returning board, but who had been sworn in by the Democrats, were forcibly removed from the hall by General de Trobriand, commanding the Federal forces at the State House. The Republicans now proceeded to reorganize the body in their own way, and the Democratic members quitted the hall. These proceedings excited party feeling all over the country, and the Administration was roundly denounced for interfering with the local political affairs of Louisiana. A Congressional Committee essayed to arrive at an adjustment of the difficulty, and as a result the Democrats sullenly accepted the situation, and the rule of the Kellogg government finally prevailed. Whether the opposition to Kellogg had or had not been victorious in the legislative elections, it was clear that the Government owed its security in its place wholly to the Federal military aid it received.

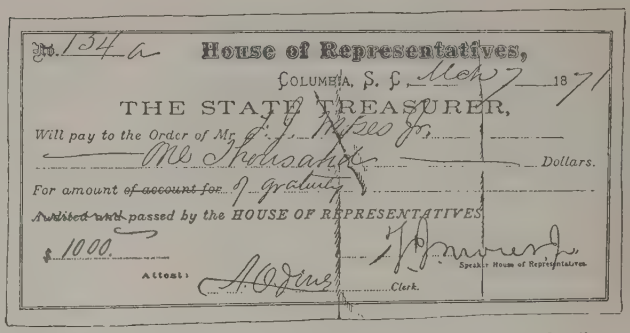
In South Carolina, where the so-called carpet-baggers held sway, the political confusion was nearly as great as in Louisiana. The State treasury was looted, and base and ignorant men, both white and black, rioted in the halls of the legislature and in the court-rooms of the State. Enormous burdens of taxation were laid upon the people; the debts and liabilities of the State, during the reconstruction period, were increased from $5,000,000 to more than $34,000,000, under the rule of the early carpet-bag régime of Governor Moses. These ills grew to vast proportions; but a better era dawned in 1874, when D. H. Chamberlain was elected Governor over the corrupt Moses combination, the South Carolina Republicans having finally quarrelled. Chamberlain's administration was able and honest; it led the way to a restoration of order, but the virus of political corruption was not readily and easily purged from the body politic.

Carpet-bag rule in South Carolina.

Another Southern State to suffer long in the agonies of reconstruction was Arkansas. For nearly two years a contest raged over the rival claims of two Republicans, James Brooks and Elisha Baxter, both men insisting that they had been lawfully elected governor by the people. Baxter managed to get possession of the State House, in April, 1874. His rival at once proclaimed martial law, and marched against the State House, which Brooks had barricaded and fortified. The Federal forces, under Captain Rose, were enjoined to remain neutral as long as no actual violence should break out. Disturbances were common, but no general engagement was precipitated except at Pine Bluff, where armed men of the opposing factions had a fight in which the Brooks party lost fewer men than the Baxter band; the total number killed was variously reported from 15 to 30. Both of the claimants clamored for recognition and aid from the Federal Government; and the squabble took on an almost comic aspect, the people of the country generally regarding the proceedings as an amusing burlesque of popular government. Finally President Grant invoked an opinion from the Attorney-general of the United States as to the relative merits of the case. This opinion was in favor of Baxter's claim; whereupon Brooks gave up the contest, and, amidst great rejoicings, Baxter took peaceable possession of the State House, and the government of Arkansas gradually resumed its orderly movement, the recognition of the National Administration being sufficient to determine its right to live.

Turmoil in Arkansas.

With incidents like these still passing before their view, the two great political parties prepared for the presidential election of 1876. It was a time of high political excitement, the condition of the South still being the dominant topic of discussion, as it had been in the last



No. 134 a **House of Representatives,**

COLUMBIA, S. C. March 7 1871

THE STATE TREASURER,

Will pay to the Order of Mr J. J. Moses Jr.

Mr Thomasville Dollars.

For amount ~~of account for~~ of gratuity

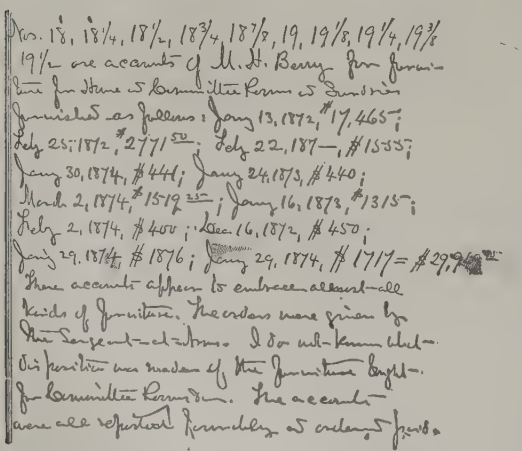
~~Ordered and~~ passed by the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

$ 1000.

Attest: A. O. Jones Clerk. J. P. Thurmond Speaker House of Representatives.

Facsimile of a "Gratuity" voted to Governor Moses by the South Carolina Legislature in 1871.

two preceding campaigns. The Democrats of the North were more united than in 1872, and the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion now promised to give them "the solid South" and make sure their triumph in the coming election. The Republicans were equally confident, although there were many bickerings and jealousies among the leaders. Their National convention met in Cincinnati, June 14th; the platform adopted pledged the party to the policy of pacification which had been pursued by General Grant; demanded the earliest possible resumption of specie payments; favored a tariff that should be protective of home industries; reprobated Chinese immigration, and insisted on ample recognition of the claims of the soldiers and sailors of the Union. The leading candidates for the presidential nomination were James G. Blaine, of Maine; Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky; Roscoe Conkling, of New York; Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana; and Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio. General Hayes, who stood sixth on the list at the first ballot, and who was not widely known throughout the country, was nominated on the seventh ballot. His success was a surprise; it was the result of a compromise, the friends of all the other candidates being unwilling to surrender to any one of their competitors. William A. Wheeler, of New York, was nominated for the Vice-presidency. General Hayes had been educated a lawyer; he had served with credit in the Federal army



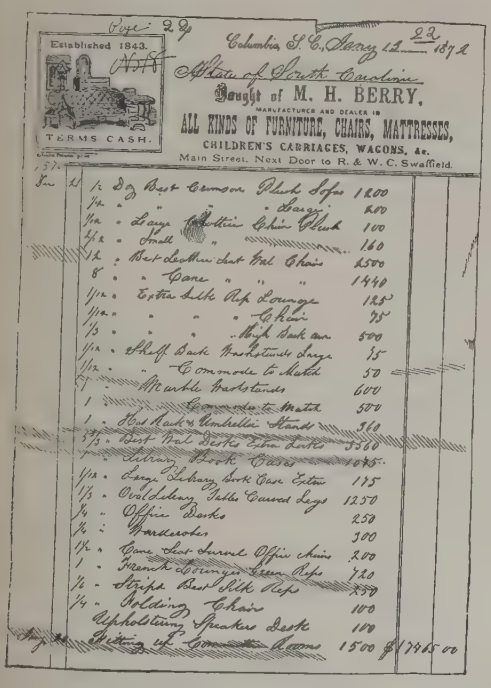
Nos. 18, 18¼, 18½, 18¾, 18⅞, 19, 19⅛, 19¼, 19⅜ 19½ are accounts of M. H. Berry for furniture for House of Representatives furnished as follows: Jany 13, 1872, #17,465; Feby 25, 1872, #2771 &c; Feby 22, 187—, #1585; Jany 30, 1874, #441; Jany 24, 1873, #440; March 2, 1874, #1519 &c; Jany 16, 1873, #1315; Feby 2, 1874, #400; Dec. 16, 1872, #450; Jany 29, 1874, #1876; Jany 29, 1874, #1717 = #29,746 &c

These accounts appear to embrace almost all kinds of furniture. The orders were given by the Sergeant-at-Arms. I do not know that Oil pictures were made of the furniture bought for Committee Rooms. The accounts were all certified regularly & ordered paid.

Summary of the Amounts paid to One Firm for Furniture by the South Carolina Legislature of 1872–74. (From the Report of the Investigating Committee.)

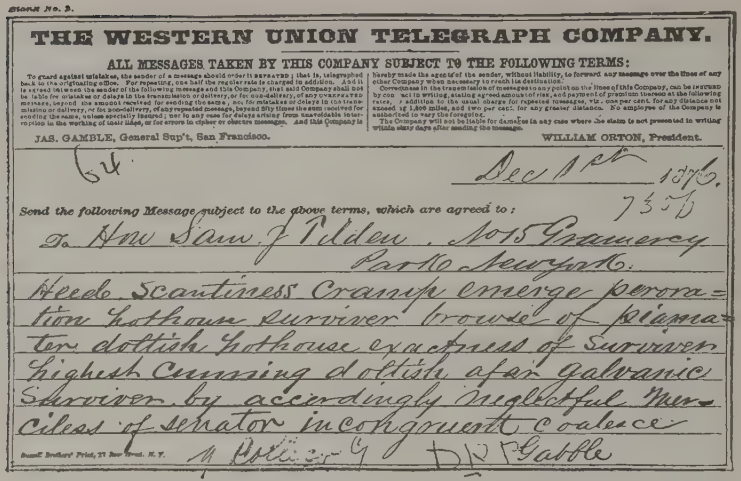
during the civil war; was four times wounded, and he specially distinguished himself in Sheridan's battles in the Shenandoah Valley, in 1864. In civil life he had served his State once in Congress and three times as Governor; when nominated he was about fifty-four years old.

The Democratic National Convention assembled in St. Louis, June 28th, and adopted a platform denunciatory of the Republican party and the Grant Administration, and employed with emphasis and frequent repetition the phrase "Reform is necessary," as applied to every branch of the Government, — Federal, State, and municipal. The platform also denounced the tariff then existing, and demanded "that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue." This declaration, which looked obliquely in the direction of free trade, was regarded as a notable and formal announcement of that policy by the Democratic party. On the first ballot Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, had nearly enough votes to give him the nomination, and before the result was reached he was declared by acclamation and with great enthusiasm to be the unanimous choice of the convention. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice-president. Mr. Tilden was a shrewd and able lawyer, his practice being largely in cases relating to railways and other corporations. In the unravelling of the Tweed frauds in New York he exhibited much astuteness and skill. At the time of his nomination he was Governor of New York, having been elected to that office in 1874. He had won fame as an incorruptible Chief Executive, and had introduced many reforms into the State Administration of which he was the chief. His nomination was hailed by many as certain to result in a thorough reformation of the National Government when he should be advanced to its head.


Established 1843.
TERMS CASH.
Columbia, S. C., January 22 1872
State of South Carolina
Bought of M. H. BERRY,
MANUFACTURER AND DEALER IN
ALL KINDS OF FURNITURE, CHAIRS, MATTRESSES,
CHILDREN'S CARRIAGES, WAGONS, &c.
Main Street, Next Door to R. & W. C. Swaffield.

Facsimile of a Bill for furnishing the State House at Columbia, S. C., in 1872.

The canvass lacked the personal virulence which had



FORM No. 3.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes, the sender of a message should order it REPEATED; that is, telegraphed back to the originating office. For repeating, one half the regular rate is charged in addition. And it is agreed between the sender of the following message and this Company, that said Company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any unrepeated message, beyond the amount received for sending the same; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any repeated message, beyond fifty times the sum received for sending the same, unless specially insured; nor by any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruptions in the working of their lines, or for errors in cipher or obscure messages. And this Company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward any message over the lines of any other Company when necessary to reach its destination.

Corrections in the transmission of messages to any point on the lines of this Company, can be INSURED by one cent in writing, stating agreed amount of risk, and payment of premium thereon at the following rates, in addition to the usual charge for repeated messages, viz.: one per cent. for any distance not exceed. ng 1,500 miles, and two per cent. for any greater distance. No employee of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

The Company will not be liable for damages in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within sixty days after sending the message.

JAS. GAMBLE, General Sup't, San Francisco. WILLIAM ORTON, President.

64 Dec 1st 1876.

735

Send the following Message subject to the above terms, which are agreed to:

To Hon Saml J Tilden . No 15 Gramercy Park New York.

Heede scantiness cramp emerge persona-tion Lothaun Survivor browse of plasma-ter doltish Lothouse exactness of Survivor highest Cumming doltish afair Galvanic Survivor by accordingly Neglectful Mer-cileas of Senator incongruent Coalesce

Dunell Brothers' Print, 77 Beekman St. N. Y. 1 Politician 4 D P Gabble

"I shall decide every point in the case of post-office elector in favor of the highest democratic elector, and grant the certificate accordingly on morning of the 6th inst. Confidential." — CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

One of the "Cipher Despatches" sent during the Election Deadlock with Translation, as put in Evidence before the Congressional Committee.

characterized those immediately preceding it; the blameless character and valuable public services of both candidates precluded anything like the display of vulgar brutality with which Grant and Greeley had both been pursued four years earlier. The party in favor of an increased issue of National paper money, or "greenbacks," nominated Peter Cooper, the eminent philanthropist of New York, for the presidency; and those in favor of absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating fluids named Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, as their candidate. The result of the election gave Tilden a popular majority of 157,394 over all; but Hayes had a majority of the electoral votes of the States, counting those of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, which were held in dispute. The friends of Tilden denied the validity of the returns from those three States. Exclusive of them, he had carried every Southern State; and in the North he had carried New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana. The returning boards in the three disputed States threw out the returns of several districts which gave Democratic majorities; this gave the three States to the Republicans; and Mr. Hayes thereby had a majority of one in the Electoral College. It was a narrow escape from defeat.

"I DON'T KNOW."

1900!

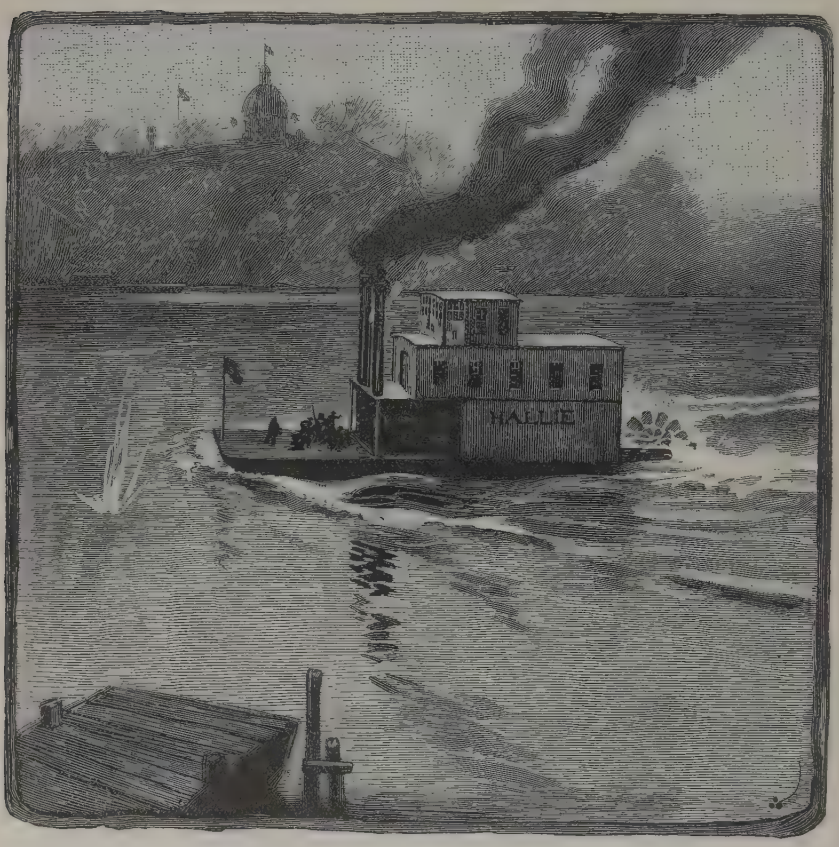
A Kuklux Notice posted up in Mississippi during the Election of 1876.

Samuel J. Tilden.

When the decisions of the returning boards in the three doubtful States were made public, after a few days of trying suspense, a bitter and angry excitement raged all over the country. The disappointed Democrats charged the returning boards with fraud; recounts were demanded; and pending further examination of the returns, leading politicians of both parties gathered at the capitals of the States in dispute to see fair play. These "visiting statesmen," as they were called, gave counsel to their friends and aided as far as possible in allaying the excitement that raged around the boards in session. Pending the meeting of the presidential electors in the several States, a scheme was concocted by some of Mr. Tilden's superserviceable friends to secure one or more electoral votes from South Carolina, Florida, or Oregon. They sent agents to the capitals of these States; and a great number of messages in cipher or cryptogram were transmitted between the plotters. Some of these messages were subsequently translated and published; they gave conclusive evidence of a plot to buy one or two electoral votes; and it appeared that the conspirators had ample financial means to carry out their designs. Responsibility for this conspiracy was never fixed; but it was pretty well established that the Democratic National Committee was not active in the business; and Mr. Tilden denied under oath all knowledge of it. The cry of fraud was returned upon the Democrats, however, and it was long before these accusations and countercharges ceased to agitate both parties.

A disputed election.

The question of determining the validity of the electoral returns from the disputed States must now come before Congress in joint meeting. The Constitution provides that "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted." The obvious meaning of these words was that the President of the Senate should count the electoral votes, the Senators and Representatives attending as mere spectators. The Democrats objected to this because it would give Senator Ferry, the Republican President of the Senate, sole power to count the votes and declare the result; and it was certain that he would accept the returns for Hayes and so declare him elected. On the other hand, the famous Twenty-second Joint Rule, which was a comparatively modern innovation adopted



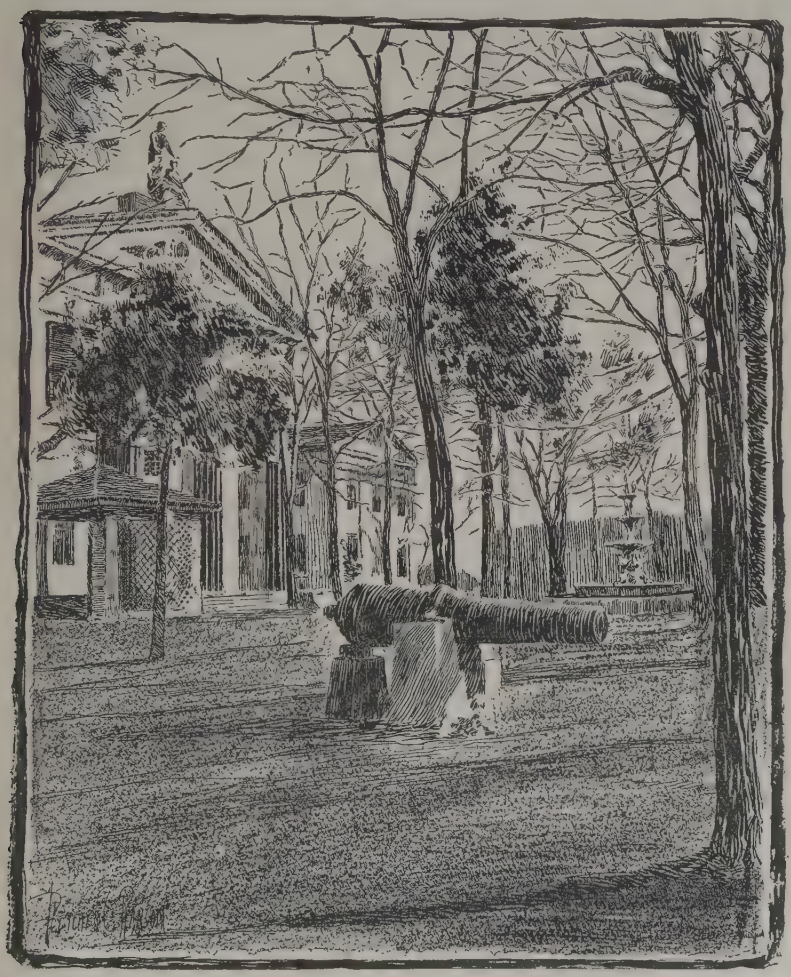
An Incident during the Reconstruction Troubles in Arkansas.[1]

Drawn by Orson Lowell from photographs and descriptions by eye-witnesses.

in 1865, made it possible for members of the House or Senate to obstruct the counting of any objectionable return, thus electing Tilden. The Senate was Republican; the House Democratic. The deadlock was complete; and from each of the three Southern States in dispute there were multiple returns for Hayes or for Tilden. In Oregon the Democratic Governor had refused to give a certificate to one of the Republican electors, declaring him ineligible, as he held an office under the United States Government. The certificate due him was given to a Democratic elector, E. A. Cronin, who had received the highest number of votes given to any man on the Tilden electoral ticket. The Republican electors from Oregon refused to acknowledge Cronin's right in the Electoral College; and, associating

[1] The steamer *Hallie*, with a load of Baxter men, was fired at by the Brooks forces in the State House, the ball passing just in front of her bows.

with them the rejected Republican elector who held a certificate from the Secretary of State, they gave the entire electoral vote of their State to Hayes. Cronin presented himself in Washington claiming a right to cast his vote somehow and somewhere for Tilden, but he was willing that two of the three Oregon votes should be given to Hayes. It was evident that the two Houses of Congress would not agree upon any method of counting the electoral votes in joint meeting which would be acceptable to all concerned. The situation was critical. Timorous men feared and reckless men counselled civil war rather than submission of either to the triumph of the other side. Presi-



The State House at Little Rock, Arkansas, showing the Cannon used by the Brooks Forces stationed there.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

The Scene of the Conflict between the Brooks and Baxter Adherents in front of the Anthony House, Little Rock.

Drawn by G. W. Peters from a contemporary photograph.

dent Grant quietly strengthened the military forces around the National capital; and an excitable Kentucky newspaper editor intimated that "100,000 unarmed Kentuckians" might be needed in Washington to see justice done.

The Electoral Commission.

A compromise was finally agreed to, and both Houses of Congress passed the famous Electoral Commission Bill. Under this statute the whole matter of the disputed electoral count was referred to a Commission to consist of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Justices of the United States Supreme Court. Four of the judicial members of the Commission were named in the bill; they were Justices Clifford and Field, Democrats, and Strong and Miller, Republicans; they were to choose the fifth Justice, and the Commission was so constituted before this choice could be made that its members were equally divided between the two political parties, seven to seven; the fifth Justice, when he should be chosen, would have the casting vote, if politics were to divide equally the other members of the Commission. It was expected that the four Justices would choose from the Supreme Bench Justice David Davis, of Illinois, whose politics were uncertain; he had acted with both parties at different times, but his leanings had latterly been in the direction of the Democrats. At this critical juncture, Justice Davis was unexpectedly chosen United States Senator from his own State. He resigned his seat on the bench, doubtless thankful to escape the responsibility of being an umpire; and Justice Joseph Bradley.

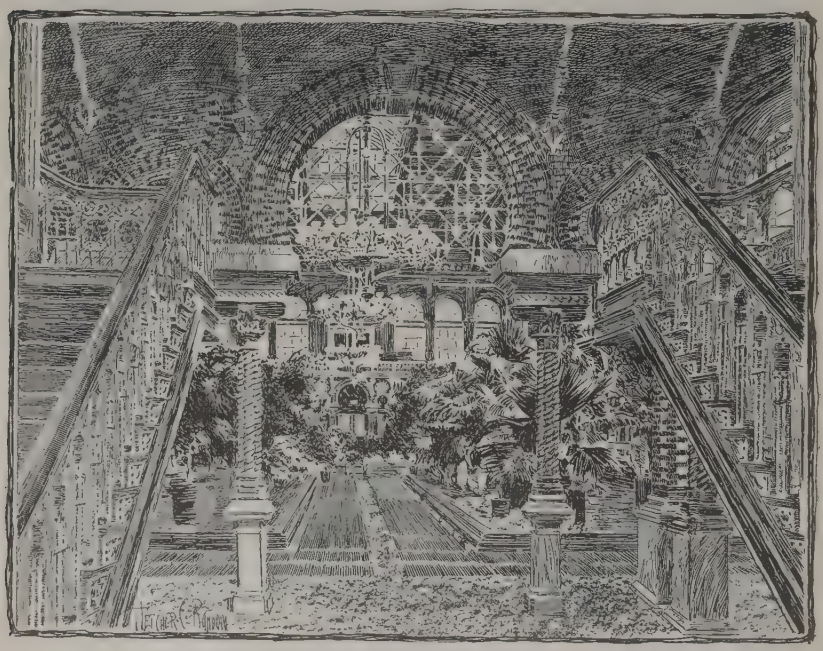
The Opening Ceremonies of the Philadelphia Centennial, May 10, 1876.
Drawn by Martin Borgord from a photograph.

of New Jersey, a Republican, was chosen in his place. At this the Democrats lost all hope, and the cry "eight to seven" went up from their ranks.

The Electoral Commission met on the last day of January, 1877. Both parties to the controversy were represented by eminent legal counsel, and the returns from the disputed States were passed in succession before the Commission, Florida being first taken up, and Louisiana, Oregon, and South Carolina following in order. This first case virtually decided all the rest. By a vote of 8 to 7 the Commissioners agreed that they should not "go behind the returns," but should decide which of the several returns offered should be received as lawful. The Florida returns for the Hayes electors were then admitted. The same procedure was held in each one of the disputed cases. The crisis was over; and the country, relieved from a long and severe mental strain, breathed more freely; the possible peril of civil war was past. Only the disputed returns were referred to the Commission under the Electoral Act; the single returns, about which there could be no dispute, were not sent to that body. The Twenty-

second Joint Rule, of 1865, to which reference has just been made, had been set aside by the law constituting the Electoral Commission, permitting no return to be rejected without a concurrent vote of the two Houses of Congress. Accordingly, on the 10th of February, 1877, the two Houses met in joint meeting and all the returns were considered in due order, the decision of the Electoral Commission being conclusive in each case when a return from any one of the disputed States was taken up and objection made. In each case objections were made; but these were in the nature of formal protests and went on file without further action. Finally, on the afternoon of March 2d, 1877, the count was concluded and the tellers reported that 185 electoral votes had been cast for Rutherford B. Hayes and 184 votes for Samuel J. Tilden. The long agony was over and the presiding officer made declaration that "Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, having received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes, is duly elected President of the United States, for four years, commencing on the 4th day of March, 1877." Similar declaration affirmed the election of William A. Wheeler, of New York, to be Vice-president of the United States.

Hayes declared elected.



Interior of Horticultural Hall.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

A picturesque and impressive event in the last year of Grant's second term of office was the Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia. It fitly commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence, and gilded with a certain lustre the close of the National Administration which had not been altogether pleasing or peaceful. The project for holding this International Exposition originated in Philadelphia, in which the immortal Declaration was born. After some opposition from those who were disposed to regard this as a local, rather than a National affair, Congress was induced to extend aid and give National authoritativeness to the enterprise. An act was passed in 1872, incorporating the Centennial Board of Finance, and giving it the needed powers to transact the financial business of the organization. The President was empowered to make formal proclamation of the time and place of holding the exhibition; a commission consisting of one dele-

Centennial Exposition in 1876.

The Court in the Board of Finance Building.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

gate from each State and Territory was to be appointed by him, and he was requested by act of Congress to extend to the governments of other nations an official invitation "to participate in the Interna-

tional Exposition to be held at Philadelphia under the auspices of the Government of the United States." Provision was also made for the admission to the ports of this country free of duty of all articles intended for the exhibition.

Congress also appropriated at different times $2,000,000, of which $1,500,000 was an advance loan for the use of the Centennial Commission, and by these acts gave the exposition its distinctively National character. The city of Philadelphia appropriated $1,500,000; the State of Pennsylvania $1,000,000, and the other States and Territories appropriated smaller and various amounts. All of the States and Territories were represented on the Commission, and nearly all of them participated in the exhibition, their headquarters and buildings being individual. It was interesting to note that of the twenty-six structures erected for the use of the States, a goodly number were occupied by States lately in rebellion. The governments of the world responded generously to the invitation to participate, and for the first time on American soil was gathered a large and impressive exhibit of objects of art, commerce, manufacture, and human industry representing every quarter of the globe. It required time to convince some of the foreign governments that the exposition was actually conducted under the direct authority of the United States Government, so far as that Government could be committed to a work of this sort; but eventually the response to the call was general throughout the world.

The exposition was opened on the 10th of May, 1876, in the presence of a vast crowd of people. President Grant, after appropriate literary exercises, declared the International Exposition opened, and a procession of eminent persons moved to Machinery Hall, where the President of the United States and Dom Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, set in motion the mighty engine which supplied the motive power for the machinery of the great fair. The Main Building was a parallelogram in form, 1,880 feet long by 460 feet wide and 70 feet high; it covered twenty acres, and, notwithstanding its great size, had a light and graceful appearance. The building was erected within a year's time, at a cost of $1,700,000. In this building manufactures and mining products were exhibited, with a variety of other articles showing the progress and present condition of science and education. The next largest building was Machinery Hall; of plain architecture, built of wood, 1,402 feet by 360 feet wide, its area included about thirteen acres. The display in this building was of surpassing interest, the American exhibit clearly leading all the rest in point of variety and ingenuity of contrivance. Of the other buildings, Memorial Hall, a beautiful permanent structure

Notable features of the fair.

of granite, erected by the State of Pennsylvania and city of Philadelphia at a cost of a million and a half dollars, was given up to art. Horticultural Hall, built of iron and glass in the Moorish style of architecture, was filled with every variety of vegetation from the various zones of the globe; outside the building were beds of flowering plants covering twenty-five acres. A narrow-gauge railway with many curves and loops connected the different buildings, and provided for easy and rapid transit of the numerous visitors. The exhibits afforded a good idea of the industrial progress and condition of the world.

From the opening to the closing of the exhibition, that is to say from May 10th to November 10th, the total admissions to the grounds were 9,900,000, and the admission fees collected amounted to $3,800,000. There had been patriotic and impressive exercises on the 4th day of July, when music, poetry, and oratory were features of the programme; and on the closing day President Grant gave the signal to stop the great engine, and as it came to a standstill the hum of machinery died away and the exhibition was at an end. Financially, the Centennial Exposition was not completely successful. After returning the United States loan of $1,500,000 the stockholders did not receive their original subscriptions in full. The people of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, however, generally expressed themselves as being entirely satisfied with the results of the great enterprise.

Results of the exposition.

The influence of this memorable event was widespread and useful in a variety of directions. People in the rural districts and smaller communities of the United States made a pilgrimage to Philadelphia as a matter of patriotic duty. The Union had been lately reconstructed and cemented; the thoughts of all good Americans naturally turned to the founders of the Republic and to the means devised to celebrate their enduring work and illustrate the growth and prosperity of the nation. Those American citizens who gazed upon the beauties and glories of the Centennial exhibition went home profoundly impressed with the character and extent of the resources of their country; and they were brought in contact with beautiful and novel products of other lands, with strange people, and with foreign exhibits, the sight of which broadened the mind of the spectator, chastened his local pride, and informed his judgment. It was commonly remarked that a visit to the Centennial Exposition was like a foreign tour, at once a means of culture and a gratification of curiosity.

From this point, too, date several remarkable changes in American social and industrial life. The exposition was a stimulus and means

of culture in sundry branches of household and decorative art unknown before. Some of the exhibits, notably those of Great Britain, were a revelation to Americans whose crudeness in the use of color and barrenness in the art of design were the natural result of unacquaintance with the best models. A notable improvement in the artistic handling of all manner of things that minister in the homes of Americans to the comfort and delight of the eye was marked from this time. An æsthetic revolution had been accomplished.

The Centennial exhibition also served to quicken the instinct of family in the American people. The celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the nation naturally turned men's thoughts to a study of the lives and times of the early colonists and the founders of the Republic. There was much busy rummaging among ancient archives. Local histories were ransacked and rewritten. Towns, villages, and cities made preparations for duly honoring the anniversary of their own foundation; and families and individuals sought out the roots and branches of their family trees, anxious to trace their relations to the older generations and establish for their own descendants their line of ancestors. The Centennial Exposition gave the people not only a lesson in art, but in the geography and social history of their own country. It was a noble and fitting monument to mark the close of the first century of the National existence, the opening of a new era.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A BREATHING-SPELL IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT HAYES. — CONTINUED DIFFICULTIES IN SOUTH CAROLINA AND LOUISIANA. — UNITED STATES TROOPS WITHDRAWN AND THE DOWNFALL OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENTS. — APPEARANCE OF THE GRANGERS AND OTHER INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATIONS. — THE RAILROAD STRIKE OF 1877. — DESTRUCTIVE RIOTS IN PITTSBURGH. — STRIKE OF THE COAL MINERS. — THE MOLLIE MAGUIRES. — DENIS KEARNEY AND THE ANTI-CHINESE AGITATION. — A NEGRO EXODUS. — THE YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC OF 1878 AND 1879. — A DEADLOCK IN CONGRESS HOLDS UP ARMY APPROPRIATIONS. — VARIOUS USEFUL INVENTIONS OF THE PERIOD.

THE Administration of President Hayes afforded a breathing-spell in the politics of the country, coming as it did after a period of virulent excitement and bitter partisanship. It was as if the leaders of the contending factions, exhausted by the feverish struggles and rancorous controversies of the preceding year, were glad to rest awhile from their labors in behalf of an imperilled country. Everybody was now willing to admit that the country was safe, and that a great danger had been passed, no matter at what sacrifice. The Democrats naturally plumed themselves on their superior patriotism; they had acquiesced in the election of Mr. Hayes for the sake of peace, although they stoutly insisted that Mr. Tilden had been rightfully chosen. The Republicans, on the other hand, were quietly elated with the consciousness that their candidate had been rightfully elected and rightfully seated in the executive chair, in spite of the efforts of his adversaries to prevent it. Both parties were agreed to postpone further hostilities until another presidential election.

The policy of President Hayes.

In his inaugural address, President Hayes promised that he would so shape his policy as to secure "the permanent pacification of the country upon such principles and by such measures as will secure the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights." He pointedly alluded to the fact that the people of the States lately in rebellion were not yet vouchsafed "the inestimable blessing of wise, honest, and peaceful local self-government." He expressed his desire to employ every legitimate influence to bring about reforms in all departments

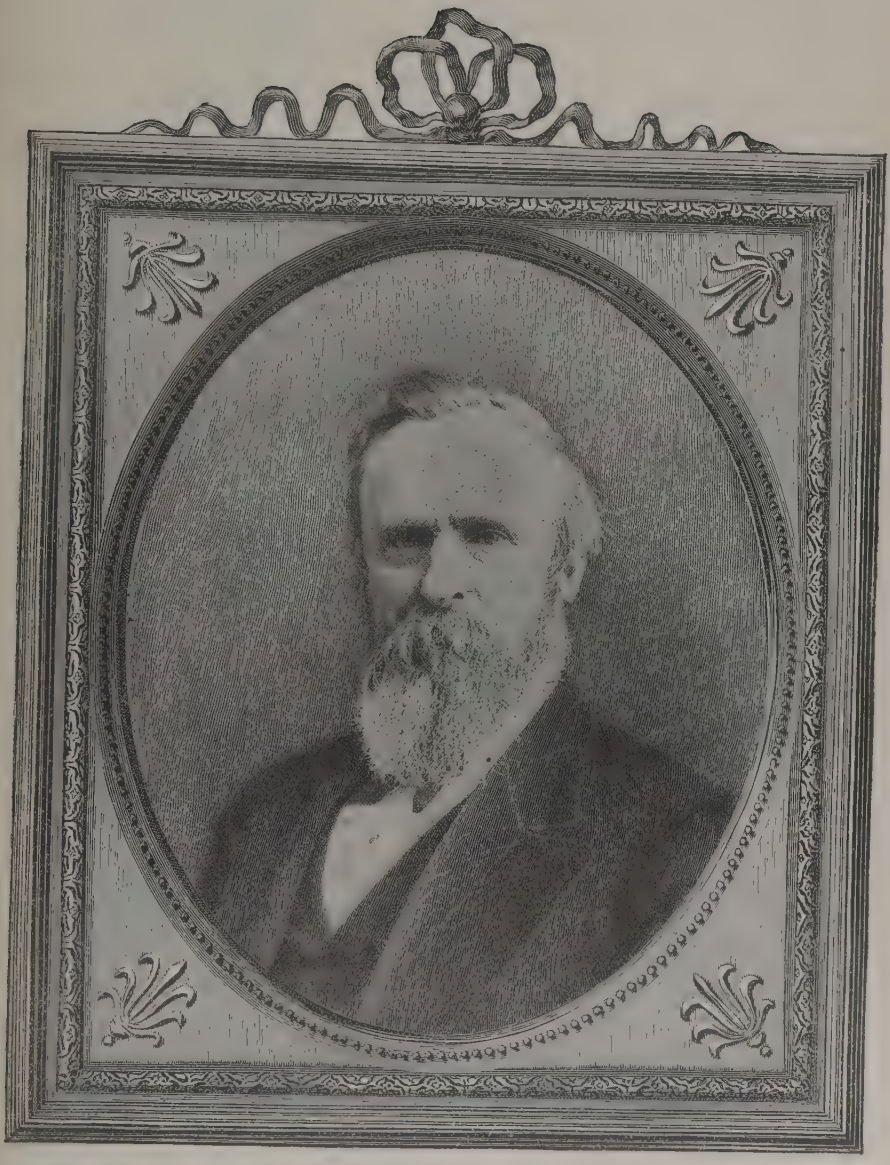
of the Government and to promote honest and efficient self-government in the Southern States. When he attempted to redeem these promises he did not meet with that hearty acquiescence on the part of the leaders of his own party which he had the right to expect.

The Hayes cabinet.

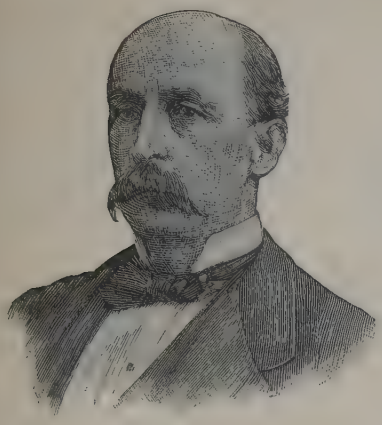
Mr. Hayes's cabinet was as follows: Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, of Ohio; Secretary of War, George W. McCrary, of Iowa; Secretary of the Navy, Richard M. Thompson, of Indiana; Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, of Missouri; Postmaster-general, David M. Key, of Tennessee; Attorney-general, Charles Devens, of Massachusetts. Of these men Mr. Key was a Democrat, and Mr. Schurz had not latterly been closely identified with the Republican party. This was a cabinet of eminent respectability; and although some of its members were not well known throughout the country when they were first appointed, their share in the Administration was honorable and creditable. The stability of the Hayes cabinet was in sharp contrast with those which had immediately preceded it. The only change in its personnel was that made in December, 1879, when Mr. McCrary retired from the War Department and was succeeded by ex-Governor Alexander Ramsay, of Minnesota.

One of the matters of importance that first engaged the attention of the newly installed President was the condition of affairs in South Carolina, where two rivals were in the field, each claiming to have been lawfully elected to the gubernatorial office. At the State election in November, 1876, D. H. Chamberlain was the candidate of the Republicans; by his integrity, fairness, and strict attention to his official duties, Governor Chamberlain had won the respect of the better class of the men of his own party, although he had alienated some of those who prospered under the corrupt rule of the "carpet-baggers," and who were now deprived of sinecures and profitable contracts under the honest administration of Chamberlain. He had zealously defended the rights of the colored people, and had thereby offended some of the Democratic leaders, who were determined that no negro should either vote or hold office, if that could be prevented. Wade Hampton, a dashing cavalry leader in the Confederate service during the late war, was the nominee of the Democrats. In the confusion that had latterly characterized the doings of the political machinery of the States lately in rebellion, there were two rival returning boards in South Carolina; one of these certified the election of Chamberlain, the other certified that Hampton was lawfully elected. The same confusion spread through all the executive departments of the State government, and there were two legislatures, as well as two gubernatorial claimants. Both Chamberlain

Political troubles in South Carolina.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.



Daniel H. Chamberlain.

and Hampton were sworn into office, but Hampton was more generally recognized by the judicial and the other civil officers of the State as the lawful Governor.

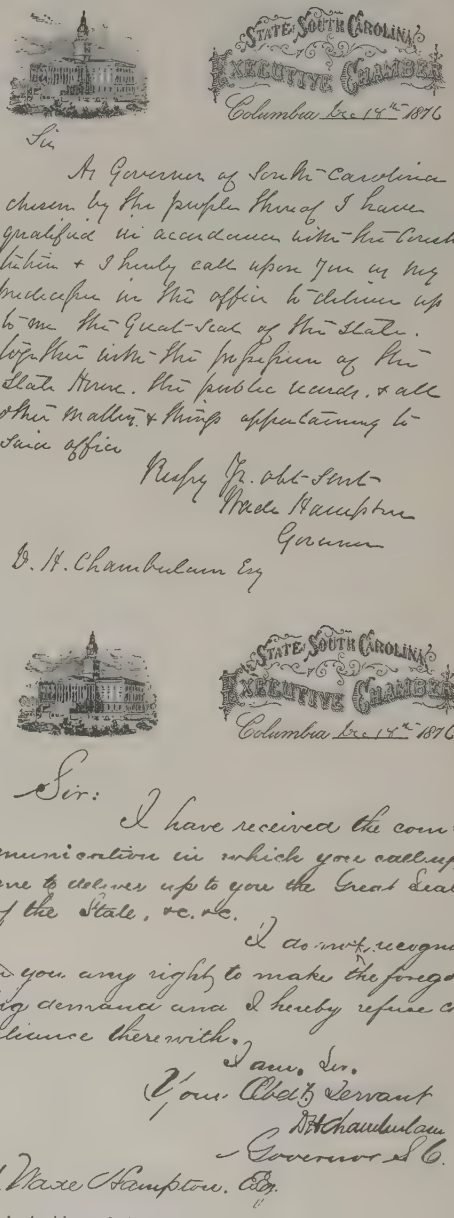
This was the state of things when Mr. Hayes took office; and very soon after his inauguration the President invited the rival claimants to hold a personal conference with him in Washington. The result of this conference was that the President decided to withdraw the Federal troops from the State capital, where they had been employed to guard the State House, in which Chamberlain and the Republican legislature were intrenched. The other State officers under Chamberlain now addressed him a letter in which, while they emphatically declared their belief in the justness of his and their claim to office, they counselled him to discontinue the struggle for the gubernatorial chair; they all agreed that the peace of the State and the prosperity of the people forbade them to persist in asserting their rights. Under the circumstances, there was nothing left for Governor Chamberlain but a peaceable withdrawal. Accordingly, on the 11th of April, 1877, Hampton was notified of the decision of Chamberlain and the other Republican officials, and on the following day he took formal possession of the State House, the executive offices, and the seal of the State. Without serious friction the two legislatures were amalgamated, the members of the Chamberlain legislature being treated with fairness; and the new organization provided for the payment of those members for the time during which they had acted independently of the Democratic body that claimed to be the lawful legislature.

Federal troops withdrawn.

Some of the Republican leaders who, from the first, had regarded Mr. Hayes with distrust and coolness, were deeply angered by his treatment of the South Carolina complication. They contended that by withdrawing the moral and material support of the Administration from the Chamberlain government in South Carolina — and also from Louisiana — he had cast a cloud upon his own title to office; the returning boards that gave him the electoral votes of those two States had subsequently been by his action virtually discredited. As a matter of fact, however, the judicial powers exercised by the returning boards when they were considering the State election returns

were clearly unauthorized by the State constitutions, and were to that extent usurpations; whereas, in regard to Federal officers, and the consideration of returns affecting their election, the power of the returning boards over the returns was wholly independent of State law and State constitutions, and was not in the least in contravention of any Federal statute.

In his inaugural address, Mr. Hayes pledged himself to a reformation of the civil service. Under President Grant a weak and half-hearted attempt had been made to cleanse the public service of the foul abuses which had crept into it; and the President had doubtless honestly endeavored to set on foot these measures of reform, the author of which was Representative Thomas A. Jenckes, of Rhode Island. But the evil influences that had permeated nearly all the executive departments of the Government were too strong to be counteracted except by a more vigorous policy than General Grant was ready to prepare and execute. President Hayes, pledged to a single term of office and supported by a general popular ap-


STATE SOUTH CAROLINA
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
Columbia Dec 14th 1876
Sir
As Governor of South Carolina
chosen by the people thereof I have
qualified in accordance with the Constitution
& I hereby call upon you in my
independent in this office to deliver up
to me the Great Seal of this State.
together with the possession of the
State House. the public records. & all
other matters & things appertaining to
said office
Respy Yr. obt Servt
Wade Hampton
Governor
D. H. Chamberlain Esq
STATE SOUTH CAROLINA
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
Columbia Dec 14th 1876
Sir: I have received the communication in which you call upon
me to deliver up to you the Great Seal
of the State, &c. &c.
I do not recognise
in you any right to make the foregoing demand and I hereby refuse compliance therewith.
I am, Sir,
Your Obdt Servant
D H Chamberlain
Governor S C.
Wade Hampton. Esq.

An Incident of the State Election of 1876 in South Carolina, when both Hampton and Chamberlain claimed to have been elected Governor.

proval of the newly born civil service reform, attempted to free himself from the dictation of Congressmen in the matter of making public appointments. The Congressmen, surprised and annoyed at finding that they were no longer expected to control the official patronage distributed in their respective States and districts, turned upon the President with disdain. They derided his ignorance of "practical politics," contemned his efforts to placate the South and promote harmony, and stigmatized his mild and peace-inciting policy as "Sunday-school politics." The strange spectacle was afforded of a Republican President, whose very title to office had been disputed by his political opponents, reduced to the extremity of seeing his measures defeated in Congress by the failure of votes from his own party or carried by the aid of votes of Democratic members.

Political complications reduced in Louisiana.

Of the political complication in Louisiana it is only necessary to say that it closely resembled that in South Carolina. There were two gubernatorial claimants. Francis T. Nicholls had been declared elected governor on the returns examined and passed upon by the so-called Democratic returning board. And S. B. Packard had similarly been declared the lawful governor by the rival returning board. General Grant, during the last months of his presidential term, had been entreated by Packard to send military aid to his government in Louisiana; and the President had replied that he felt it his duty to say frankly that he did not believe public opinion would any longer support the maintenance of State government in Louisiana by the use of the military. The President added that he must concur in this feeling. It was natural, therefore, that his successor, who had already pledged himself to aid in the restoration of self-government in the South, should take the same position in regard to the employment of the military in Louisiana and South Carolina. The troops were withdrawn, accordingly, and the Nicholls government assumed their full powers, April 24th, 1877.

The Grangers.

An acute crisis in the industrial affairs of the people occurred during 1877. For the past ten or twelve years there had been manifested an increasing hostility on the part of the working people to the institutions and enterprises managed by capitalists and corporations. National banks and railroad companies were the special objects of this hostility. In 1867, very soon after the issues of the war had been disposed of, a secret order known as the Patrons of Husbandry was organized in Washington, and its lodges were soon established all over the country. The object of the organization was to secure coöperation among its members (who were chiefly farmers and agricultural producers) in purchasing and in other business interests.

The high rates of railway transportation, especially in the Western States, had aroused the animosity of the farmers and producers; and one of the ultimate objects of the Grangers, as they were called, was to secure legislation that should force down these exorbitant freight rates, which, as they asserted, were eating up their substance. In course of time the Grangers, whose popular title was given them on account of their lodges being known as granges, became a real terror to the railroad and other transportation companies throughout the country.

Uneasiness among railway employees.

It was an easy transition from the hostility of the Grangers, or agricultural producers, to the railway companies and to the organization of a similar war against those corporations, on the part of the vast army of men who were engaged in the numerous vocations directly affected by the management of railroads. The extravagance of the railway managers, who travelled sumptuously over their lines, their ruinous and reckless management of the properties in their control, and their notorious manipulation of State legislatures in their own interests, had set the whole country against them. Public opinion was generally with the men who rebelled when they felt the grinding power of their paymasters, who so contrived their schedules that the employees of the corporations were often reduced to the verge of abject want, even while they were nominally enrolled in the active army of the companies. Like the Grangers, the labor unions of the railway employees at first assumed a *quasi*-political character. Conventions of labor unions declared that Congress should assume control of the railroads and other transportation lines and of the telegraph systems of the country. Some of the labor organizations sought to limit the power of the corporations by electing their own members to the State legislatures and thus securing the enactment of laws of their own framing. In this way the celebrated "Granger cases" finally came before the United States Supreme Court from the State of Illinois. The issue raised in these cases was whether the Illinois legislature, under the limitations imposed by the Federal Constitution, could fix by law the maximum of charges levied for the storage of grain in the elevators owned by private individuals and corporations in that State. The decision was to the effect that while the government has no power to control exclusively private rights, it may regulate the conduct of its citizens towards each other when such regulation becomes necessary for the public good. The Grangers were sustained in their contention.

This victory, which was achieved in 1877, was followed by several important judicial decisions that were unfavorable to the pretensions

Interior of Union Station, Pittsburgh, after the Railway Strike of 1877.
Drawn by F. D. Steele from a photograph.

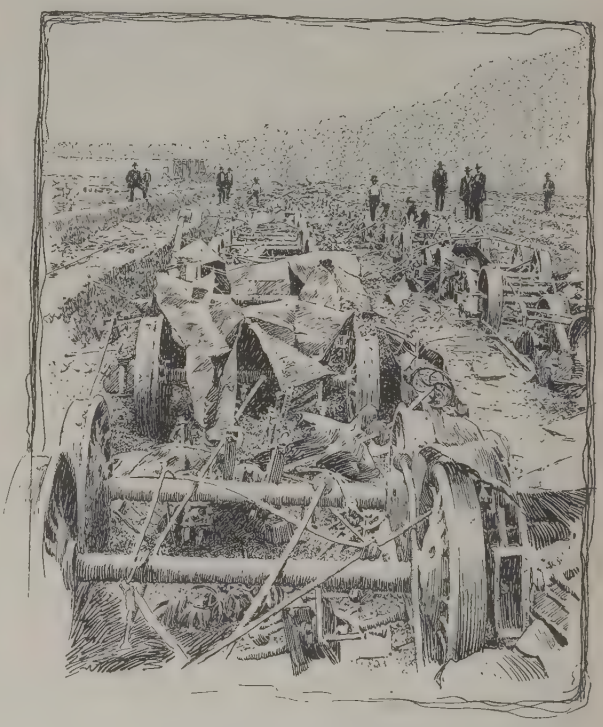
of sundry corporations. Thus the United States Supreme Court decided that an express company is responsible for loss of goods caused by the negligence of the railroad employed to carry their freight, as well as for that caused by the negligence of their own employees. In the same cases[1] the court decided that the clause in an express company's contract exempting the company from losses by fire is of no effect, provided the fire is the result of the negligence of the servants of the express company, or of the railroad company carrying the goods. In another of the cases alluded to, the United States Supreme Court held that a State has power to regulate the rates of fare and freight charged by a railroad company, or any other common carrier, within its limits.

The beginning of the labor troubles of 1877 was the strike of the train-hands employed on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which took place July 14th. A reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of the men had been made by nearly all the railway corporations throughout the country, and the grievances and hardships of these employees, as they presented their case, amply justified their dissatisfaction. The strike soon became general, being participated in by the railroad employees on all the great lines in the Northern States, from New

[1] The two cases brought by the Bank of Kentucky and the Planters' National Bank against the Adams Express Company; the case of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Company, appealed from the Wisconsin Circuit; and the case of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company against the Attorney-general, appealed from the Iowa Circuit.

England to the Mississippi River. Almost in a day, business of all kinds was paralyzed by an absolute cessation of railway transportation. Trains were brought to a standstill, and the train-hands and others employed about the premises stood by to prevent their being moved by persons hired for such an emergency. The determination of the strikers to prevent any movement of their trains soon resulted in their taking possession of the yards, tracks, round-houses, and other property of the railway companies. This was the beginning of the graver troubles that followed the strike.

The railway employees had already been organized in several sorts of unions. Heretofore these unions had not been amalgamated into one homogeneous body, nor had they been recognized by the employing corporations. It was one purpose of the strike to make such amalgamation easier and to compel from the railroad corporations a recognition of the labor unions. These results were ultimately reached. And another result of the strike of 1877 was the invention of the so-called sympathetic strike. Men employed in the same activity as the strikers, but who had no special grievance of their own, quit work and joined in the general strike in order to express their sympathy and give their moral aid to their brethren who were already out with their grievances and wrongs.



Burnt Freight Cars at Pittsburgh.[1]

Drawn by F. D. Steele from a photograph.

[1] Owing to the congestion of traffic there were miles of freight trains blocked at this point which the rioters burned just as they stood.

As the railway strike went on, other industrial callings felt its influence, and bodies of men engaged in other mechanical pursuits were drawn into the struggle. Following the railroad hands, the coal miners, quarrymen, factory workers, and others whose rates of wages were low, were induced to join hands with the strikers and make common cause against "the bloated capitalists," whose tyranny was held to be the cause of all their woes — which were many. The members of the mechanical trades-unions, sympathizing with any movement that was calculated to strengthen the power of a labor organization, next followed with strikes more or less general in the localities that most readily felt the influence of the great railway strike. These were reënforced by the so-called Socialists, who were ever ready to incite any agitation that promised to overthrow or weaken the existing order of things. For a time there was much fine-spun logic current among the orators and fomenters of disturbance; and the rights of man and the tyrannies of capital were discussed in innumerable popular gatherings with much vehemence. To these gatherings flocked the vagabonds and wandering tramps, like birds of prey, watching for the hour of destruction to strike.

Interior of Round-House at Pittsburgh, showing the Wrecked Locomotives.

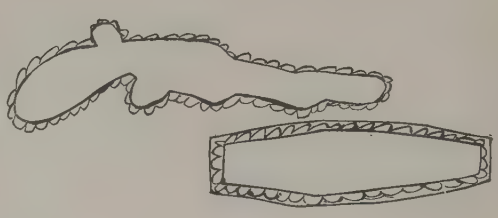
Drawn by F. D. Steele from a photograph.

The first actual conflict began at Martinsburg, West Virginia, July 16th, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, when a party of strikers, determined to prevent the moving of a train left standing on the tracks, exchanged shots with the State militia that had been sent to guard the property. The train was derailed, and by evening the whole line of the road was in the

Beginning of a great railroad fight.

hands of the strikers. United States troops were sent by order of the Secretary of War, in answer to the appeal of the Governor; and a proclamation from the President warning the strikers to desist from violence was issued. In the streets of Baltimore, on the 20th, the State militia were assailed by a mob while marching to the railway station. In the melée that followed, nine of the rioters were killed and 20 or 30 persons, citizens and soldiers, were wounded by shots or chance missiles; the soldiers fired at random, and the mob replied in like manner. Other disturbances of a similar character occurred at various important railroad centres throughout the country.

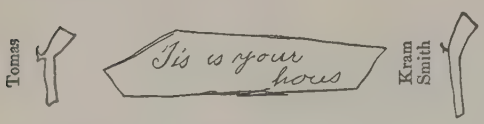
"C."



Notice is here given to you men the first and the last Notice that you will get for no man to go Down this slope After to Night if yo Do you Can Bring your Coffion Along With you for By the internal Crist We mean What this Notice says you Drift man stop at home and Cut no more Coal let him go and get Coal himself I Dont mean Engineer or firemans let them mine there one Work now men the Next Notice you Will get I Dont mean to Do it With my Pen I Will Do it With that there Rolver I Don't Want no more Black legs at this Collary.

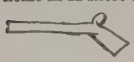
(No signature)

"D."



Notice you have Caried this as far as you can By cheating thy men you three Bosses Be Carefull if the Above dont Be your home in A short Time.

From a Stranger
he nowes you



V.

(Notice found in yard of D. Patchen, Engineer, Cressona.)

from the gap Daniel Patch
remember you will be running in this coal ragion at night you took an nother mans engin we will give you fair warning in time and some more. V. L.

M. M. H. S. T.

VI.

we hear notify you to leave th Road for you took a nother man chop take a warning to Save your live
to Yost

"Mollie Maguire" Notices put in Evidence during the Trials.

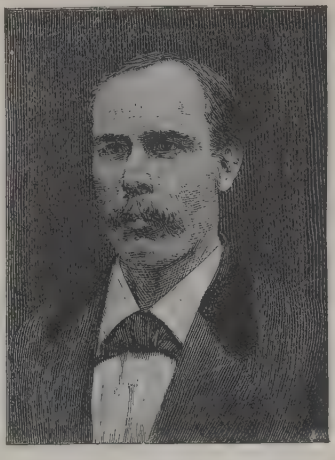
The most serious of these riots took place in Pittsburgh, where a vast railway system was concentrated, and where there was a great mass of railway buildings and other property. Mobs of idle men, reënforced by disorderly persons, as well as by mechanics and others who were sympathetically attracted to the spot, now surged around the railroad tracks and buildings of the corporations. On the 21st a

division of the Pennsylvania State militia, while attempting to clear a street crossing on the line of the railroad, was attacked by the populace with stones and other missiles. The militia replied with a volley of musketry, and firing soon became general on both sides, the rioters returning with three pieces of ordnance and a supply of firearms, some of which had been secured by breaking into the shops of the city. The militia took a position in the round-house of the railroad, and the mob assailed the building with their cannon and other battering implements. In this attack many were killed on both sides, but the rioters were the greatest sufferers.

Riots in Pittsburgh.

During the night the battle raged with increasing violence, the mob being swelled in numbers by the arrival of recruits from all parts of the city and its suburbs. A fury for fire inflamed the rioters, and a car loaded with burning combustibles was sent against the round-house in which the militia were besieged; other fire-cars were pushed against other railroad buildings and the night was lurid with the flame and smoke of destruction. The militia escaped from the burning round-house, made their way across the Allegheny River, pursued by the firing rioters, and were there disbanded.

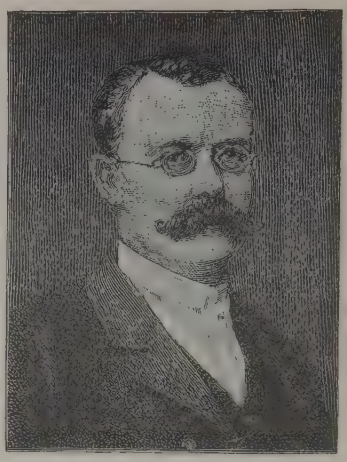
Robbery and loot succeeded to incendiarism on the following day. Laden freight-cars were attacked by men and women, broken open, and their contents carried off in wagons or by the armful. Goods of every description, bound to distant points and detained here by the blockade of the road, were stolen in vast quantities. Bales of silk, cloth, and other fabrics, fruits and groceries, laces, hardware, clothing, flour and produce, boots and shoes, pianos, wines in cases and spirits in barrels, were a part of the booty which the mob collected from the trains in the most business-like and open manner. Drunk with the liquors that had been stolen from the cars, the more disorderly element of the mob next proceeded to the private property of the neighborhood, and liquor stores were broken into and sacked; cigar stores and the shops where eatables were sold were looted, and pandemonium reigned throughout that portion of the city which is nearest to the railway stations and depots. The citizens had looked on with comparative indifference while the property of the railroad companies and their patrons was being destroyed.



Thomas Munley, one of the Convicted "Mollies."

The fury of the mob exhausted.

When the unsated monster, the mob, began to turn its attention to the houses and shops of the city, there was remonstrance and resistance. The citizens rallied to the aid of the police; but the fury of the mob had spent itself, and the terrific storm of rage and lust of thievery that had risen to its height on Sunday, the 22d, began to subside sullenly on Monday. Driven from the half-emptied freight-cars, the rioters set fire to the trains and abandoned the remainder of their contents to the flames. About 2,000 freight-cars were destroyed; and the loss to the railroad and express companies was between $8,000,000 and $10,000,000.



James McParlan, the Detective.

Strikes had by this time become general all over the country, not only on railroads, but in almost every department of mechanical activity. The spirit of disorder spread to the Pacific coast, where gangs of the ruffianly persons who infest the slums of San Francisco roamed through the streets, terrorizing the Chinese residents, shutting up factories, and setting fire to some of the buildings occupied by Chinese workers. There were bloody doings in many of the larger cities of the Western States, especially in Chicago, where, on the 26th, there was a collision between an unruly and apparently aimless mob and the police; the latter were aided by a squad of cavalry; and in a charge that was made against the mob, nineteen persons were killed or fatally wounded on the spot, and many others were maimed. For the space of ten days, the Northern and Middle States were almost wholly given over to riot and disorder.

One notable exception to this well-nigh universal outbreak was the city of New York, where severe measures and early precautions undoubtedly prevented an uprising of the vicious element of society, which, if once allowed to burst forth, would have wrought havoc in that populous centre. The militia were kept under arms; the police were constantly on the alert in the station-houses and on their several beats; and a meeting of persons who sympathized to some degree with the strikers, held in Tompkins Square, was watched with keen scrutiny for any manifestation of the mob spirit. The city was spared the havoc and bloodshed which the people, who had not forgotten the draft riots of 1863, very naturally had the right to expect with dread.

Franklin B. Gowen.
After a photograph by Gutekunst.

By the end of July the strike was virtually over; the strikers in some instances effected a compromise with their employers; and in others they resumed work without having gained any substantial addition to their compensation. The men on the Baltimore and Ohio line held out to nearly the last; and the second day of August had come before the very last of the stubborn strikers — those on the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern line — finally yielded and resumed work. United States troops were furnished to Maryland, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania at the call of the governors of those States; and these were most efficient in finally quelling the disorders that had prevailed. But it may be said that the fury of the mobs spent itself after a while, even when the National and State military authority was not invoked. The fire burned itself out.

End of the great railroad strike.

A natural and logical sequel to the railroad strikes of 1877 was that outbreak in the coal mining regions of Pennsylvania which soon after followed and spread its disastrous effects into the adjoining States. Just before this wretched business, the exposure of the so-called Mollie Maguire conspiracies had so far alienated the sympathy of all right-thinking people from the coal miners that the first whispers of their discontent did not receive the attention which they deserved. The Mollie Maguires were organized on a basis something like that which a kindred association in Ireland, in previous years, had employed. The Irish organization was a secret and lawless one for the purpose of terrorizing process-servers and others engaged in evicting tenants. The band wore a disguise of woman's dress; hence the name of Mollie Maguire. The Pennsylvania Mollie Maguires were organized to scare from the mining regions any men who presumed to work at lesser rates of wages than those prescribed by the miners' unions. From these bloodless antics it was an easy transition to the murder of objectionable contractors, overseers, and "bosses," the destruction by fire of the property of mining companies, and the mobbing of persons whose adhesion to the unions was thus made compulsory.

Murder, incendiarism, and robbery were the legitimate outcome of the machinations of the Mollie Maguires; and the general public, exasperated by the outrageous exactions of the "Coal Barons," who rated the output of their mines at arbitrary prices,

The Mollie Maguires.

looked on with indifference at the destruction of mining property, and even regarded the earlier infrequent acts of violence with cynical calmness. But when the crimes of the Mollie Maguires grew more frequent, bloody, and brutal, public indignation was deeply stirred. The credit of finally exposing this widely ramifying conspiracy and breaking into pieces its intricate machinery, is due to Franklin B. Gowen, at that time the president of one of the coal and iron companies operating in that region of the great State of Pennsylvania. Employing a young detective of phenomenal astuteness and coolness, James McParlan, Mr. Gowen eventually, after years of patient toil, study, and finesse, in which he "fought the devil with fire," introducing his agent into the secret councils of the murderers, succeeded in bringing the ringleaders to justice. Nine of these leaders were tried, convicted, and sentenced to death for murder; and a great number of men who were accessory to the frightful crimes for which the others were hanged were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of varying length. The bloody episode of the Mollie Maguires was ended just as the labor agitation of the years 1875, 1876, and 1877 was ready to culminate in riot and violence.

Discontent among the coal miners.

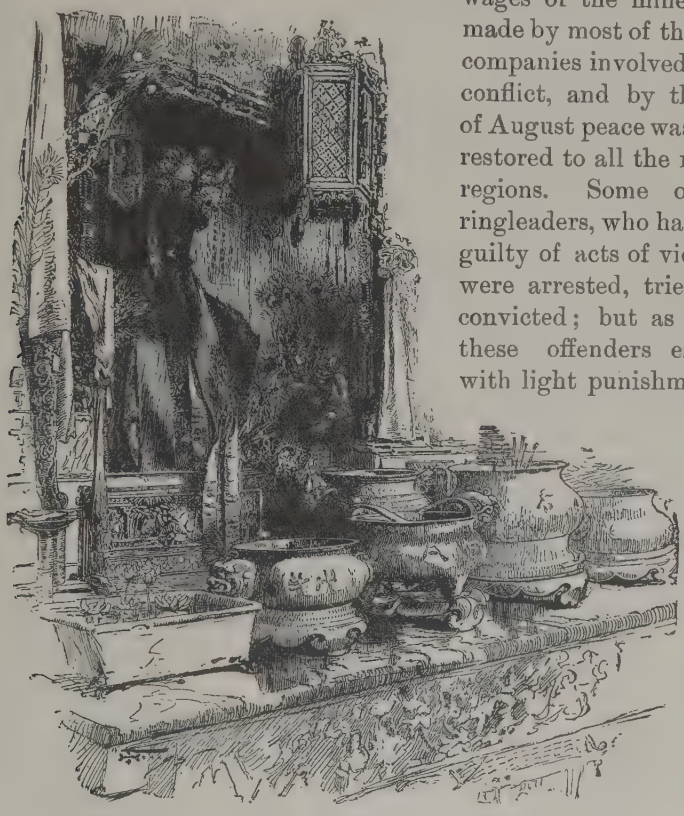
The complaints of the coal miners were identical with those of the railway employees. They were underpaid and in various ways were harassed beyond endurance. One of the bitterest grievances was "the company stores," establishments owned by their employers, at which they were forced to buy their family and personal supplies at rates which, as they declared, consumed all their wages and sometimes brought them into debt and bondage to their employers. Their presentation of their wrongs was certainly forcible, and, if they had not been so lately implicated in the shocking crimes of the Mollie Maguires, would have sooner won them the sympathy of the whole people. By the end of July, 1877, at least 40,000 coal miners were out on a strike in the coal regions of Scranton, Pennsylvania; and lesser strikes were reported in all of the coal mines of the western part of the State. The strikers readily passed into a mutinous and riotous condition; trains on the railways were stopped; mobs took control of towns scattered through the heart of the mining regions; company stores were broken into and robbed, and there was even bloodshed in several places, notably in Scranton, where three or four rioters were killed by a volley from a citizens' vigilance committee.

As was the case with the railroad strike, the disorder spread from Pennsylvania into other States, West Virginia, Maryland, and Illinois being seriously affected by these tumults. The coal-heavers of Bergen Point, New Jersey, struck for higher wages; and some of the

railroad men who had lately returned to work were involved in the general turmoil.

This demonstration of organized labor was on the whole successful. When the general public fairly understood the merits of the case, they sympathized with the strikers in their complaints. It was evident that the miners had been subjected to unjust oppressions and exactions; and that they were insufficiently paid. Outside aid was sent to them during the strike; provisions and money were given to enable them to sustain themselves during the struggle, and in the end the mining corporations generally acceded to the terms demanded by the miners. An advance of ten per cent. in the wages of the miners was made by most of the great companies involved in the conflict, and by the end of August peace was again restored to all the mining regions. Some of the ringleaders, who had been guilty of acts of violence, were arrested, tried, and convicted; but as a rule these offenders escaped with light punishment.

A successful strike.



God in Joss Temple, "Chinatown," San Francisco.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph by Taber.

Another form of labor agitation was the anti-Chinese movement which attracted the attention of the country during the following year. In the early days of migration to California, when the wonderful discoveries of gold in that famous El Dorado of the Pacific

coast excited the cupidity and adventure of the civilized world, the thrifty Chinese were among the first to land on the golden shores of this new Promised Land. Their picturesque costumes added to the cosmopolitan effect of the first California Fourth-of-July procession; and the early pioneers regarded these Asiatic adventurers with a certain pride in the magical development of the country which, in a short space of time, had "drawn all men unto it." The romance and the picturesqueness faded when it was found that the industrious and peaceful Chinaman was a competitor with the white man in the race for wealth. The Chinese laborer, it was complained, worked for less wages (and did more and better work) than the white laborer. It was argued that as he was a pagan, of doubtful morals, and greatly given to economies that did not recommend him to other producers and dealers, he was a highly objectionable addition to the population of the country.

Growth of the anti-Chinese party.

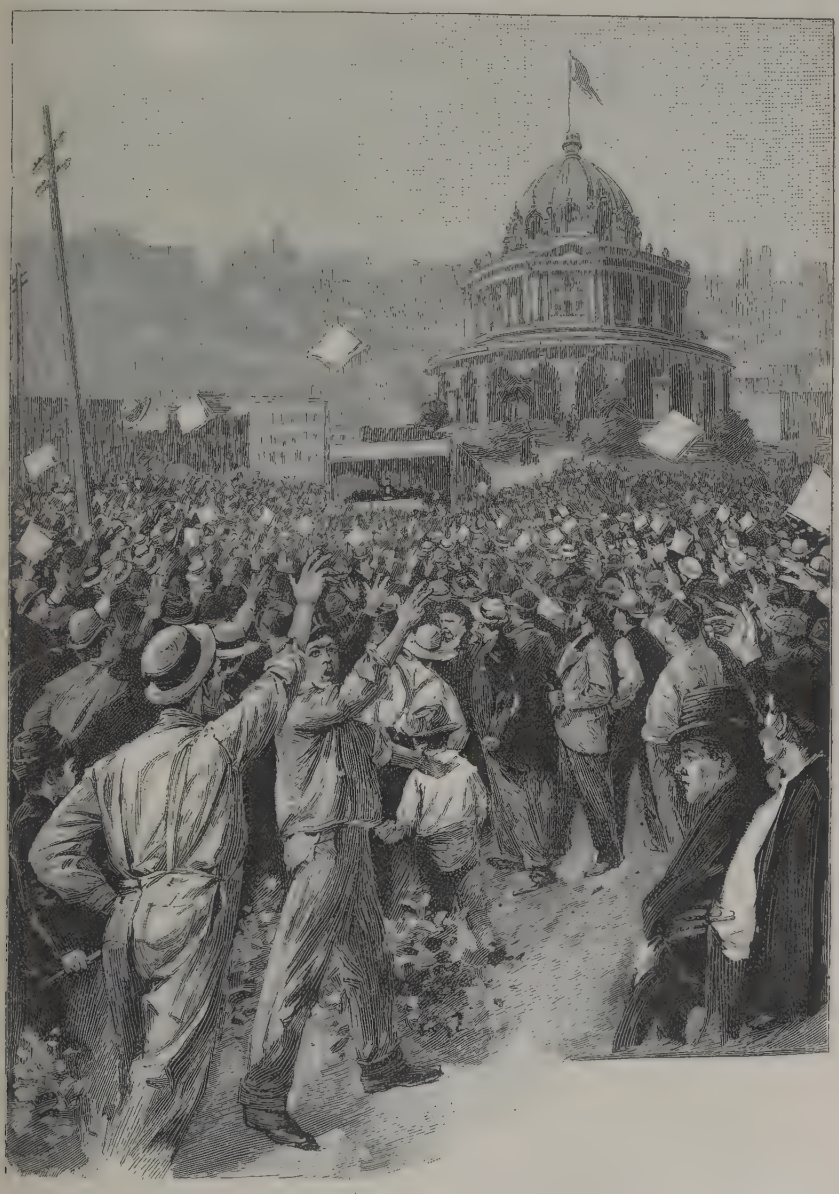
This hostility became so intensified that secret associations were formed for the purpose of discouraging Chinese immigration and of taking measures to drive out those who were already in the State. In May, 1877, five Chinamen were deliberately murdered in Chico, Butte County, by a band of men who were members of an organization known as the Anti-Chinese and Workingmen's Association. The exposure of the workings of this society and the indictment of its leaders led to its disbandment. During the year there were occasional instances of brutal and unprovoked attacks upon small Chinese communities in the outskirts of California towns and cities; and during the railroad riots, as has already been noted, the fury of the mobs was chiefly directed against the Chinese residents of San Francisco, as if these people were the cause of all the ills of the workingmen.

Congress asked to interfere.

Congress was memorialized on the subject of Chinese immigration by the legislature of California, the memorial setting forth in strong language the alleged evils of that class of immigration. The State legislature also passed a series of resolutions bearing upon the subject, instructing the California Senators and Representatives in Congress to take such action as would, by amending the Burlingame and other treaties with China, stop the flow of Chinese migration to American shores. In the mean time, the Chinese Govern-

Denis Kearney.

ment was taking steps to secure closer diplomatic relations with the United States Government, and in September, 1878, an embassy, the first permanent establishment of the kind in America, arrived in



Engraved by C. A. Powell.

A MEETING ON THE SAND LOT.

Drawn by B. W. Clinedinst from photographs, and a description by Kearney himself.

Washington, and with much ceremony and oriental gorgeousness waited upon President Hayes and took quarters in a handsome legation building in the city.

Congress, at the next session following these events, passed a severe bill aimed at Chinese migration which made it mandatory on the Executive Department of the Government to abrogate so much of existing treaty stipulations as permitted unlimited immigration of Chinese subjects, and imposing heavy penalties on those persons who should bring to our shores any of the inhibited classes of immigrants. President Hayes vetoed this bill on the ground that it violated the faith of the Nation and that a sudden abrogation of the treaties would work hardship to Americans resident in China.

In the early part of the following year, 1878, great excitement prevailed in California on account of the violent and incendiary language which characterized the proceedings of workingmen who assembled every Sunday on certain vacant lots on the outskirts of the city of San Francisco, known as the Sand Lot. Here the assemblies were harangued by the leaders of the workingmen, one Denis Kearney being chiefly distinguished for the fervor of his rhetoric and the

Types of the Official Class. The Chinese Consulate in San Francisco.
Drawn by A. F. Jaccaci from a photograph by Taber.

Dining Room of a Chinese Restaurant in Washington Street, San Francisco.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from photographs by Taber.

sound and fury of his speeches. This man, who was a working drayman, exhibited much power in his addresses and in his management of his followers; and with a certain cynical enjoyment of his own recklessness, he invariably began and concluded his orations with the four words, "The Chinese must go." This saying eventually became the slogan of the "Sand Lotters;" and when their leader had been arrested, tried, and convicted on the charge of having used language "with intent to incite a riot," and subsequently released after a short imprisonment, his disciples drew him in triumph through the streets of San Francisco on his own dray. Kearney exhibited a great deal of skill in his despotic management of the Workingmen's party, of which he was leader. Under his guidance, the party was eventually able to secure from the State a new constitution which, while it was a queer conglomeration of communistic and agrarian notions, did not by any means work out for the friends of organized labor that great deliverance from their manifold ills which it was expected to bring forth. Kearney went to New York on express invitation; but he failed to arouse any enthusiasm. His sand-lot vehemence was out of place in Union Square; and when

Denis Kearney and his sand-lot followers.

he returned to California, he found his leadership gone from him; and he soon disappeared under the troubled surface of local politics.

A negro exodus.

A singular and even mysterious movement began among the colored people of several of the Southern States during the early summer of 1879. Suddenly, and without any apparent reason, the negroes of these States, chiefly those bordering on the Mississippi River, manifested a vague uneasiness at their social and industrial condition. They complained that their rights were withheld from them; that the Indians of the West were coming in to take their lands, and that their only safety was to be found in migration. Bands of these poor people, loaded down with their personal effects, after the sale of their small holdings and stock, moved up the river in the direction of St. Louis, hoping to find a new Canaan somewhere on the western side of the great stream. The excitement spread, and by the first of August more than 7,000 of these "exodusters," as they were called, had encamped on the soil of Kansas. The people of that State were wholly unprepared to take care of the poverty-stricken and panic-stricken victims of this new and unexpected exodus, and the charity of the people of other States was invoked to provide food and shelter for them. A relief society was formed in Kansas, and the alms liberally contributed were expended in building barracks and buying provisions for the refugees. The mayor of St. Louis, alarmed by the flood of houseless and penniless negroes that poured along the banks of the Mississippi, issued a proclamation warning the "exodusters" from that city, and advising them that they would find there neither food, shelter, nor means to reach the next stage in their northward migration. The white people of the South took no steps to check this strange movement; and after a few months had passed and the new Canaan was not found, the excitement died out and the migration ceased.

The Southern States were again visited during this summer by an epidemic of malignant yellow fever. The plague was first brought to New Orleans from Havana by a steamer that arrived in May, 1878. The first outbreak of the fever in New Orleans disclosed the uncommon malignance of its character. As soon as the disease was declared epidemic there was a general flight of the inhabitants of the city, and the infection was carried to numerous points in Louisiana and Mississippi. Other and more distant States were infected, the plague reaching as far northward as Cincinnati, and devastating towns and cities in Alabama and Tennessee. The disease was at its climax about the end of September, and after that date its virulence slowly abated until the coming of the autumnal frosts, when it practically disappeared. During its reign there were fully 24,000 cases

THE GREAT CURVE OF THE MANHATTAN ELEVATED RAILWAY AT 110TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

Drawn from nature by Otto H. Bacher.

of yellow fever in New Orleans, 3,977 of which were fatal. The usual means and appliances for burying the dead were inadequate to the demand; gloom reigned over the city; music and the ringing of bells was prohibited, and for the time all commerce and trade were suspended.

The scourge of yellow fever.

The cities of Vicksburg and Memphis were depopulated early in the panic that prevailed, and of the few left in the last-named city no fewer than 1,300 were stricken down by the fever. So great was the demand for medical assistance, supplies, and delicacies for the sick that a loud call for help was sounded in the cities of the North, and prompt responses came in the shape of money, physicians, nurses, clothing, wines, and articles specially needed for the sick. The cash donations from American cities amounted to nearly $370,000; and from Paris, London, Liverpool, and Havana came a contribution of nearly $14,000. This generous outpouring was maintained as long as the pressing necessities of the situation in the South demanded; and when the fever was checked and the figures were reckoned up, it was found that the harvest of death had gathered in no less than 13,911 lives during the prevalence of the epidemic.

Notwithstanding the severity of the frosts of the next succeeding winter, the germs of the fatal disease were not destroyed, and early in the summer of 1879 it reappeared with all its virulence in Memphis, where, as before, there was an instant movement of the population from the city. The sanitary condition of Memphis was deplorable, and the disorganization which had characterized the municipal management during the preceding summer had not yet been reduced. During the five months beginning with July there were 1,532 cases of yellow fever in Memphis, of which 485 were fatal. A rigid quarantine and other extraordinary means of defence were adopted in New Orleans; but in spite of all precautions, the dreaded disease appeared there July 26th, the first case being that of a seaman who arrived at the port from Rio Janeiro. Four other cases were imported from Morgan City; but the fell disease did not prove so deadly as during its visitation of the previous year. The total number of cases in New Orleans this summer was only forty-one, of which nineteen were fatal. But the business of the city suffered severely for the time; notwithstanding the skill and vigilance maintained by the people of the city in warding off the pestilence, there was a very general apprehension throughout the country that the city was liable to be swept by death before the summer should close. The prevalence of the yellow fever during the summer did not attract so much attention as it did during the previous year. There was not so urgent a call for help from the fever-stricken cities of the South.

There was a revival of partisan bitterness when Congress met in special session, March, 1879. Both houses were now Democratic, and at the previous regular session the Democratic majority had refused to pass the customary army appropriation bill without adding to it a "rider,"[1] which was virtually another bill to repeal the general election law of 1872. The general election law was one of the reconstruction acts designed to place the control of elections (particularly in the Southern States) in the hands of the National Government. It made elaborate provision for the employment of United States marshals and their deputies, and for the calling in of the military arm of the Government in certain emergencies. This law was enacted by means of a "rider" attached to the civil appropriation bill passed in the summer of 1872; but the friends of the law resisted with great vehemence the employment of a similar device to repeal the statute when the Democratic majority, in 1879, attempted to get rid of the obnoxious general election law. The persistence of the Democrats left the army without means of subsistence; Congress adjourned without making any provision for the maintenance of the army, or of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the National Government, the efforts of the Democrats to add "riders" to the usual appropriation bills having produced this result.

Attempt to exclude U. S. troops from the voting places.

At the special session called by proclamation of the President, the Democrats persisted in their attempt to load the delayed appropriation bills with riders whose purpose was to amend the general election law in certain particulars. They appended to the army bill a rider repealing all provisions for the employment of military at the polls. The President vetoed the bill, and the Democratic majority in the House was not large enough to muster the requisite two-thirds vote to pass it over the veto. To the bill making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the Government they added a rider repealing the clause of the general election law that authorized Federal marshals to make arrests at the polls, and also to repeal the clause providing for the appointment of Federal supervisors for the counting of votes received at congressional elections. To a bill making certain appropriations for the purposes of the Federal judiciary they added a rider forbidding the payment of Federal marshals for services rendered "in connection with elections." They also passed a bill directly forbidding the employment of military forces of the United States at elections; that bill was designed to test the temper of the President before taking up the policy of forcing the executive branch of the Government to accede to the demands of Congress or submit to

[1] A provision having no relation to the subject-matter of the original bill.

Life-Saving Crew and Station at Jones' Beach, L. I., showing a McClellan Gun.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

a stoppage of supplies. All these bills were vetoed by President Hayes, and the struggle was prolonged until the first of July, when, the Democratic majority having sufficiently "made a record" on the much-discussed question of the employment of the military at the polls and the general supervision of elections by the Federal Government, their leaders agreed to pass the customary bills for the support of the Government without burdening them with any superfluous and extraneous matters. Accordingly, after a long and acrimonious contest had resulted in the final passage of the needed appropriations, Congress adjourned.

Useful inventions of the period.

During the administration of Mr. Hayes several notable inventions began to come into active commercial use in the United States. One of these was the telephone, which, from being a mere scientific toy, began as early as 1871 to attract the attention of practical men by the possibilities of its use in the transmission of business and commercial messages. Improvements made in 1877 and the next two succeeding years demonstrated the value of the invention, and before 1880 dawned the usefulness of the telephone had become an established fact. Another electrical invention, the electric light, excited much interested discussion in 1878, and there were indications that its use in towns and cities might be made possible after further experiments had wrought out the dormant energies of the force. Beginning with imported carbons in 1876, the American

The Jones' Beach, L. I., Life-Saving Crew.
(Beginning of Boat Drill.)
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph hitherto unpublished.

inventors and promoters of electric lighting very soon perfected and enlarged the processes and means of production, and, two years later, began the manufacture of exclusively American electric lighting machinery; and the new light began to displace the old in most of the principal cities and towns of the United States. In these and other appliances for the development and use of the electric forces Thomas A. Edison, an American inventor, who had risen from obscurity to a dazzling eminence, achieved great fame throughout the world by his startling experiments and inventions.

During the eventful year of 1878, too, several important engineering schemes, approaching completion in the United States, attracted the attention of scientists and engineers of other lands. One of these vast enterprises was the suspension bridge across the river between New York and Brooklyn. The project of constructing railways so far elevated above the surface of the streets that they could not interfere or be interfered with by ordinary metropolitan traffic, also came to a satisfactory completion and realization during these years. Work had been begun on the first elevated railway in New York in 1876. By the end of 1878 the system known as the Metro-

THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE.

Drawn from nature by Otto H. Bacher.

politan was in successful operation throughout the principal sections of the city.

Mention should be made also of the establishment, in 1878, of the first life-saving institution ever authorized and supported by any government. Life-saving establishments in other lands had been founded and maintained by private liberality; the United States Life-saving Service, established by act of Congress, June 18th, 1878, was the first exclusively governmental institution of the kind in the world. Congress from time to time had made small appropriations for life-saving stations along the coast-line and around the great lakes; but finally, in 1871, an appropriation of $200,000 was made at the instance of Mr. Boutwell, then Secretary of the Treasury. From this date there were constant additions to the means and appliances of the service, which was continued as a branch of the Revenue Marine; but in 1878, as aforesaid, a bill introduced by one of the most ardent and able supporters of the scheme, Representative S. S. Cox, of New York, became a law. Under it the life-saving service was formally and distinctly organized as an individual subdivision of the Treasury Department. It remains one of the noblest institutions of the United States Government.

The U. S. life-saving service.

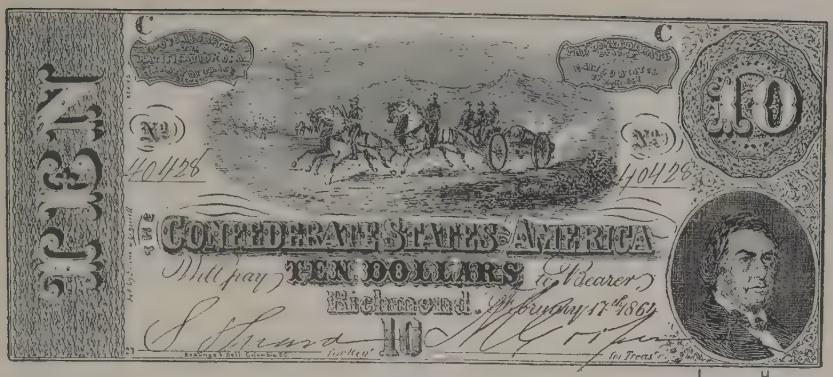
CHAPTER XXV.

UNITED STATES FINANCES FROM 1861 TO 1879.

ENORMOUS DEBT BURDENS ENTAILED BY THE CIVIL WAR. — DEVELOPMENT OF DEBT-PAYING POSSIBILITIES. — SECRETARY CHASE'S FINANCIAL POLICY. — GROWTH OF THE NATIONAL DEBT. — GRADUAL INCREASE OF THE VOLUME OF UNITED STATES SECURITIES. — CHANGING FINANCIAL CONDITIONS. — SUSPENSION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS. — DAYS OF GLOOM. — AN INFLATED CURRENCY. — FLUCTUATIONS IN THE PRICES OF AMERICAN STAPLES. — THE LAST GREAT LOAN OF THE WAR. — THE PUBLIC DEBT AT ITS MAXIMUM. — FLUSH TIMES OUTLAST THE WAR. — BLACK FRIDAY'S DISASTERS. — THE PANIC OF 1873. — RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS. — THE GREENBACK PARTY. — RESTORATION OF THE "DOLLAR OF OUR DADDIES."

AT this point it becomes desirable to review with some degree of minuteness the history of the United States during the war period and up to the time when specie payments were resumed by the Government. It is the most important chapter of the financial history of the Republic. In order to give a coherent statement of the facts which so materially affected the moral, social, and political conditions of the American people, it will be necessary to repeat some of the facts and incidents already set forth in preceding chapters of this history. Placed in their due chronological order there, they have enabled the reader to follow a continuous chain of events, and must be restated in this chapter as part of the narrative which includes one portion of the story of the Republic.

Compared with the debt burdens of the great powers of Europe, our own, previous to 1860, had been so light as hardly to deserve mention, but the next generation was to witness in the United States a debt-creating and debt-paying power without parallel in previous financial history. Inaugurated President in March, 1861, Mr. Lincoln named for Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. When, after some reluctance, Mr. Chase took his seat in the cabinet, he said, "I would gladly decline it if I might; I find it impossible to do so, however, without seeming to shrink from cares and labors for the common good which cannot be honorably shunned." A lawyer by profession, with powers of mind of a high order and of judicial cast, Mr. Chase was without special training for the arduous and



Confederate Ten-Dollar Bill.

responsible duties he was about to assume. On taking office he found the credit of the Government impaired at home and almost destroyed abroad. Revenue had been permitted to shrink without alarm, and apparently without creating concern. The public debt had been increased, although at the date of Mr. Lincoln's election it stood at what now seems the very moderate figure of less than $65,000,000. Expenditures had for some time exceeded revenue. The Treasury was empty — there was not money enough to pay members of Congress. Such was our financial condition when Congress assembled in extra session on July 4th, 1861.

Meantime civil war had been raging for many weeks. On April 12th South Carolina "fired the shot heard round the world," and precipitated a struggle the extent of which few were wise enough to foresee. At the outset, Secretary Chase shared in the cheerful view of his colleague, Secretary Seward, that the revolt against the National authority would soon be suppressed, and his policy was shaped to some extent by this conviction; but as time developed the true nature of the work before him, he rose to the occasion with masterful and vigorous ability.

The first problem confronting him was how and at what rate to raise money. Of course, none could be borrowed without authority of law. Such authority existed only by virtue of three enactments. The first, dated June 22d, 1860, empowered the Secretary to borrow $21,000,000 at six per cent. Mr. Cobb, his predecessor in the Treasury Department, had already secured of this amount over $7,000,000. The second and third acts became laws February 8th and March 2d, 1861. The February loan was for $25,000,000 at six per cent., $8,000,000 of which had been negotiated before Mr. Chase assumed his duties. The March loan was for $10,000,000, but was part of the tariff act of that date. An amend-

The first great war loans.

ment, or supplement, to this law provided that Treasury notes bearing not more than six per cent. interest might be substituted for any bonds authorized to be issued under these acts. These notes were the first Government paper circulating as money. They were not legal tender, but passed readily in all business transactions until the accumulated interest on them caused them to be hoarded by savings banks and other lenders of money.

The first proposal for a loan was made by the Secretary on March 22d; it was for $8,000,000. Bids for more than three times the amount were made, but some of them were as low as 85, and so many were below 90 that Mr. Chase accepted only $3,099,000, and issued the Treasury notes for the remainder. Both bonds and notes bore six per cent. interest. On May 11th proposals for the remainder of the loan authorized in February were invited. Bids for $7,310,000 were accepted at rates varying from 85 to 93 per cent., showing that the actual outbreak of hostilities had unfavorably affected the Government credit. Treasury notes were issued for the balance, the total amount of the loan being $8,994,000. When Congress convened, July 4th, the Secretary promptly laid before it his estimate of the appropriations required for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1862. They amounted to $318,519,581.87. There were three ways to raise this money — by borrowing, by customs dues, and by various methods of taxation. Secretary Chase fully explained his views as to these methods, the practical result being that one half the amount needed was to be raised by loans and the other half by a direct and indirect taxation. His recommendations were embodied in a loan and revenue bill which passed July 17th. It authorized the Secretary to borrow $250,000,000 on bonds bearing not over seven per cent. interest; or he could, if he deemed it advisable, issue Treasury notes of any denomination of not less than fifty dollars bearing $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. interest, and convertible at the option of the holder into twenty-year six per cent. bonds. The proportion of these notes that might be issued was left to the discretion of the Secretary. A supplemental act passed August 5th gave him authority to issue notes of as low a denomination as five dollars, but none below fifty dollars were to bear interest.

The first internal revenue laws.

The revenue bill provided for an increase of duty on tea, coffee, sugar, wines, spirits, silks, and many other articles. It also laid direct taxes, which were expected to yield not less than $20,000,000, and a tax of three per cent. on all incomes exceeding $800. The bills passed substantially as recommended by the Secretary, and were the first laws empowering him to borrow money. The necessities of the Government were pressing, and Secretary Chase at once made use of the power granted him. Congress

adjourned on the 6th of August. On the 9th he was at a meeting of New York bankers held for the purpose of raising funds for Government needs. At this meeting it was agreed that there should be an immediate issue of $50,000,000 seven-thirty Treasury notes bearing interest from August 15th. The banks of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston were to take this loan at par, with the privilege of $50,000,000 more on October 15th, and a like amount two months later. The people were solicited to subscribe, and no bank was permitted to take more than twenty per cent. of any one loan. These negotiations being completed, the Secretary returned to Washington, and to meet the pressing demands of creditors issued to them, or for cash, about $27,000,000 six per cent. Treasury notes, one half payable in sixty days and the remainder in two years. The associated banks took the second instalment of seven-thirties promptly. By agreement, the third $50,000,000 was issued to them in bonds bearing six per cent. interest, but at a rate that netted seven per cent. to the takers. At the same time an option was given to advance a fourth $50,000,000 on the same terms as the first and second, if required by the Secretary. Thus in the space of three months (the third loan being negotiated November 16th) the associated banks of the three cities had furnished the Government with $150,000,000. Vast as this sum seemed at the time, it was inadequate; and besides the issue of Treasury notes already noted, Secretary Chase had begun as early as August the issue of what were known as demand notes. Although receivable for duties on imports, these notes were at first discredited. Merchants, shopkeepers, railroads, and hotels received them with reluctance, or declined them positively, and many banks would take them only as a special deposit. To give them currency, officers of the Government signed a paper agreeing to accept them in payment of their salaries; yet these notes rose to a high premium, closely following gold, until they were all paid in for duties. As fast as so received they were cancelled and destroyed. The total amount of demand notes was $60,000,000. The Secretary also paid to public creditors what were known as debt certificates. Interest on those issued in 1861 was payable in gold, and on later issues in currency. These various loans and emissions completed the financial transactions of the Treasury for 1861. There was at times much friction between the Secretary and the bankers who came to his aid. He had a profound reverence for law, and could not be induced to sanction any acts or measures he thought illegal. It took him longer than it did an equally great lawyer — Secretary Seward — to learn that in war-time the law slumbers. Some of the bankers believed in the old adage that necessity knows no law. Government securities

The new demand notes.

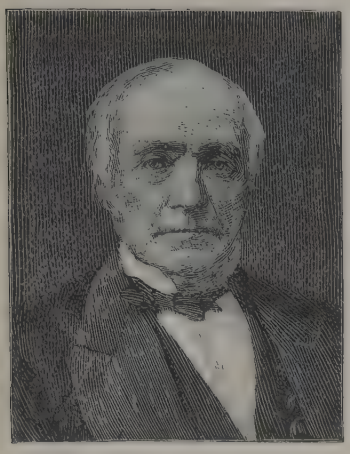
of all kinds soon became negotiable. Firms were organized for the special purpose of dealing in them, some of which are still in existence;[1] and before the 1st of January, 1862, signs conspicuously placed in brokers' windows in the large cities announced that they bought and sold Government issues of every description.

Financially and commercially, 1861 was a year of gloom and disaster. Only the soundest and strongest houses engaged in the Southern trade weathered the storm of civil conflict, and many succumbed who had not a dollar due them south of the Potomac and Ohio. The city of New York may be cited as a fair illustration of conditions in the North. Real estate shrank in many instances to half its previous value. Rents to a serious extent were uncollectible, and warehouses and dwellings were left without tenants. In many cases occupants were permitted to remain at a rate barely sufficient to pay taxes, insurance, and repairs. It was freely predicted that grass would grow in Broadway. The fee simple of improved property in Fifth Avenue and the upper part of Broadway was sold in a number of cases for less than its present[2] yearly rental. Stocks and products went down with a crash. To illustrate the vagaries of speculation and show the effect of war scares on prices, it is only necessary to state that cotton sold lower in 1861 than in 1860, and that wheat fell 25 cents a bushel when Sumter was fired on. The former staple sold in New York as high as $11\frac{3}{4}$ cents per pound in 1860, and as low as 10 cents the following year. The highest price for wheat in 1860 was $1.13; the lowest in 1861 (June and July) was 55 cents — Chicago quotations. To add to the prevailing gloom, a meeting of the officers of the associated banks of New York city was held on December 28th, at which it was resolved to suspend specie payments. The principal of the public debt on July 1st, 1860, was $64,842,287.88. On July 1st, 1861, it was $90,580,873.72, an increase for the fiscal year of $25,738,585.84.

The year 1862 was an important one in our financial history. It gave us the non-interest-bearing legal-tender Treasury note, commonly known as the greenback. A bill creating this currency was introduced in the House by E. G. Spaulding, of New York, on the 7th day of January; it was reported February 10th, and was passed, after much opposition and heated discussion, February 25th. The Treasury was so pressed for money that a bill authorizing a temporary loan of $10,000,000, introduced early in February, passed both houses within three days after it was drafted. Mr. Spaulding's bill authorized the issue of $150,000,000 legal-tender notes. Secretary Chase had doubts as to the constitutionality of the

The birth of the greenback.

[1] 1896. [2] 1896.



Lot M. Morrill.

measure, but ultimately yielded. He said: "I came to the conclusion that the legal-tender clause is a necessity with reluctance; but I do not hesitate when I have made up my mind, however much regret I may feel over the necessity of the conclusion to which I come." Men of unquestioned loyalty voted against the bill, Roscoe Conkling, of New York, and Senator Morrill, of Vermont, being among them. As passed, it authorized the issue of $150,000,000 in legal-tender notes. On July 11th, a further issue of like amount was authorized, and subsequent issues brought the total to $450,000,000, which was the fixed limit. Although now generally conceded to have been an act of wisdom as well as of necessity, the legal-tender bill was strongly opposed by an important minority of bankers, newspapers, and citizens of the North. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with leading bankers, had prepared a measure for raising money for the support of the Government without the objectionable legal-tender feature, which included a National banking system; but it failed to command the approval of the Ways and Means Committee of the House, and the legal-tender act was launched in its place.

The premium on gold rose slowly at first, and did not exceed ten per cent. until July. The real value of our small silver coins was about seven per cent. less than their face value, the object being to prevent hoarding or exportation, and to keep them in circulation; but before the end of the fiscal year — June 30th — they had practically disappeared. Then began one of the most serious and universal annoyances of the whole financial period of the war. Postage stamps became the subsidiary currency, and for a long time all payments below one dollar were made in that medium. More than a hundred millions of these stamps were issued within three months after the disappearance of subsidiary coins. To remedy the evil, an act was passed July 17th creating what was known as postal currency. It was issued in denominations of five, ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents. This currency was receivable for postage stamps at any post office, and was exchangeable for United States notes in sums of not less than five dollars. Its circulation, which reached a total of $20,215,635, began August 31st, 1862, and ceased May 27th, 1863. It was a great improvement over the postage stamp, but was not as desirable as the fractional currency which succeeded it.

Postal currency invented.

In addition to the legal tenders authorized by the act of February 25th, the Secretary was authorized to issue $500,000,000 coupon or registered bonds, bearing six per cent. interest, redeemable at the pleasure of the Government after five years, and payable twenty years after date. They were known as the five-twenty bonds. This closed the more important financial legislation of 1862. In his December report Secretary Chase said: "These measures have worked well; their results more than fulfilled the anticipations of the department. The rapid sale of the bonds aided by the issue of United States notes furnished the means necessary for the conduct of the war during that year."

The paternity of the greenback must be awarded to E. G. Spaulding; Secretary Chase was opposed to making it a legal tender; and later on, as Chief Justice, he joined with a majority of his associates on the Supreme Bench in deciding that feature of the note to be unconstitutional. He would hardly care to be called the father of an illegitimate offspring. A subsequent decision of the same court reversed that of the Chief Justice and his associates and sustained the legality of the act.

Very few people dispute the wisdom of making the greenback a legal tender. In order to sell bonds, there must be money to buy them, and without the floating power of currency they could have

Confederate Fifty Dollar Bill.

been marketed only at ruinous rates. Without the legal-tender feature the notes would have been repudiated by the timid and disloyal, would have been bought and sold at a discount varying with the premium on gold, and received by the banks only as a special deposit payable in kind. Secretary Sherman in his "Recollections"

says: "The passage of the legal-tender act was the turning-point in our physical and financial history. It would be difficult to measure the beneficial results that rapidly followed its enactment. At the beginning of 1862 we were physically strong but financially weak. The problem was not whether we could muster men, but whether we could raise money." The greenback solved the problem; but our critics abroad held quite different views. Lord Palmerston's organ, the "London Post," in its comments on the legal-tender act, said: "National bankruptcy is not an agreeable prospect, but it is the only one presented by the existing state of American finance. Never before did a flourishing and prosperous State make such gigantic strides towards effecting its own ruin." The debt-paying resources of the United States were very little understood in 1862, either at home or abroad. Toward the end of that year, a marked revival of business began to develop. Slowly but steadily the inevitable effect of paper money inflation dawned upon the minds of merchants, bankers, and speculators. Stocks and gold fluctuated rapidly, but with an average tendency toward higher prices. Exportable products followed the premium on gold. Warehouses and dwellings were again in demand, and tenants promptly met quarter-day. Almost every kind of merchandise was going up in the market. Cotton goods advanced because of the rapid rise of the raw material, and woollens on account of the great demand for the army. Yet the fluctuations and profits of 1862 were moderate compared with those which followed.

Greenbacks as legal tender.

In this year what was known as a "Chase Panic" first occurred. These panics were wholly financial, of short duration, and mainly confined to the stock market. They were brought about by the periodical appearances of Mr. Chase as a borrower. The banks, feeling themselves in honor bound to support the Government, took care of the Secretary and let speculators take care of themselves. Declines of from five to twenty points in stocks were not unusual during these spasms in the money market.

The feelings, habits, and mode of life of the people at the North underwent a material change in 1862. Men and women no longer carried the war as a personal weight upon their minds and consciences. They were not growing indifferent or disloyal, but philosophical, evincing a disposition to leave to the authorities at Washington and to the officers and men in the field the management of civil and military affairs. With some recovery from the shrinkages and losses of 1861, a disposition was shown to entertain and be entertained, and the year closed with a distinct improvement in the tone and temper of the people.

Cotton sold as low as 20 cents per pound in 1862, and as high as $52\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The lowest rate for wheat was $99\frac{1}{2}$ cents, the highest $1.34\frac{1}{2}$. Transportation rates were high, and railroad earnings good. It cost 42 cents to carry a bushel of wheat from Chicago to New York, or at the rate of 70 cents per hundred pounds. The increase in the public debt for the fiscal year was $433,595,538.41, legal tenders issued to July 1st $96,620,000, seven-thirty notes outstanding $122,582,485.

If the legal-tender act was the great financial measure of the war, the National Banking law, which was passed the following year, was no doubt next in importance. This act served a twofold purpose: it furnished the people with a safe, uniform circulation, based on public faith and private credit, and at the same time it created a demand for Government bonds. A bill was introduced by Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, early in January, 1863, to tax all existing bank circulation two per cent., and all fractional currency or "shinplasters," under the denomination of one dollar, issued by individuals, firms, or corporations, ten per cent. In the stress for small change following the disappearance of silver, a good deal of that sort of currency had been floated. This bill paved the way for the National Banking act, which was introduced by Senator Sherman January 26th. After much discussion and amendment, it became a law. The principal feature of this act was the privilege granted to the banks to issue their notes based on a deposit of United States bonds with the Treasury Department in Washington. Such notes were furnished to the banks free of expense. Long experience subsequently showed them to be as safe a form of currency as was ever issued. Except to determine the denomination, they were seldom looked at, and the issue of a bank in Maine became as current in Louisiana as the notes of the best banks in New Orleans. State bank issues were often not current outside of State lines, and sometimes not within them; and they were altered and counterfeited to such an extent as to entail constant loss on holders. The number of banks existing in 1862 was fifteen hundred. Of this number only about two hundred and fifty had escaped the clever attention of the counterfeiter. The penalty against that sort of industry was now made so severe that but few attempts have ever been made to counterfeit the National currency.

The National Banking law.

The first of the National banks was started in Philadelphia. Its certificate of organization is dated June 20th, 1863. On the same date certificates were issued to the First National Banks of New Haven and of Stamford, in Connecticut, and to the First National Bank of Youngstown, Ohio. Bankers were at

The first National bank chartered.

first slow to adopt the National system. It required them to surrender their names and be designated by a number. The name of an old and successful bank is a valuable trade mark; it commands business at home and abroad. An amendment was now passed which permitted existing banks to retain their names with the word "National" prefixed or added. As the advantages of the National system became recognized, many of the States passed laws to facilitate the reorganization of State banks under that system.

As the burdens of the war grew it became necessary to provide for a part of them by taxation. The cares and labors of the Secretary of the Treasury were too onerous to be increased; and as early as July, 1862, Congress, at his recommendation, created the Department of Internal Revenue and placed it in charge of a commissioner. Between that date and August, 1866, thirteen different acts were passed defining the powers and duties of the Commissioner, and prescribing the various taxes to be collected. They were derived principally from spirits, beer, and tobacco; but as the necessities of the Nation increased they were imposed by stamps and by levies on incomes and on nearly all domestic manufactures. On March 3d Congress empowered the Secretary to borrow $300,000,000 for the current year and $600,000,000 for the ensuing fiscal year. For these loans five per cent. bonds were issued, and known as ten-forties. The bonds were payable in forty years, but might be redeemed after ten years at the pleasure of the Government. The act also authorized a large increase of legal-tender notes and an issue of $50,000,000 fractional currency in denominations from three to fifty cents as a substitute for the postal currency heretofore described. These fractional notes remained in circulation until superseded by silver in 1876.

The first half of 1863 was a period of political gloom. On June 30th Lee was approaching Gettysburg, and Grant was still besieging Vicksburg. This of course had a depressing effect on the temperament and social life of the people at the North; but these clouds were soon to be dispelled. There was a new birth of freedom on July 4th, as there had been eighty-seven years before.

War prices and speculations.

Financially, the year was prosperous. The legal-tender and National banking acts made the floating of bonds a comparatively easy task and kept the Government finances in good order. It was thereafter only a question as to how great a burden the Nation was able to bear. The premium on gold fluctuated within moderate limits. The highest for the year was in February, when it reached $1.57\frac{7}{8}$; the lowest was in August, when it sold at $1.29\frac{3}{4}$. Dealers in merchandise and manufactures prospered; labor was fully employed and amply compensated. The

absence in the army of so many men between the ages of twenty and forty-five created a demand not easy to supply. Speculation in securities and products began to run riot; transportation rates were high and earnings increasing. Railway properties that had long lain dormant (some of which had required but one figure to quote their market price) began to feel the stimulating effect of paper-money issues, and rose rapidly, but not without frequent reactions. Secretary Chase periodically appeared in the market as a borrower, to the serious detriment of those who were overloaded with what are known as "fancy stocks;" yet many of these stocks eventually were laid away in the strong boxes of investors. Among these may be mentioned Harlem, Chicago and Alton, Fort Wayne, Cleveland and Pittsburgh, and Michigan Southern. Cotton sold as low as 51 cents and as high as 92 cents. The lowest and highest prices for wheat were 1.11 and 2.05. Such fluctuations afforded a field for operations quite as advantageous as the stock and gold markets. Extravagance of every sort kept pace with successful speculation. Money easily made is in a majority of instances liberally dispensed. The watering-places were thronged. Yachts abounded in New York and Newport harbors, and four-in-hands rolled down Fifth and Bellevue Avenues. Paper money was "in the air." It appeared to be only necessary to reach out in order to grasp it. It unquestionably brought in a style of living and scale of expenditure before unknown in the United States.

Gambling in gold.

The increase in the National debt for the fiscal year to June 30th was $595,595,726.50. The increase in greenbacks for the same period was over $200,000,000. There were also issued during the year one- and two-year notes, seven-thirties, and fractional currency, amounting to more than $125,000,000. Before the end of 1863 financial and commercial affairs had become inseparably bound up with political and military movements, and business was no longer a matter of shrewd calculation and wise foresight; it had degenerated into mere gambling on the wager of battle and the premium on gold. The year 1864 had not greatly advanced before many financiers and shrewd speculators began to see that the war was not yet over, and that the future had in store for the American people a further large increase in interest- and non-interest-bearing government promises. When Congress reassembled in January, 1864, after the holiday recess, a bill was introduced empowering the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow money and to issue in his discretion almost any kind of Government obligation therefor. Only a pressing exigency could justify granting such powers as these. The first act, passed March 3d, authorized a loan of $200,000,000; the second, which became a law June 30th, provided for the issue of $400,000,000 of bonds bear-

ing interest at a rate not to exceed six per cent., having forty years to run, but redeemable at the pleasure of the Government after five years. This loan was authorized for the reason that the ten-forty five per cents had met with a very slow sale, the demand being principally confined to banks desiring to organize under the National act. Something had to be offered that could be sold. The suspended requisi tions on the Treasury when the act of June 30th was passed were

Confederate Five Dollar Bill.

more than $130,000,000, much of which was due to the soldiers who bore arms.

Resignation of Secretary Chase.

It was in the midst of such a condition of financial affairs that Secretary Chase resigned his portfolio. As this chapter deals only with the finances, the Secretary must be spoken of only as a financier. From that point of view he must be accorded high praise; two of his contemporaries who succeeded him at a later date may be quoted. Hon. Hugh McCulloch, in his "Men and Measures of Half a Century," says: "If I were asked to designate the man whose services next to Mr. Lincoln's were of the greatest value to the country from March, 1861, to July, 1864, I should unhesitatingly name Salmon P. Chase." Senator John Sherman, in his "Recollections," says: "No one can question the wisdom of the management of the public debt by Secretary Chase." Although Mr. McCulloch sustains his high opinion of the services of Mr. Chase by able argument, it may be doubted whether the just judgment of mankind will place him above some of his associates in the cabinet, and certainly not above the great captains whose ability and valor preserved us a Nation.

William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, was offered the portfolio of the Treasury Department after it had been declined by Governor Tod, of

Mr. Fessenden, Secretary of the Treasury.

Ohio. He was an acute and logical lawyer, whose constitution was by no means robust, and whose powers of mind and mental perceptions were rendered ascetic and cynical by dyspepsia and general ill health. Such training as he had for the duties he assumed had been acquired as Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate. Treasury affairs were in a condition to throw gloom over the most optimistic temperament. Public credit was at its lowest ebb. Gold had sold at 2.85, making the price of United States six-per-cent. bonds less than 36 to the foreign buyer. Military affairs were not in a propitious state. The patient, unflinching soldier was "fighting it out on that line" with a prospect that it would take all summer, and all winter as well, to accomplish his object. Checked at Spottsylvania and North Anna, he was repulsed with tremendous slaughter at Cold Harbor, and was compelled to abandon the line, and swing around to the James River. It may well be believed that many besides the well-known editor of the "New York Tribune" were anxious to stop the effusion of blood.

These were the conditions that confronted Mr. Fessenden on his taking office. They were calculated to depress a man of more robust health and more cheerful temperament; but he met them with resolute ability. The unceasing demand was for money. The Treasury was empty, and suspended requisitions upon it were increasing daily; and as the National struggle intensified, the expenses grew until they had reached two and a quarter millions per day. It was no time for half-measures. Congress had given the Secretary all needful powers; and he used them. More than $130,000,000 additional legal tenders were issued during the fiscal year ending June 30th. Seven-thirty notes were sold to an enormous amount. The increase of these alone from July, 1864, to July, 1865, was more than $500,000,000. Bonds were also put on the market to the extent that they could be sold without depressing prices.

Strange to say, these conditions produced no general despondency. Everybody and everything felt the stimulus of an expanding currency. The farmer who got two dollars per bushel for wheat and a dollar for corn, ten cents a pound for live swine, and a dollar per pound for wool, cheerfully supported the war policy of the Government, and asked no questions so long as greenbacks would pay off mortgages and buy more land. He was of course a liberal consumer, and when the farmer is prosperous business of all kinds flourishes. Mr. James G. Blaine may be quoted as to the effect of the war upon business at the end of 1864. He says: "Money was superabundant; speculation was rife; the Government was a lavish buyer, a prodigal consumer. Every man who could work was employed at high wages;

every man who had commodities to sell was sure of high prices. The whole community came to regard the prevalent prosperity as the outgrowth of the war." Pessimists and prophets of evil were numerous. They quoted the French *assignats* and Continental money, and asserted with truth that no nation could long withstand the strain which the American Republic was then under, or the burdens it was accumulating. Fortunately this strain was soon to be relaxed and the burdens lifted; but wise business men knew there would be a day of reckoning, though very few believed it would be postponed for nearly a decade.

The highest rate for gold was 2.85, July 11th; the lowest 1.51½, January 6th. The extreme quotation was the result of an unwise law forbidding all speculative purchases or sales. This law was soon repealed. The premium, however, continued high, and gold was 2.33½ on January 4th, 1865. The highest price for cotton was 1.89; the lowest was .68; the extremes for wheat were 1.53½ and 2.66½; stocks fluctuated as rapidly and as widely as products. Extravagance pervaded all classes from the millionnaire merchant, banker, and speculator, to the farmer and day laborer. The ardor of volunteer patriotism having cooled, enormous bounties were paid to any one willing to go to the battle front in a soldier's uniform, and men who had never before possessed one hundred dollars at any time in their lives could be found with half a dozen bills of that denomination in their pockets. The principal of the public debt increased for the fiscal year $696,012,231.94; there were issued for the same period $133,411,556 in greenbacks, $64,591,975 in one- and two-year notes, and $31,235,270 in National Bank currency.

Flush times in the United States.

The year 1865 began as the previous year had ended, with heavy demands on the National Treasury and continued sales of bonds and other interest-bearing securities to meet them. So much clamor had been raised about the profits of the banking house through whose agency Mr. Chase had negotiated many of his loans, that Secretary Fessenden determined to try another method. He appealed to the National banks to assist in floating loans, but found the scheme impracticable; and he had recourse again to Messrs. Jay Cooke & Co. The last great loan of the war was authorized by an act dated March 3d, 1865. It empowered the Secretary to borrow $600,000,000, and to issue therefor bonds or Treasury notes at his discretion. At the same time, an internal revenue act was passed modifying existing laws and adding to the schedule many articles not previously taxed. This law notably increased the tax on tobacco; it also laid a tax of "ten per cent. on the amount of any notes of any State bank or State banking association paid out by them after the first day of July, 1866." This effectually drove such notes out of circulation and gave

a powerful impetus to the organization of banks under the National system.

Mr. Fessenden resigned his post as Secretary of the Treasury about the time of Mr. Lincoln's second inauguration. He had accepted the office with great reluctance. He was not physically strong, his duties were laborious and distasteful, and his desire was to return to the Senate. The business of assisting in making laws was more agreeable to him than the details of their execution. He was succeeded by Mr. Hugh McCulloch, who had for some time been Controller of the Currency. Mr. McCulloch was the only trained financier who held the Treasury portfolio during the war period. Whether he conducted the business of his office with greater ability than his predecessors and some of those who succeeded him, is an open question. He had been in office less than two months when a very great burden was lifted from his shoulders by the success of the Union arms at Appomattox. Thereafter he had only to address himself to the task of disposing of Government securities sufficient to meet the demands upon the Treasury. This task was accomplished with so much success that before the first day of August, 1865, more than $500,000,000 of seven-thirty notes were sold, and every requisition on the Treasury and every matured obligation of the Government was paid.

Another change in the Treasury.

On taking office Secretary McCulloch caused a thorough investigation to be made by competent accountants of the departments under his charge. This examination disclosed the fact that there had been no over-issues of Government notes or bonds, that all interest-bearing securities sold had been paid for, and that the Government had sustained no loss through the dishonesty or incompetency of its agents or employees.

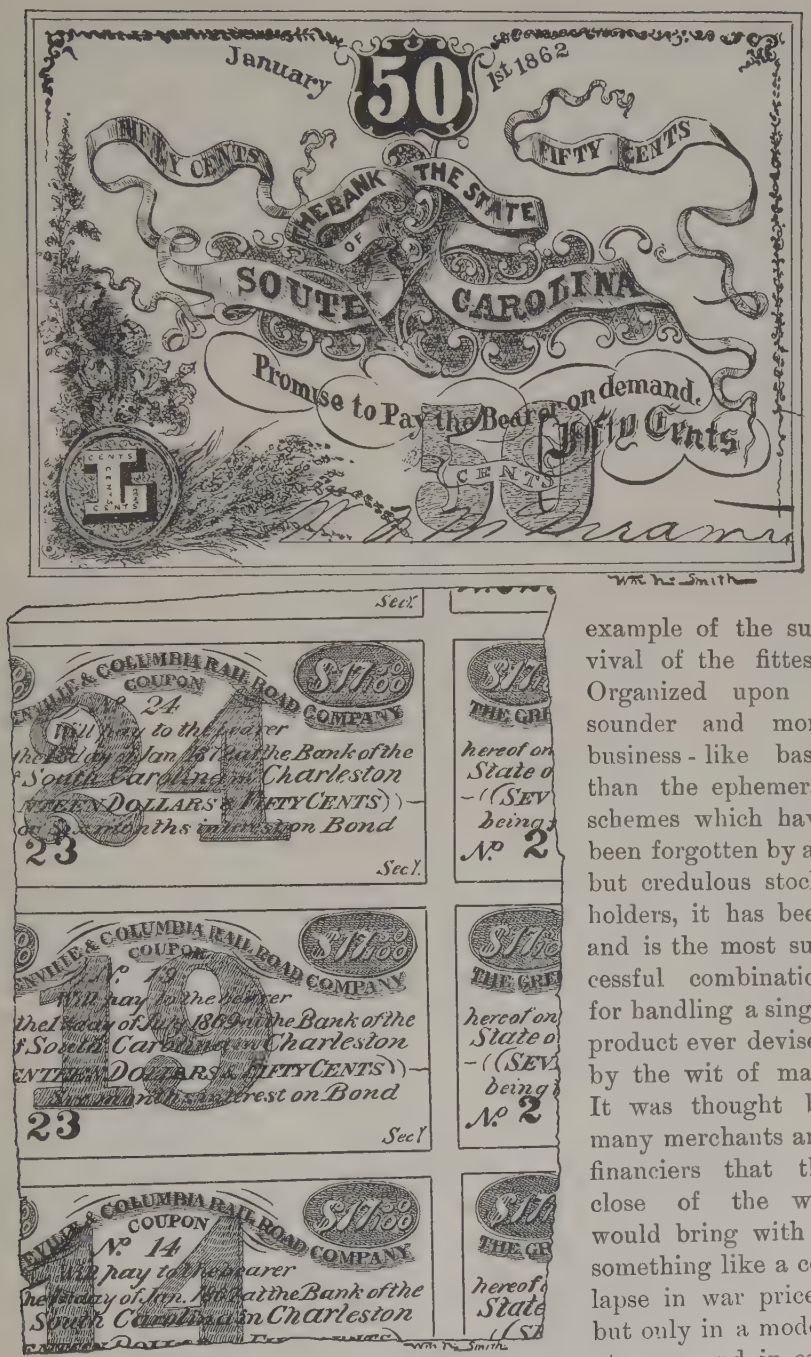
The public debt reached its maximum on September 1st, 1865, the total, according to the Secretary, being $2,845,907,626.56. Of this amount more than $1,100,000,000 was in funded obligations. Of the remainder about $1,200,000,000 could be paid at the option of the Government or within a brief period; the balance consisted mainly of legal-tender notes and fractional currency, of which there was outstanding over $459,000,000.

Public debt at high water mark.

Paper money was the prolific promoter of joint-stock schemes during the war period. As early as 1862 enterprises of this sort were brought forward, and before the end of 1865 hundreds of mining and petroleum companies swelled the list of speculative shares in half a dozen Northern cities. Of the oil companies but one, the Standard, is still[1] in existence, a marvellous

Flush times after the war.

[1] 1896.



A South Carolina Fifty-cent Bill printed on the Back of a Railway Bond.

example of the survival of the fittest. Organized upon a sounder and more business-like basis than the ephemeral schemes which have been forgotten by all but credulous stockholders, it has been and is the most successful combination for handling a single product ever devised by the wit of man. It was thought by many merchants and financiers that the close of the war would bring with it something like a collapse in war prices; but only in a moderate way, and in con-

ditions directly affected by the premium on gold, was this expectation realized. Gold fell on the 11th day of May, 1865, to 1.28⅝, but did not again, with one exception, touch so low a point until 1869. In many departments there were no surplus goods. The new South and a million discharged men in the North were to be supplied. The South was to a great extent impoverished, but was not wholly bankrupt. She had her lands and her ability to produce cotton and sugar, and a few of her citizens had current money. The discharged soldiers and sailors in the North had ready cash and numerous wants. The result was that instead of depression and decline, there was activity and advance in many commodities.

Finding that the close of the war did not bring financial or commercial disaster, the people of the North were hopeful and buoyant. With scarcely a jar upon the National nerves or a ripple on the calm surface of affairs, they saw a million veteran soldiers lay down their arms and return to peaceful pursuits. Distrust vanished, and confidence reigned. Money was abundant, easily acquired, and liberally disbursed.

The increase of the public debt for the fiscal year was $864,863,599.17. National bank issues increased $125,000,000. Highest and lowest quotations for gold were 2.33 and 1.28⅝; for cotton 1.82 and .83⅜; for wheat 2.20 and 1.36½.

The war being over and the Government debt having reached its highest point, fiscal affairs must hereafter be treated in chronological order, but not with the same attention to detail as heretofore. The opinion was generally held at the close of the war that a National debt was a burden to be lifted from the shoulders of the people as soon as possible. Many went further and looked on it as a badge of dishonor and insolvency. They could see no difference between a nation that could not and did not pay its debts and an individual in a similar position. The American people were so unaccustomed to such a burden that it was regarded by many with humiliation as something like an unpaid personal obligation. These opinions were shared to a great extent by the Secretary of the Treasury; and as early as December, 1865, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 144 to 6, "concurred in the views of the Secretary regarding the necessity of a contraction of the currency," and on the 12th of April, 1866, a law was enacted authorizing him to withdraw from circulation and cancel ten millions of legal-tender notes within six months from the date of the enactment, and thereafter at the rate of not more than four millions in any one month. This, as the Secretary says, "was not what I wanted," and in his report of December in the same year, he recommended contraction at the rate

Proposed contraction of the currency.

of six millions per month for the remainder of the fiscal year, and at the rate of ten millions per month thereafter. Such power was not granted him, and on the 4th day of February, 1868, an act was passed depriving the Secretary of all further power to contract the currency. While there may be a few financiers of the old school who approve the views of Secretary McCulloch regarding the retirement and cancellation of the legal tenders, a great majority of the people have held the opinion that that policy was unwise, and if persevered in as recommended by him would have proved ruinous. The ship of state, heavily laden with financial burdens, floated upon the currency. The policy of the Secretary was to withdraw the floating power and leave the vessel stranded.

It did not take an intelligent people very long to get rid of the notion that a National debt is a National disgrace, and irredeemable notes a National dishonor. Only gold and silver are money. The greenback is a promise to pay. Since 1879 that promise has been redeemed in gold. The policy of Secretary McCulloch was calculated to postpone if not to defeat such redemption. He would have drained the patient of his last drop of blood, and then bade him stand upon his feet. Under his administration Government obligations bearing seven and three tenths per cent. interest were increased to $830,000,000, and bonds bearing six per cent. issued to the extent of $638,000,000. These rates were the direct result of the stringency in the money market caused by his withdrawal and determination to continue to withdraw and cancel non-interest-bearing legal-tender notes. With money worth a quarter of one per cent. per day, no one wanted Government securities even at seven and three tenths per cent. per annum. The total cancellation of greenbacks was less than $50,000,000. Twenty-six millions were reissued in 1873 for the purpose of checking the financial panic of that year, leaving the amount outstanding on the 1st day of July, 1874, $382,000,000.

Nothing of special importance occurred during the remainder of Mr. McCulloch's administration of the Treasury Department. The funding of seven-thirty notes into bonds bearing a lower rate of interest, though interrupted at times by stringency in the money market, was on the whole so successful as to reduce the volume of such notes more than $500,000,000 during his incumbency. The public debt was also reduced about $200,000,000. Aside from his views regarding the contraction of the currency and the fact that he did not address himself to the task of reducing the rates of interest paid during the war, Mr. McCulloch's management of his department was conservative and able. President Andrew Johnson had no financial views, and left to his Secretary the entire conduct of Treasury affairs.

The National debt reduced.

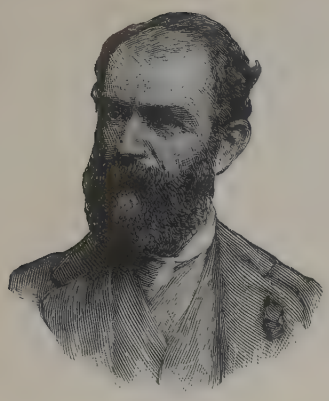
The wish of the people to extinguish the National debt was so general at the close of the war that a leading New York journal proposed to pay it by popular subscription, advocating this method day after day in its columns, and heading the list with an offer of one million dollars. It was no doubt this state of feeling on the part of so many citizens that led them to bear without complaint the most extraordinary imposts ever laid upon any people. The internal revenue collected for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1866, was $310,906,984, a larger sum than was ever drawn from the resources of any nation by internal taxation in any year. Internal Revenue Commissioner Pratt in his report for that year says: "We may search in vain in our own history or in that of other nations for such an example of patience and patriotism as was shown by our people in the payment of these unparalleled burdens." Foreigners marvelled and sympathized. Their astonishment was real; their sympathy was hollow. Having seen all their predictions of evil come to nought, they would have rejoiced if we had crushed ourselves by these self-imposed burdens. But they were not to be gratified. Taxation was not levied by hereditary rulers without the consent of the taxed; a patriotic and willing people were taxing themselves. And though it doubtless would have been wise to have left part of these burdens to posterity, they were never at any time beyond the ability to bear. There has been paid by the people of the United States since the internal revenue law was enacted nearly five thousand millions of dollars in such taxes.

A wonderful exhibit of debt-paying resources.

General Grant was inaugurated President of the United States March 4th, 1869. His confidence in himself and his attachment to his friends was shown at the outset, and has been alluded to in preceding chapters of this history. For the Treasury Department he named A. T. Stewart, a well-known New York merchant, but his ineligibility to hold the office having been established by reference to existing laws, Mr. George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, was nominated and confirmed in his place. Mr. Boutwell had been but a few months in office when the speculation in gold began which culminated in the famous "Black Friday" panic of the following September.

This speculation at first had no other object than to engineer a rise in the premium on gold, sell out at the advance, and pocket ample profits. The original parties in the pool were Jay Gould, Arthur Kimber, and William S. Woodward. Mr. Gould was born in Delaware County, New York. He began life by inventing a trap to catch mice, and ended by setting traps for bigger game. He went to New York city in 1866 with a fair amount of capital which he had accumulated as a railway contrac-

Jay Gould and his confrères.



Jay Gould.

tor, and in other enterprises. He first captured the Erie Railway Company, then caught Commodore Vanderbilt in a speculation in that stock, and, as will hereafter be seen, followed that masterstroke by entrapping the President of the United States in a scheme "to benefit the producing interests of the country" by advancing the premium on gold. His subsequent career furnishes one of the darkest pages of American financial history. Mr. Addison Cammack, who knew him well, said of him, "He was a century plant." It may be hoped so, for one like him in a hundred years is sufficient.

"The Blonde Prince of Erie," James Fisk, Jr., Mr. Gould's associate, was a native of Vermont. His father was a peddler of dry goods and "Yankee notions," who brought up his son to that itinerant pursuit. An idea of the wit and humor of the younger man may be gained from an anecdote. The older Fisk had sold to a farmer's wife two yards of gingham at six and a quarter cents per yard. The colors, which were warranted not to fade, disappeared at the first washing. Encountering the younger Fisk not long after, the irate woman said to him, "Do you think any man ought to tell a lie for twelve and a half cents?" To which the junior promptly replied, "No; but he might be justified in telling eight for a dollar." Young Fisk went to Boston, where he became a partner with a very small interest in a well-known dry-goods house. Leaving Boston in 1865, he went to New York with a moderate amount of money and established a stock-brokerage firm. In this firm the scheme was laid to capture the Erie Railway Company; and there began the intimacy between Gould and Fisk which resulted in their becoming the "Robert Macaire" and "Jaques Strop" of their day. A writer of the time described Fisk as "the drollest rogue that ever stole a railroad."

Of the other members of this combination, Kimber was the agent of a wealthy Hebrew banking firm in London. His operations either for them or for his own account were of formidable proportions. Woodward was a well-known and bold operator of the war period. Long before the culmination of the "deal," Mr. Gould's plans became too far reaching and gigantic for his associates, and they withdrew, leaving the laboring oar in his hands until he was joined by his fellow-schemer, James Fisk, Jr. It had for a long time been the custom of the Government to supply needed gold to importers and others who

had a legitimate use for it by sales of $1,000,000 per month. Any one could bid for such gold, and the amount was awarded to the highest bidder or bidders. These sales interfered seriously with Gould's speculations, and as early as June his fertile brain had conceived a plan by which he hoped to convince those in authority that it would be for the best interests of the whole country, and especially for the planters and farmers, that such sales should be suspended until American exportable goods were marketed in the autumn. Gould was *facile princeps* in the art of proselyting for any scheme in which he was interested; and there is little doubt that his persistent appeals on behalf of the growers of cotton, wheat, and corn, and the producers of petroleum, had a marked effect on many business men whose common sense should have told them that the Erie conspirator was not a philanthropist, and that the attempt to put a fictitious value on the great products of the country must end in disaster. No one would deny that if the premium on gold had advanced from natural causes and had given evidence of maintaining such advance, exportable products would have brought more money in currency; but when, as was well known, the premium was forced and fictitious, no one dared touch a bale of cotton or bushel of wheat lest the forced premium might, as it did, suddenly fall ten to twenty points. The result of Gould's specious plea for the agricultural interests was to paralyze them while his gold speculation lasted, and, after the crash, to compel producers to take lower prices than would probably have been current if the market had been uninfluenced by any but natural causes.

Attempts to force up the price of gold.

The first attempt to convince President Grant that a suspension of gold sales would benefit the great producing interests of the country was made on the occasion of his visit to Boston in June to attend the great Peace Jubilee. Fisk and Gould at that time controlled the Newport and Fall River line of steamboats, and General Grant was their honored guest. Fisk was master of ceremonies. A costly supper was provided for a select few, and there were guests who could and did talk governmental finance and its effects on the commercial interests of the country. Gould took the ground that the Government ought

James Fisk, Jr.

to let the gold market alone, and let that commodity find its commercial level; that if the Government did anything it ought to facilitate an upward movement in the autumn, when surplus products were being marketed. No conclusion satisfactory to Gould was reached during the trip; but his efforts to convince others that sales of gold should be stopped were tireless, and to some extent successful. Few men have ever possessed such ability to create and control public sentiment. The President's mind was no doubt influenced, for not long thereafter sales of gold were suspended by his order. Gould and Gen. Grant.

About this time Mr. Abel R. Corbin came upon the scene and at once took an active part in furthering Gould's interest. Corbin was the President's brother-in-law, his wife and Mrs. Grant being sisters. He had been a lobbyist in Washington, and had the persuasive tongue and plausible ways of his class. Gould said of him: "He was a very shrewd old gentleman; he saw at a glance the whole case." Corbin presented "the whole case" to the President in such a convincing way that he soon received assurance that Secretary Boutwell during the autumn would discontinue sales of gold. At a later interview between General Grant, Corbin, and Gould, the President said to them, "Boutwell gave an order to sell gold, and I heard of it and countermanded the order." Hearing this from his own lips, Gould saw no chance of failure unless the President should change his mind. On this point he was apprehensive, and soon after dispatched his henchman, Fisk, to Newport, where General Grant was paying a visit, with a letter which stated that there were then three hundred vessels laden with Russian wheat bound for the ports of the United Kingdom, and that if the price of gold should not advance, there was not much chance for marketing the American surplus. In this and other ways the President's mind was worked up and kept to the sticking-point.

About the first of September, Gould, being positively assured by Corbin that no gold would be sold until after the crops were moved, bought $1,500,000 for that "shrewd old gentleman" at 1.32¼. Gould now began to lay plans for the *dénouement* of his scheme. It was afterwards charged, and believed by many, that these plans included the abduction and concealment of the President, so that no order to sell gold could be given; but this may be doubted. A scheme whereby the President voluntarily concealed himself was devised. He was prevailed upon, in what way or by whom may never be known, to pay a visit to an old friend in the town of Little Washington, Pennsylvania. This obscure hamlet was remote from railway or telegraphic communication. Here General Grant and his wife were expected to remain for a week or two, during which inter- The gold conspiracy.

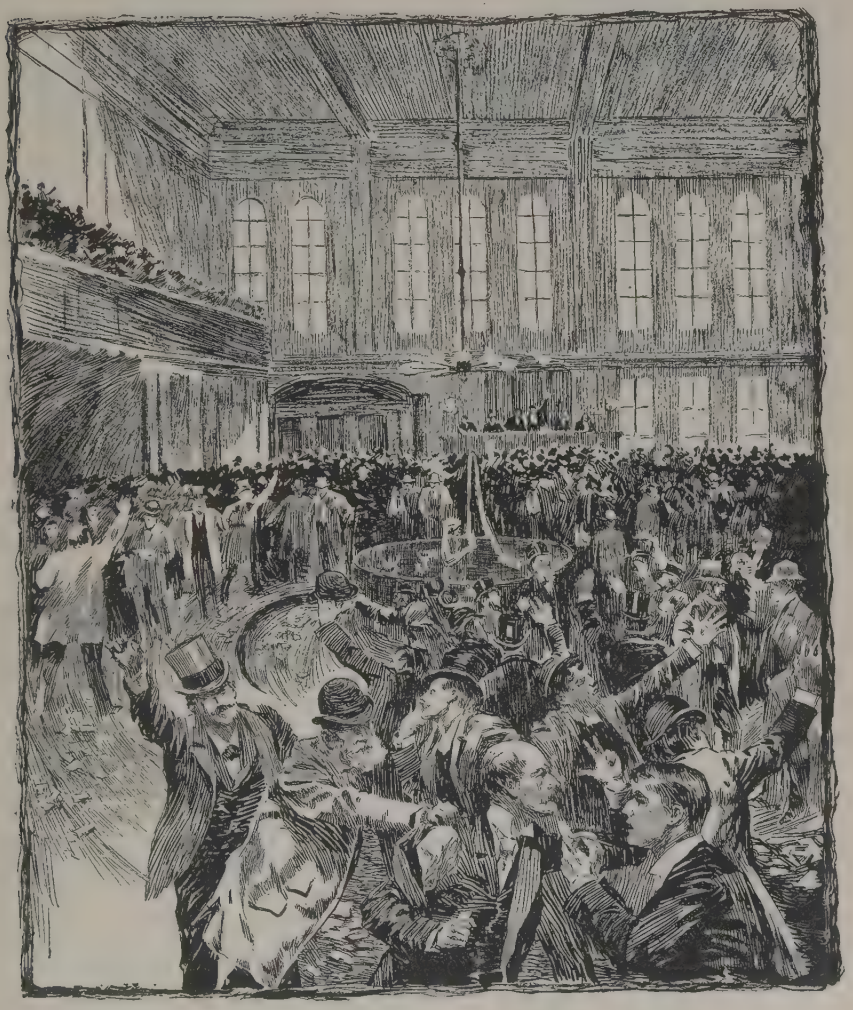
val Gould hoped to bring his speculative venture in gold to a successful termination.

About the time of General Grant's departure for Little Washington, Fisk, who up to that time had no personal interest in the gold scheme, bought seven or eight millions of gold, believing, as he said, that the matter was "all fixed up, and all right, and we have got an air-tight on the shorts." This might have been the case if Fisk had possessed great coolness; but in his desire to make assurance doubly sure, he made a mistake that was irretrievable. He persuaded Corbin to write to the President at the remote town where he was staying, urging him not to permit Secretary Boutwell under any circumstances to sell gold. This letter was sent from Pittsburgh by a special messenger, who rode twenty-eight miles on horseback to deliver it. The President read it, said to the messenger, "It is all right; there is no answer," and at once made preparations to return to the seat of government. He requested Mrs. Grant to write to Mrs. Corbin and say that her husband had better at once disconnect himself with all gold speculations, and have nothing further to do with the Gould-Fisk manipulation. The "shrewd old gentleman" saw a change of front on the part of his brother-in-law, and promptly applied to Gould for his share of the profits. That wary operator offered him $100,000 on account, but declined to buy Corbin's gold. The crisis was fast approaching. On Thursday preceding the memorable Friday a meeting of the clique was held at the office of Fisk's brokers. The proceedings were not divulged, but one result was that Fisk's broker gave an order to put gold to 1.44 and close it there. He bought about twenty millions from 1.41½ to 1.44, but it closed at 1.43½. The last meeting of the managers of the pool was held at the Erie Railway offices on Thursday evening. Five persons only were present: Gould, Fisk, two of their brokers, — H. N. Smith and E. K. Willard, — and Eben D. Jordan, of Boston. The pool held contracts for $100,000,000. Gould estimated the total "short" interest at $250,000,000. All the gold in New York, outside of the Treasury, did not exceed $25,000,000. Various plans of procedure for the next day were discussed. The one finally adopted was that Fisk should put in an order next morning to buy gold in million-dollar lots at 1.60, while the "pool" brokers at the same time were to sell as much as possible to bona fide buyers at 1.45 or more. When they adjourned, they were careful to say to the waiting newspaper reporters that gold was to be marked up to 200 next day.

On the eve of Black Friday.

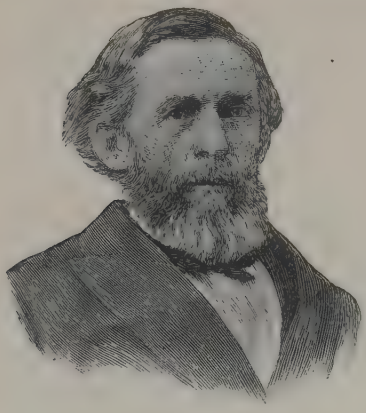
It must not be supposed that the operation of the clique up to this time, and especially during the four or five days just preceding, had not provoked bitterly hostile criticism and indignant protest. Trade

in every department and in every section was paralyzed. Exporters dare not touch a pound of cotton, a bushel of wheat, or a gallon of petroleum, fearing the premium on gold might collapse before sterling bills against foreign shipments could be negotiated. Those who had been foolish enough to believe that a high premium on gold would facilitate the movement of crops, saw such movements absolutely



The New York Gold Room on Black Friday, September 24, 1869.

stopped. They were the first and loudest to call on the Government to end the deadlock by selling gold. For a week previous to the fatal Friday, letters and telegrams from every quarter poured in upon



G. S. Boutwell.

W. A. Richardson.

Secretary Boutwell, imploring him to crush the conspiracy which threatened widespread ruin; but he was faithful to the orders of his chief, and that chief could not be promptly reached. General Grant arrived at the National capital before the *denouément*, but was apparently immovable. It seemed impossible for him to comprehend the truth of the adage that "a bad promise is better broken than kept."

The programme adopted at the Erie offices on Thursday evening was carried out next morning. Fisk gave a verbal order to a Hebrew broker to go into the gold room and bid 1.60 for a million, and continue to bid it until he received contrary orders. The broker obeyed orders and broke owners. He bought twenty-six millions. When told that gold was offered at 1.45 he excitedly replied, "It makes me no difference; I gifs 1.60 for a million." Pandemonium reigned.

The dawn of Black Friday.

The telegrams that flooded Washington were from such people and were so impressive that they moved the stubborn soldier President, and the welcome order came to sell five millions of gold. New York was never so excited, never so indignant as on "Black Friday." There is little doubt that if Gould and Fisk had shown themselves on 'Change lynch law would have been administered to them on the spot; but they were behind bolted doors and were guarded by deputy sheriffs of the Tweed régime. Disaster was widespread. The gold room of the Exchange was closed. Ruin was as common on the stock list as in the Gold Exchange. There seemed to be no bottom for stocks; every one knew what was the bottom for gold. The losses of the conspirators were enormous. Gould's, to the extent of four millions, were paid by the Erie Railway Company. The money was raised by selling the stock of that company at five

per cent. under the market to the representative of a London firm. Fisk's losses were never ascertained or paid.

Thus in disaster and dismay ended the philanthropic scheme to benefit producers by advancing the premium on gold. None knew better than the men who originated it what a hollow sham and pretence it was. Every material interest in the country had suffered, and hundreds had been reduced to poverty; but the men who brought all this upon their fellows junketed and gibed in their accustomed way, and charged such losses of their foray as were paid to the stricken railway they were plundering. Was any one else to blame for the calamities of that fatal speculation? One man only, and he sinned without knowledge, and with intent to benefit and not to harm. If the President had not ordered the suspension of gold sales there would have been no Black Friday.

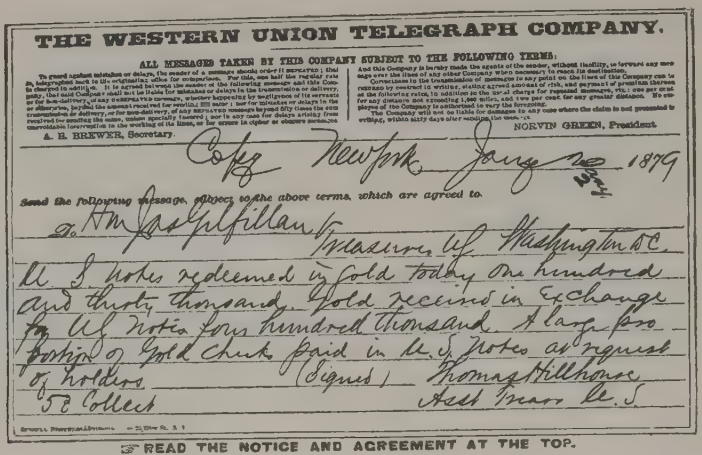
A great disaster.

The Black Friday panic was purely financial, except in its influence on such commercial products as were affected by the premium on gold; and when that returned to a normal figure the business of the country was resumed as usual, and but for the serious shock caused by the great Chicago fire, the remaining years of General Grant's first administration were fairly prosperous.

The public debt, when Mr. Boutwell took office, was $2,202,088,727.69; when he retired it was $1,710,483,950, showing a reduction under his management of $491,604,777.69. Mr. Boutwell was succeeded by William A. Richardson, who had been his assistant. The new incumbent was a man of moderate calibre who was not expected to hold the portfolio beyond one year. He was to become a partner in an American banking house established in Paris, and he wished to carry into the business such éclat as might attach to his having been Secretary of the Treasury. He had been in office only a little more than six months when what is known in history as the panic of 1873 burst upon the country. The panic was the inevitable result of over-trading and over-production of everything from a yard of cloth to thousands of miles of not-yet-needed railways, over-speculation, over-issues of paper money, and greatly inflated prices for merchandise, produce, real estate, and securities. It would have come if no such firm as Jay Cooke & Company (who were charged with the responsibility of the disaster) had ever existed; and having been precipitated by their failure, no human power could prevent its running its course.

The panic of 1873.

Affairs had been at fever heat for twelve years; the prostration lasted nearly five years. Week after week, during this wasting period, the list of failures was swelled, until bankruptcy of one half the business community seemed imminent. The stock list fairly reflected the



THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS.

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a message should order it REPEATED; that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one half the regular rate is charged in addition. It is agreed between the sender of the following message and this Company, that said Company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any UNREPEATED message, whether occasioned by negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the amount received for sending; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any REPEATED message beyond fifty times the sum received for sending the same, unless specially insured; nor is any one case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines, or for errors in cipher or obscure messages.

And this Company is hereby made the agents of the sender, without liability, to forward any message over the lines of any other Company when necessary to reach its destination.

Correctness in the transmission of messages to any point on the lines of this Company can be secured by procuring a REPEATED message, at the following rates, in addition to the usual charge for unrepeated messages, viz.: one per cent. for any distance not exceeding 1,000 miles, and two per cent. for any greater distance. No responsibility of the Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

The Company will not be liable for damages in any case where the claim is not presented in writing, within sixty days after sending the message.

A. B. BREWER, Secretary. NORVIN GREEN, President.

Copy New York January 2nd 1879

Send the following message, subject to the above terms, which are agreed to.

To Hon John Sherman Treasurer U.S. Washington D.C.

U. S. Notes redeemed in gold today One hundred and thirty thousand. Gold received in Exchange for U.S. Notes four hundred thousand. A large proportion of Gold Check paid in U.S. Notes at request of holders.

(Signed) Thomas Hillhouse
Asst Treas U.S.

To Collect

READ THE NOTICE AND AGREEMENT AT THE TOP.

The Telegram announcing the Result of the First Day's "Resumption" at the New York Sub-Treasury.

enormous shrinkage of values. Lake Shore sold below 50; Northwest preferred below 40, and the common at 15. Recovery began in 1877, but was retarded by the great railway strikes and riots of that year. When Congress met, in December, 1873, wild schemes for restoring prosperity were proposed, including every sort of financial notion and nostrum, from immediate resumption of specie payments to hare-brained measures of inflation. Fortunately none of them was enacted, and the country was left to recover from its long debauch in the inevitable and usual way.

Mr. Richardson was succeeded by General Benjamin H. Bristow, a man of judicial mind and unimpeachable record, whose abilities and character were heightened by the mediocrity and corruption that surrounded him. Public approbation of his career in the cabinet was subsequently expressed by the large vote given him at the Republican National Convention of 1876 for the presidential nomination. The credit of first recommending to Congress the enactment of a measure looking toward the resumption of specie payments, though generally awarded to Senator John Sherman, belongs to General Bristow, whose report of December, 1874, embodied such a recommendation.

A bill authorizing the resumption of specie payments on the first day of January, 1879, became a law on the 14th day of January, 1875.

Proposal to resume specie payments.

It empowered the Secretary of the Treasury to provide for resumption by selling at not less than par in gold coin any bonds authorized by the refunding act of July, 1870, and also to use for the same purpose any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. No progress under this act had been made when

Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, was inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1877, and John Sherman, of the same State, became Secretary of the Treasury. Resumption at the date fixed was regarded by many excellent business men as chimerical and impossible. Numerous bills to repeal the act were introduced, one of which was at a special session of Congress held in October, 1878, passed by the House of Representatives, but was defeated in the Senate. A prominent New York banker declared that he would give fifty thousand dollars for a place at the head of the line of those who would be waiting at the sub-treasury on the day fixed for resumption, to exchange notes for gold. To all this was added a war panic in Europe, which sent back more than $50,000,000 of American securities and necessitated shipments of gold to London.

John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury.

But notwithstanding these discouragements, the Secretary never wavered. When asked in December, 1878, by the Finance Committee of the Senate, whether the Resumption Act had better be repealed, he replied, "No," and gave convincing reasons why no step backward should be taken. The act was not repealed, and soon after Secretary Sherman sold $50,000,000 four-and-a-half per cent. bonds at 101, net, for gold, to be used for redemption purposes. Long before it was needed, this gold was placed in the Treasury.

The outstanding legal-tender notes amounted at this period to $346,681,016. Of these the Government held $70,000,000 and the National Banks, as a part of their reserve, about $70,000,000 more. The remainder was held in small amounts in every section of the country by a patriotic people who were not at all likely to travel hundreds of miles to present them. When the eventful day came, the Secretary had in his control $135,000,000 of gold. As he had foreseen, no one wanted it. The New York banker was not heading a line at the sub-treasury, for there was no line. The payments of gold at that institution on the first day of resumption were $135,000, the receipts being $400,000.

Specie payments resumed.

Peter Cooper.

High praise must be awarded to Secretary Sherman for his management of the National Treasury. The great secretaries of our early history, Alexander Hamilton and Albert Gallatin, may have been more skilful financiers, though this is an open question; but of the

war period, only Mr. Chase was Mr. Sherman's equal. He accomplished refunding and resumption, two measures of supreme importance. When he retired from office in March, 1881, prosperity reigned in all our borders. United States four per cent. bonds were selling at 1.28, and every obligation of the Government was as good as gold. The highest total of interest-bearing debt at any time was $2,381,520,-294.96. The total on July 1st, 1891, was $610,529,120, showing a reduction of $1,770,991,174.96, and justifying the statement at the opening of this chapter, that the generation from 1861 to 1891 was to witness in the United States a debt-creating and debt-paying power without parallel in previous financial history.

The imminence of the resumption of specie payments tended to solidify the elements of the party which was thereafter to be known as the party of the Greenbackers. Very soon after the close of the civil war, the producers of grain and breadstuff began to feel the loss of the profitable orders of the Government, which, from being a large buyer, now became a small factor in the market. The consequent dulness in the grain market was ascribed by agriculturists to the contraction of the currency, and they clamored for the "good times" they had enjoyed when the currency was inflated with the greenbacks of the Government. In 1868 many active politicians in the West advocated the payment of the national debt, or at least a part of it, in greenbacks. This notion, first made prominent in Ohio, was called "the Ohio idea," and it was taken up and carried to other States; gradually a party grew up, having for its cardinal principle the proposition that all obligations of the Government not specifically payable in coin should be liquidated in greenbacks. After sundry fluctuations in importance and numbers, the Greenback party took distinct shape and organization in 1875, when the Resumption Act of that year committed the Government to the payment of the debt in specie in 1879. A National convention of the party was called, and the platform adopted in 1876 committed the organization to the support of three propositions: the currency of all National and State banks should be withdrawn; the only circulating medium should be Government paper, exchangeable on demand for bonds bearing interest at 3.65 per cent.; and coin should be used only for the payment of that portion of the National debt for which coin payments had been specifically promised. The party, which was popularly known as the Greenback party, called itself Independent; its first presidential candidate was Peter Cooper, nominated in 1876. In later years, however, the Greenbackers, although strong in several of the States, gradually lost their identity in the nation in consequence of their hospitality to a great variety of discontented elements.

Rise of the Greenback party.

R. P. Bland.

W. B. Allison.

Another important piece of legislation enacted about this time, and destined to exert considerable influence on political parties in years to come, was the passage of what is known as the Bland-Allison bill. The original bill was fathered in the House of Representatives by R. P. Bland, of Missouri. Sent to the Senate and referred to the Finance Committee of that body, it was reported back by Senator Allison, of Iowa, with several amendments that eliminated from it its most radical features. The act of 1870 to refund the National debt had made all bonds issued in consonance with that law payable in coin; and the act of February 12th, 1873, had dropped the silver dollar from the list of United States coins, or had "demonetized" it. After that time the value of silver, as compared with gold, had been steadily falling, and there had grown up a feeling that the silver dollar, popularly known as "the dollar of our daddies," should be restored to the list of United States coins and used, at least in part, in the payment of the Government bonds. The Bland-Allison Bill provided for the resumption of the coinage of the silver dollar of the fineness of 412½ grains, then worth about 92 cents, and made it a legal tender for public and private debts; this coinage was directed to be not less than $2,000,000 nor more than $4,000,000 per month. It was also directed that the silver bullion needed for this coinage should be purchased in the market by the Secretary of the Treasury, but the amount of money invested at any one time in such silver bullion, exclusive of the resulting coin, was not to exceed $5,000,000. President Hayes did not approve of the bill, although the Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, did not share the President's objections. The bill was vetoed, but was passed over the veto by heavy majorities and became a law, February 28th, 1878.

Passage of the Bland-Allison bill.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE GARFIELD–ARTHUR ADMINISTRATION.

Talk of a Third Term for General Grant.—A Threatened Republican Bolt.—Senator Conkling defeated as Grant's Champion.—Nomination and Election of James A. Garfield.—The Blaine-Conkling Feud distracts the New Administration.—Quarrels over the Distribution of Offices.—Assassination of Garfield.—His Tragical Death.—Arthur succeeds to the Presidency.—The Trial of Guiteau.—Disintegration of the Garfield Cabinet.—The Yorktown Centennial.—Atlanta Industrial Exposition.—Thrilling Experiences of American Arctic Explorers.—Complications with the West Coast Republics of South America.—Renewed Agitation of the Chinese Immigration Question.—The Star Route Trials.

The close of Mr. Hayes's administration was peaceful, and, like its entire course, dignified and honorable. Two cabinet changes took place toward the end of the presidential term. Postmaster-general Key retired in May, 1879, and was succeeded by Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, who had previously been United States Minister to Turkey. The Secretary of the Navy, Richard W. Thompson, retired in January, 1880, to accept the post of American representative of the Panama Canal Company, and was succeeded by Nathan Goff, Jr., of Virginia. There was no talk, whatever, of giving Mr. Hayes a second term in office. He had early taken occasion to declare himself in favor of a single but longer term of the presidency; and it was felt that his administration, thus freed from any possible complications arising from a desire to pave the way to another election to the presidency, was characterized by an unselfish and sincere devotion to the best interests of all the people.

As the time for making presidential nominations came on in 1880, General Grant's name was brought forward by some of his zealous friends in the Republican party. He had lately returned from a journey around the world, during which he had been received with extraordinary honors by Queen Victoria of England, King Leopold of Belgium, the Khedive of Egypt, the Sultan of Turkey, King Humbert of Italy, Pope Leo XIII., President McMahon of France, the King of Holland, the Emperors of Germany and Austria, Prince Bismarck,

King Oscar of Sweden, the Czar of Russia, King Alfonso of Spain, Viceroy Lytton of India, King Thebaw of Burmah, Prince Kung of China, the Mikado of Japan, the Emperor of Siam, and the great men of all the countries through which he passed in this unique progress around the globe. Through all these unexampled personal triumphs Grant had borne himself with so much simple dignity and modesty, that he had further endeared himself to the hearts of his countrymen, each one of whom felt himself a sharer, as an American citizen, in the signal honors paid to the famous soldier.

But these considerations did not move those who remembered the laxity of the administration of the civil service during President Grant's tenancy of office. Just about this time, too, the people were smarting under the effect of the revelations of frauds committed in various departments of the Government during Grant's second term. They had not forgotten the scandals of the Whiskey Ring and the enforced resignation of the fearless and incorruptible Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Bristow. It was in vain that the friends of General Grant urged that a third term at this time, after a lapse of four years, could not be regarded as an invasion of the unwritten law of the Republic, which must be held as applying only to a third consecutive term. A considerable element of the Republican party was so strongly opposed to a third term, that a convention of Independent Anti-third-term Republicans was held in St. Louis, May 6th, 1880, to protest against Grant's renomination, and to provide for the nomination of another candidate of their own, provided the Republican National Convention, which was to meet in Chicago in June, should put Grant in nomination.

Third-term talk unpopular.

This threat of a bolt had its effect upon the great mass of Republican voters, unpalatable as the third-term talk had already proved to all but a few of the more enthusiastic and thoughtless of the would-be leaders of men. It did not appear that General Grant was in the least solicitous for another lease of office. In his characteristic rôle as the Silent Man, he said not a word to indicate his desire or his aversion to serve again. The movement in Grant's political interests was led by Senator Roscoe Conkling, of New York, chiefly for the purpose of defeating James G. Blaine, of Maine, between whom and Conkling there was a deep and lasting feud. The estrangement of these two men dated back to an old quarrel arising, years before, out of a personal squabble when both were members of the House of Representatives. Blaine, resenting the somewhat arrogant bearing and contemptuous treatment which had characterized Conkling in debate, had rated the New York Congressman soundly, and had stigmatized him in biting terms. Conkling never forgave.

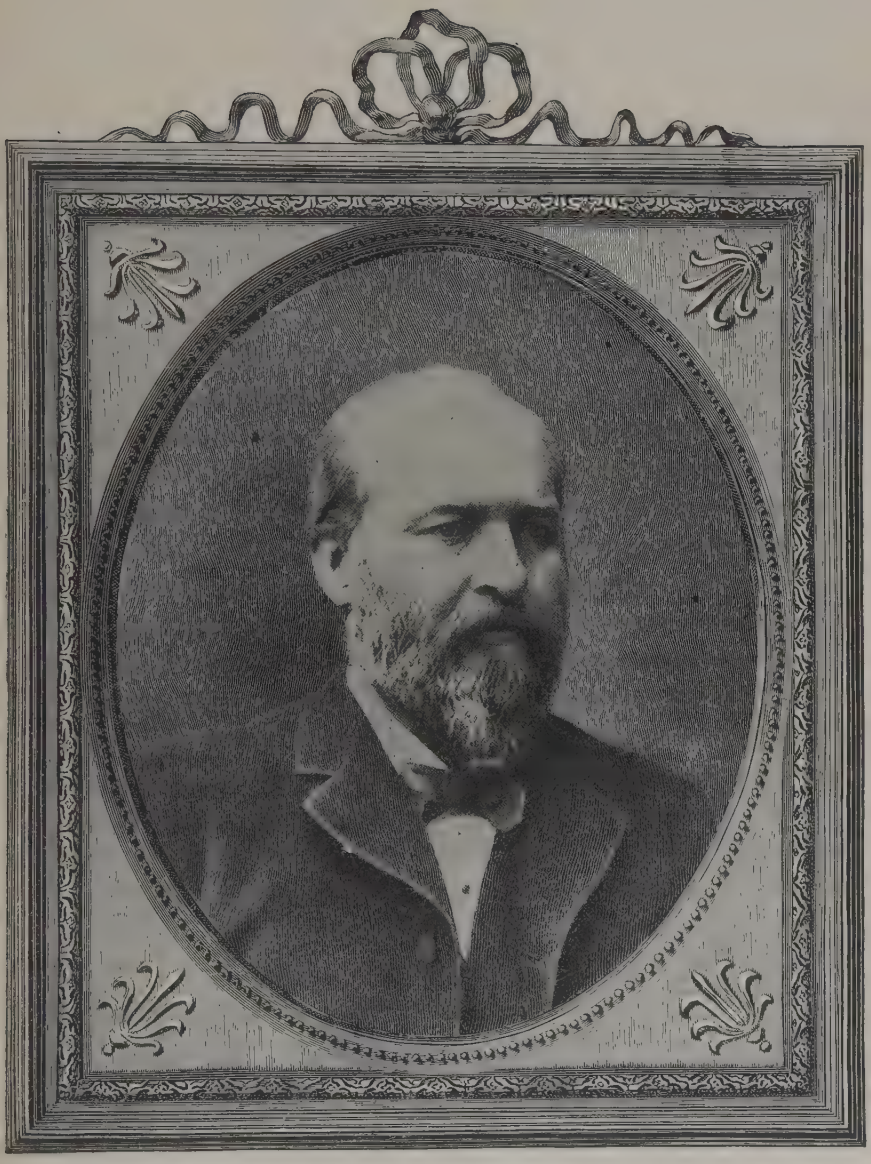
Conkling was now the political dictator of his own State, and dreading the development of "the Man from Maine" as a possible candidate for the presidency, he thought to thwart his ambition by placing Grant in the field. By this time, however, Blaine's popularity in the West and in New England had become so inflated that even a solid delegation from New York pledged to Grant could have but few terrors for the Maine statesman. To solidify that vote, Conkling induced the Republican convention of his State, when choosing delegates to the National convention of 1880, to instruct the delegation to vote as a unit and to cast its vote for Grant. Mr. W. H. Robertson, of Westchester, devoted to Blaine, refused to be bound by those instructions; he cited the rule adopted by the last previous National convention of the party, which expressly declared against the so-called unit rule and empowered delegates to vote independently of their associates in each delegation, if they saw fit.

Senator Conkling champions Grant's cause.

When the Republican National Convention assembled in Chicago, the prominent candidates for the presidential nomination were Ulysses S. Grant, James G. Blaine, of Maine, John Sherman, of Ohio, and George F. Edmunds, of Vermont. The signal success of Mr. Sherman in the Treasury Department had brought him much fame, and it was thought that his great executive abilities would shine with splendor in the presidential chair. Mr. Edmunds was the candidate of the Independent Anti-third-term men. The platform resolutions adopted did not materially differ from those of other years preceding, except that they declared against Chinese immigration as an evil of great magnitude, inveighed against polygamy (as practised in Utah), and embodied an emphatic deliverance in favor of civil-service reform. Conkling attempted to secure from the convention an endorsement of the unit rule, but in this he was defeated.

The balloting was continued through two days, great excitement meanwhile prevailing throughout the country; popular expectation was divided between hope and fear of Conkling's ultimate triumph. James A. Garfield, of Ohio, had been entrusted with the management of the convention campaign of his friend, John Sherman. He had made a wise and temperate speech

James A. Garfield.
(Before entering college: from a daguerreotype by Ryder.)



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

From a photograph by Bell — the last likeness made before the assassination.

when the fight came on over the attempt to commit the convention to the iron-clad unit rule, and to expel three members who had voted against a resolution pledging every delegate to support the nominations of the convention. Garfield had received one or two votes on the earlier ballots, but on the thirty-fourth ballot he had 71 votes; on the thirty-fifth he had 50 votes. The cry, "Anything to beat Grant," was still ringing in the ears of many delegates, and on the thirty-sixth and last ballot there was a rush of the anti-Grant forces to Garfield, who was nominated amid tumultuous excitement.

The unit rule set aside.

The split in the New York delegation had made the nomination of either Grant or Blaine impossible. That State had seventy votes in the convention; nineteen of these, led by Robertson, stood steadily by Blaine; Grant was given the rest. Under the leadership of Donald Cameron in Pennsylvania and John A. Logan in Illinois, those two States had chosen delegations somewhat loosely pledged to Grant. Conkling's generalship mustered 306 solid votes for Grant; it was impossible to break the ranks of the phalanx of "the immortal 306," as they subsequently styled themselves. This solidity was the cause of Conkling's defeat. Against it, at last, every other candidate's strength was combined in a movement that nominated Garfield. Grant's highest vote was 309, Blaine's was 285. The nomination of the candidate for Vice-president was readily conceded to Conkling as a salve for his wounded feelings; and he proposed Chester A. Arthur, of New York, who was nominated in the dusk and confusion of the last hours of the session.

Garfield nominated.

Garfield's nomination was received by the mass of the Republican voters with satisfaction, even enthusiasm. The glamour of military fame had not yet lost its charm for the people. Hayes, who had succeeded Grant, had won renown in the war, his fighting in the Shenandoah Valley having been a brilliant incident in that notable campaign. Garfield, when chief-of-staff to Rosecrans, had refused to accept the defeat at Chickamauga as final, and had aided to retrieve disaster when his superior officer had left the field to Thomas, "The Rock of Chickamauga." He had rapidly risen from military rank to the post of Representative in Congress, and at the time of his nomination for the presidency he was United States Senator from Ohio, but had not yet taken his seat. From the poverty and obscurity of a driver-boy on a canal, through school and college, military and civil promotion, he had now, when less than forty-nine years of age, been nominated for the highest office in the gift of the Nation.

Sherman and Blaine made haste to assure Garfield of their loyal support in the coming campaign; Conkling sulked for a time and

Winfield S. Hancock.

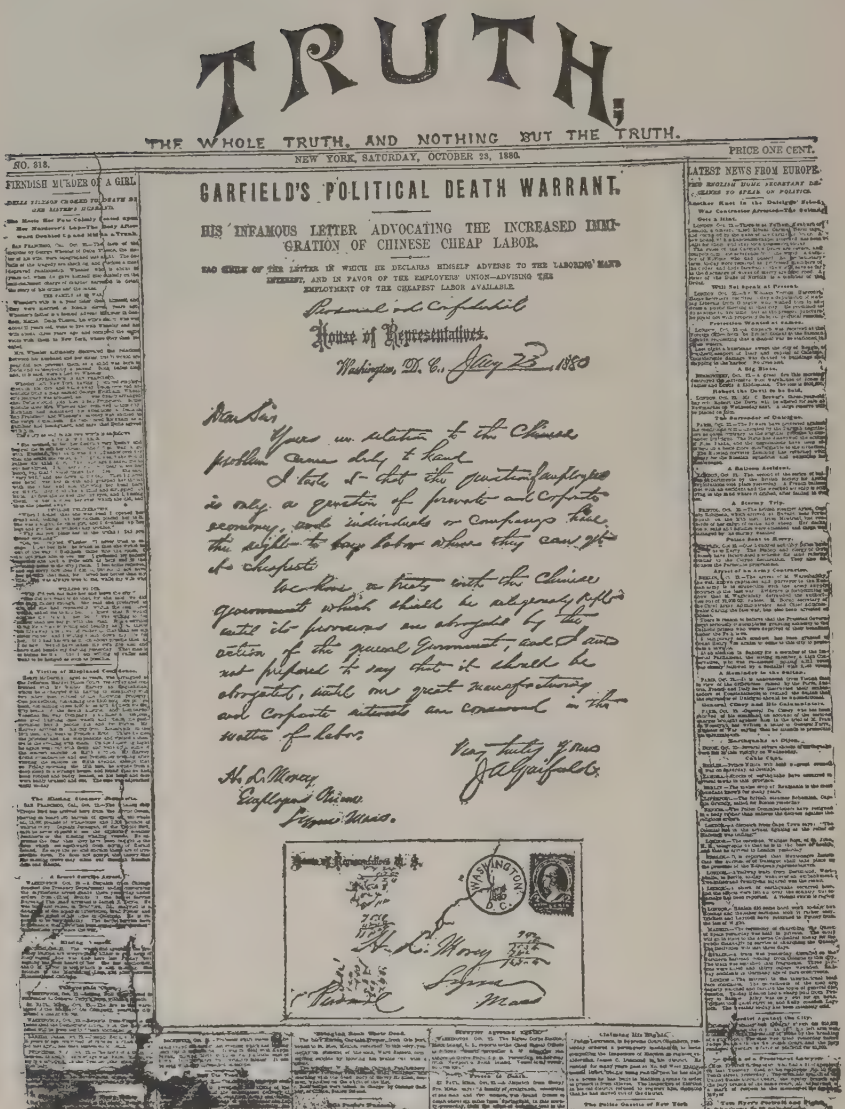
made no outward sign of the chagrin that consumed him. Later on, when a Democratic victory in Maine surprised and alarmed the Republican leaders, he took the stump for the Republican nominees, having induced General Grant to accompany him with a dramatic appearance in a five-minute speech at each place of speaking. By his efforts, it was justly claimed, the great State of New York was finally carried for Garfield and Arthur.

The Democratic National Convention was held in Cincinnati, June 22d. The platform chiefly consisted of denunciation of the course of the Republican party and the "great fraud of 1876–7" by which Hayes was given the presidency, and praise of the Democratic Congress which had come into power during Hayes's administration. There was not much delay in securing a candidate for the presidential nomination. Friends of Samuel J. Tilden, anxious that he should have another chance to vindicate his claims before the people, had urged his nomination; but just on the eve of the convention he broke his long silence on the subject and positively forbade the use of his name. Turning to the magic of a military reputation, the convention nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, on the third ballot. William H. English, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice-president on the first ballot. General Hancock, by his high patriotism, brilliant military record, chivalric demeanor, and unaffected modesty, had won the esteem and admiration of his fellow-countrymen. His nomination was hailed with enthusiasm and hopefulness by the mass of the Democratic party, most of whom had forgotten, or had never appreciated, the ante-war record of their leaders.

General Hancock nominated by the Democrats.

The canvass of 1880 was spirited but short. One of the notable incidents of the canvass was the publication of the famous "Morey letter," a forged document put forth on the eve of the election by the Democrats, and purporting to have been written in January, 1880, by General Garfield. In this letter Garfield was represented as saying to one "H. L. Morey, Employers' Union, Lynn, Massachusetts," that he, the writer, was in favor of a treaty with China which should furnish American manufacturers with cheap labor. Garfield at once denounced the letter as a forgery; but a facsimile of the document was printed, showing a close resemblance to the hand-

The Morey letter.



TRUTH.

THE WHOLE TRUTH, AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH.

NO. 313. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1880. PRICE ONE CENT.

FIENDISH MURDER OF A GIRL.

GARFIELD'S POLITICAL DEATH WARRANT.

HIS INFAMOUS LETTER ADVOCATING THE INCREASED IMMIGRATION OF CHINESE CHEAP LABOR.

HAS SIGNS OF THE LETTER IN WHICH HE DECLARES HIMSELF ADVERSE TO THE LABORING MAN'S INTEREST, AND IN FAVOR OF THE EMPLOYERS' UNION—ADVISING THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE CHEAPEST LABOR AVAILABLE.

Personal and Confidential

House of Representatives.

Washington, D. C., May 23, 1880

My Dear Sir

Yours re. relation of the Chinese problem came duly to hand.

I take it that the question for us is only a question of private and corporate economy, and individuals or companies have the right to buy labor where they can get it cheapest.

We have no treaty with the Chinese government which shall be adversely affected if persons are compelled by the action of the general Government and I am not prepared to say that it should be abrogated, until our great manufacturing and corporate interests are consulted in the matter of labor.

Very truly Yours
J. A. Garfield

Hon. D. Morey
Englewood Chinese
Wayne Mass.

LATEST NEWS FROM EUROPE.

THE ENGLISH HOME SECRETARY DECLINES TO SPEAK ON POLITICS.

Another Race to the Dalaigh Fatal.

War Commenced Between the Britons

Quiet at Home.

Why Not Speak at Present.

Persecution Wreaked on Rabbis.

A Railway Accident.

A Stormy Trip.

Police Beat in Slavery.

Advent of an Army Commission.

A Reminder to the Britons.

Sentence Against the City.

Listening His Right.

A Great Foreign Appeal.

Bloody Tragedy.

Telegraphic Brevities.

A Victim of Misplaced Confidence.

Wrecked Beach Where Dead.

Sentry Against Sentry.

Pocket Pickers.

The Public Curse of New York

writing of Garfield; and one of the Democratic managers publicly declared his belief in the authenticity of the document. It was subsequently found that "H. L. Morey" was a creature of the imagination; and one of the witnesses to the alleged genuineness of the forged letter was convicted of perjury and sent to prison for eight years.

Notwithstanding the dissensions of the leaders, the Republican party was in good condition for a National campaign. The country was prosperous; the Hayes Administration had restored tranquillity and commercial thrift; and notwithstanding the unpopularity with which the resumption of specie payments was at first received, it was now conceded that the governmental finances had been managed with wisdom and honesty; and the Republicans could, to use one of the hackneyed phrases of the time, "point with pride" to Mr. John Sherman's handling of the great public debt while he was Secretary of the Treasury. The subject of the tariff came up, though somewhat languidly, in the course of the canvass, and a superserviceable friend asked General Hancock for his opinion on that much-discussed question. The general, whose ideas on civil subjects were naturally rather hazy, waived the tariff as "a purely local issue." This unfortunate comment was made much of by the Republicans, who amused the country with variations upon the gallant soldier's utterance.

There were other parties than the Democrats and Republicans in the field that year. The discontented men who were in favor of an unlimited paper currency, or were opposed to legislation that aided corporations and manufacturing associations, organized a Greenback-Labor party and nominated J. B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President. The Prohibitionists, now fairly in the field as a political party, nominated Neal Dow, of Maine, as their National standard-bearer; and the Anti-Mason party of ancient days was revived to nominate John W. Phelps, of Vermont, for President, and S. C. Pomeroy ("Secret Circular" Pomeroy), of Kansas, for Vice-president. These diversions took from the popular vote about 318,000 that might have been divided between the two leading candidates. Garfield had 214 electoral votes; Hancock had 155; Garfield's plurality in the popular vote was 3,033 over Hancock; but he had less than a majority of the total popular vote.[1]

Garfield elected.

[1] In California one Democratic elector was defeated and five were chosen; when the Senate and House met in joint assembly to count the votes, objection was made to the return from Georgia on the ground that that State had not amended the law passed during the existence of the Confederacy, by which her electors met and voted on the second Wednesday of December, instead of the first Wednesday, as required by the Federal statute. Both parties agreed to follow the precedent, established in 1821, counting the vote "in the alternative," as Garfield and Arthur were certainly elected, whether the vote of Georgia were counted or not. Accordingly, it was declared that Garfield and Arthur had 214 votes, and

Garfield's cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois; Postmaster-general, Thomas L. James, of New York; Attorney-general, Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt, of Louisiana; Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa. The selection of Mr. Blaine, Conkling's dearest foe, for the first place in the Garfield cabinet, greatly exasperated the New York Republican leader. This feeling of hostility was intensified when W. H. Robertson was subsequently appointed to the important post of customs' collector of the port of New York. Conkling had urged the selection of Levi P. Morton, of New York, for the Treasury portfolio; and he was not to be placated by the appointment of Mr. Morton to the first-class diplomatic post of Minister to France. That Robertson, the leader of the Blaine bolt in the recent National convention, should be given the most important Federal office in New York was gall and wormwood to Conkling, who demanded that he and his senatorial colleague (who was his echo) should control the Federal official patronage in their State.

An unfortunate appointment.

Conkling now declared war upon the President. He accused him of duplicity and bad faith; and, in the heat of his bitterness, he asserted that he had a letter of Garfield's (which he said he prayed God he might never be compelled to print), the publication of which would make Garfield "bite the dust." Stung by his alleged injuries, Conkling did print the letter; it was a written request, prepared during the recent canvass, for the more urgent collection of campaign funds from governmental officials and clerks for election expenses. It fell flat on a people not yet educated up to such a perception of the proprieties and immunities of the civil service as to be revolted by any attempt to "milk" public servants for the benefit of the election funds of the party in power.

The feud between the followers of Blaine and Garfield and those of Conkling grew exceeding bitter; the friends of Conkling dubbed themselves "Stalwarts," and they nicknamed the other faction "Half-breeds." Partisan feeling ran high, and in the States nearest to the seat of Government the party was divided into hostile camps as offensive to each other as those of the Guelphs and Ghibellines of old Italy. It is a forcible illustration of the debasement which at that time characterized the public service, that men who had aided in the election of the President of the United

An unseemly political quarrel.

Hancock and English had 155 votes, if the vote of Georgia were counted; and that Hancock and English had 144 votes, if the vote of Georgia were not counted; and that in either case, Garfield and Arthur were elected.

States thought it not improper that they should demand offices for themselves or their friends in payment for services rendered. Conkling, for example, who was fairly entitled to great credit for having carried his own State for the Republican ticket, insisted that the New York representative in Garfield's cabinet should be a man of his own choosing; and he arrogated to himself the right to name the men who should hold office in his State. If Conkling's claim was a little in excess of what was then usually demanded by political leaders, that excess was not extravagant, as the times went; his overweening vanity and love of power prompted him to make demands that were not then regarded as wholly unreasonable. "Control of patronage" was one of the crying evils of the time. To secure it, cabals were formed, and sordid intrigues beset the path of the President. Garfield hoped to pacify all factions; he excited a fever of office-hunting that eventually brought him to his death.

On the morning of July 2d, 1881, the President, accompanied by Secretary Blaine, set out for a journey to New England. To the railroad station he was dogged by an assassin, who, made frantic by the delirious and intemperate talk of the time, had conceived the idea that it was his duty to remove Garfield from the presidency and thus restore harmony to the party. The fact that this creature, Charles J. Guiteau, had been an unsuccessful hunter of place undoubtedly added to his insane hatred of the President. He fired two pistol-shots in quick succession; one of them lodged in Garfield's back, and he sank to the floor, desperately wounded. At first removed to the office of the railroad managers, the President was next taken to the White House, where his wound was probed and dressed. His family, who were absent at the time, were sent for, and the tenderest care was bestowed upon the sufferer, whose distress was greatly heightened by the intense heat of the summer.

The President shot.

Guiteau.

Guiteau was arrested at once, and he defiantly exclaimed "All right; I did it, and will go to jail for it. I am a Stalwart, and Arthur will be President." A thrill of horror ran through the country when it was known that Garfield had been mortally wounded by a disappointed office-seeker, and that the unseemly quarrel of leading politicians was by remote implication connected with this cruel crime. From every part of the Republic came mes-

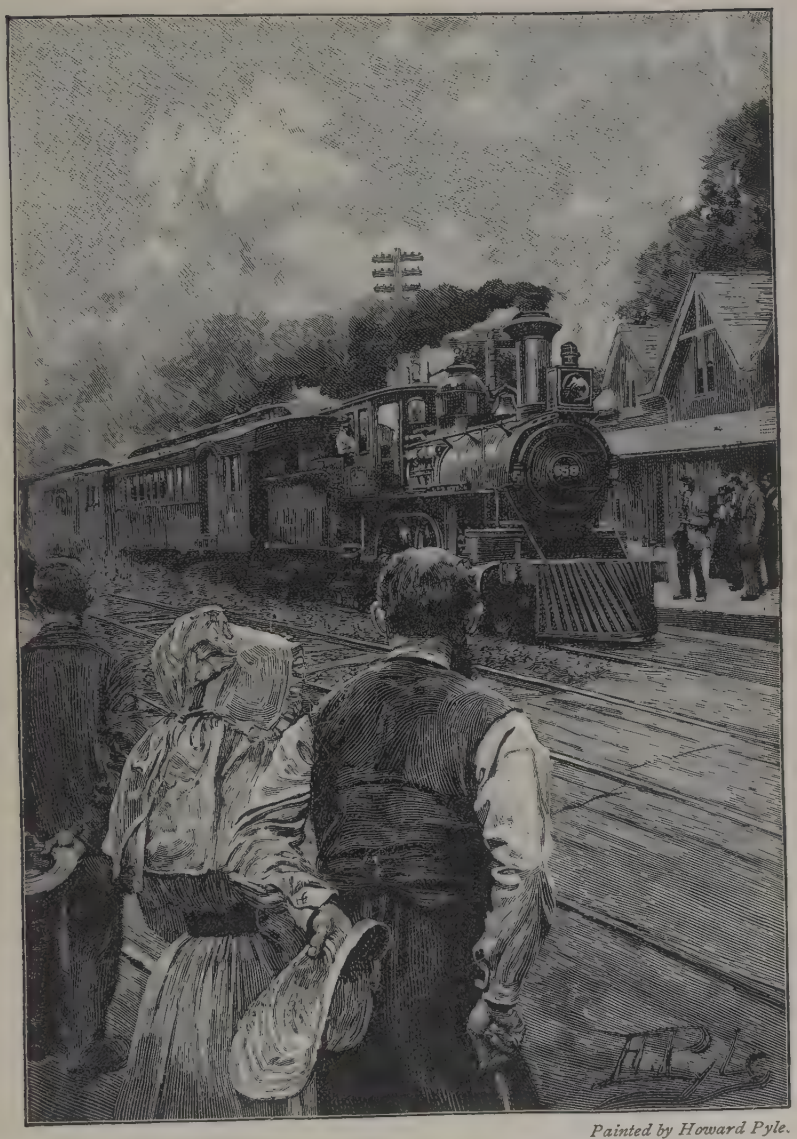
sages of sympathy, regret, and condolence. Flashed under the sea, the ill news awakened in foreign lands a generous response from sorrowing strangers, not unmingled with a sense of the naturalness of such a catastrophe in a government so much given as ours to the lower forms of political chicane.

Garfield's long lingering and death.

From the first there was some doubt as to the course which the assassin's bullet had taken in the body of the sufferer. The treatment of the attending surgeons was based upon the hypothesis that the fatal missile traversed a downward direction to the right. The treatment that followed was suggested by this diagnosis. The result proved that the surgeons were in error as to the course of the bullet; but this was not established until death had released the patient from his long suffering. Garfield was removed to the seashore for the benefit of the cool saline air for which he longed with an exceeding great longing. A special train, provided with every available means and appliance for the mitigation of the discomforts of the journey, conveyed him to Elberon (part of the borough of Long Branch, New Jersey), early in September. Bulletins from the bedside of the stricken President were sent forth several times during every day thereafter until the end. Vibrating between hope and fear, and encouraged with many profound diagnoses of the dying man's condition, the great mournful public was finally told at 10.35 on the night of September 19th that Garfield was dead.

There was another outbreak of grief and lamentation when Garfield ceased to live. All over the country were impressive demonstrations of the popular sorrow. Garfield possessed many alluring

The Garfield Monument at Cleveland, Ohio.
Drawn by Laurence Hague from a photograph by Ryder.



Painted by Howard Pyle.

THE GARFIELD AMBULANCE TRAIN ON ITS WAY TO ELBERON, N. J.

The Garfield Funeral Car about to start from the Public Square, Cleveland, for the Cemetery.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph by Ryder.

traits of character: his was a warm, impulsive, and generous disposition; he had risen from an humble station to the highest place, as Lincoln had risen before him; and his passionate patriotism and self-denying devotion to his country were recalled with a melancholy satisfaction in the eulogies that were now pronounced in the assemblies of his mourning fellow-citizens in every town, city, and village in the Republic. Queen Victoria sent a message of condolence to Mrs. Garfield; and when, on September 26th, the body of the dead President was entombed in Cleveland, Ohio, and the land, shrouded in mourning emblems and ceasing from all other business, lauded the memory of Garfield, the day was very generally observed in Europe; for the first time in history, court mourning was ordered for a citizen of a republic.

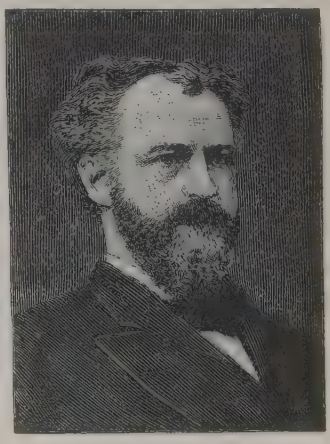
Trial of the assassin.

The examination and trial of Guiteau first brought into general use in this country the epithet of "crank." The assassin was a person of ill-balanced and awry mind; the colloquialism that described his mental condition in a word was instantly adopted all over the country. The trial turned on the sanity or insanity of the murderer. The crime was undisputed. Guiteau not only admitted it, but he sought to justify it. Conkling, finding himself unable to defeat the

confirmation by the Senate of the Federal appointments which he had so strenuously opposed, had pettishly resigned his seat in that body. His colleague, Thomas C. Platt, followed his example. In his statement, detailing his political services and his failure to obtain the rewards of office, Guiteau said: "My conception of the idea of removing the President was this: Conkling resigned on Monday, May 16th, 1881. On the following Wednesday . . . I was thinking over the political situation, and the idea flashed through my brain that if the President was out of the way everything would be better." He then proceeded to relate all the details of his preparation for the crime, claiming that he was under a divine pressure that he could not resist. On this statement he attempted to justify his deed.

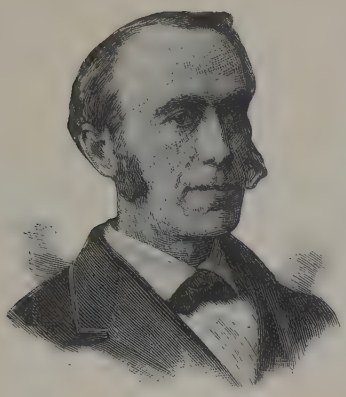
To keep up the appearance of a lunatic, the assassin frequently interrupted the trial and disturbed the peace of the court-room by violent and unseemly language, execrating witnesses and counsel with opprobrious epithets, and so behaving himself that he was at one time threatened with the gag. His counsel did not agree among themselves as to the course to be pursued by the defence; and the proceedings were characterized by a certain disorder, tumult, and levity that made the trial more like a comedy than a solemn tragedy. From November 7th, 1881, when the proceedings in court began, until January 25th, 1882, when they ended with a conviction by the jury, this miserable business was a severe trial to the patience of the American people. The impotent rage and venom of the man burst forth with uncontrollable fury when the verdict was rendered; and the popular wrath against him rose so high that there were not a few unthinking persons who were sorry that Sergeant Mason, one of the armed guards set over the convicted prisoner, failed in an attempt to kill him in his cell. Mason shot at the wretch through a window of the cell; and another person, who escaped without being recognized, endeavored to kill Guiteau while the prisoner was being taken from the court-room to the prison.

Sergeant Mason's offence.



Roscoe Conkling.

The assassin's counsel put forth every possible effort to save the life of their client. They appealed to the United States Supreme Court and to the President. But all these appeals were in vain. The man was hanged, June 30th, 1882, and the whole country was relieved to quit the subject, the last deliverance con-



Thomas C. Platt (about 1881).

cerning which was the verdict of the medical jury, which, after an autopsy, declared that nothing in the brain of the executed criminal indicated any possibility of mental derangement. The settlement of the claims for medical and other services rendered the dying President were made a subject of much unpleasant controversy, inasmuch as these demands were to be satisfied by the Government. Congress finally referred the whole matter to a board of audit, and this unfortunate discussion was ended by the payment of a large sum of money to the claimants.

During the protracted prostration of President Garfield the position of Vice-president Arthur was delicate and embarrassing. His nomination to the place of Vice-president had been made without any thought of the contingency which had so soon arisen to make him the President of the United States. Probably no one would have dreamed of making him a candidate for the presidency. He had been identified with the local politics of the city of New York, a city whose ill-repute for corrupt political methods was almost world-wide. His sudden elevation to the executive chair was felt by many timorous people to be a National calamity. These forebodings were happily disappointed when President Arthur, no longer the partisan "Stalwart," by a wise, dignified, and honorable administration of his high office, won the affection and confidence of the whole people of the United States.

Arthur's delicate position.

During this period of doubt, too, it was felt by not a few persons of great experience in the affairs of state that the President was constitutionally disabled from duty, and that the Vice-president should act in his stead. The constitution provides for such an emergency; but neither the constitution nor the law makes provision for the determining of the point where a disability begins and ends. Urged by some of his nearest advisers to decide for himself that the disability of Garfield disqualified him from discharging the duties of the office of President, the Vice-president was counselled to assume those duties for the time being. He refused to take the responsibility; and when Garfield's life was ended Vice-president Arthur was in New York city, where the oath of office was privately administered to him by Judge John R. Brady, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the State. Two days later, September 22d,

President Arthur.

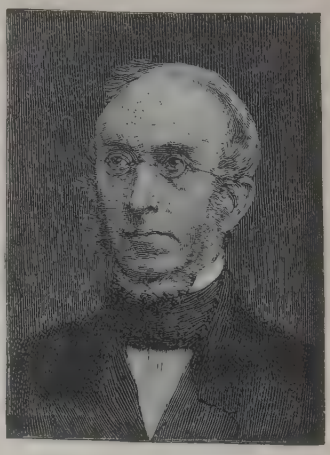
Mr. Arthur again took the oath of office in the Senate chamber, Washington, administered by Chief Justice Waite, of the United States Supreme Court. On that occasion he made a very brief and impressive inaugural address.

The perilous complications likely to arise when a vacancy should exist in the offices of President and Vice-president at the same time were now more than ever patent to the minds of the people; and measures designed to guard against a lapse of the presidential succession were anxiously discussed. Congress took up the subject at once; but nothing was done until several years had passed, when provision was made for the succession in the presidential office in case of certain contingencies.

Conkling's eclipse.

Mr. Conkling and Mr. Platt (Conkling's colleague), confidently appealed to the Legislature of New York to send them back to the Senate. It was their design to leave the Senate of the United States by way of rebuke to that body for its failure to support the claims of the two New York Senators in the distribution of Federal offices; and the Legislature was expected to endorse these claims by returning the two ex-Senators to their places with a promptness which should add to the severity of the rebuke of the Senate. But the members of the Legislature declined to take this view of the case. Other men were chosen in their places, and neither Conkling nor Platt ever again cut any conspicuous figure in National politics. Conkling's eclipse was final and complete. Platt devoted himself thereafter to State and local politics, in which he asserted himself with much personal energy.

Garfield's cabinet slowly disintegrated under the judicious management of President Arthur. Blaine, who had been the real head of the Government from the day of Garfield's assassination until Arthur's accession to office, resigned the portfolio of State, December 15th, 1881. He was succeeded by Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey. Secretary Windom retired from the Treasury Department, and Charles J. Folger, who had been elected Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals in 1880, took his place, November 15th, 1881, ex-Governor E. D. Morgan, of New York, having declined the proffered honor. Attorney-general MacVeagh resigned, and Benjamin H.



R. C. Winthrop.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

The Yorktown Monument.
Drawn by F. D. Steele from a photograph.

Brewster, of Pennsylvania, was appointed in his place, December 16th. Early in the following year, 1882, Postmaster-general James withdrew, and Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, took his place. Mr. Howe died in office, March, 1883, and was succeeded by Walter Q. Gresham. Mr. Hunt retired from the Navy Department, April, 1882, and William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, succeeded him. Mr. Kirkwood resigned from the Interior Department in the same month, and Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, was appointed in his place. Thus Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War, greatly beloved for his father's sake and highly esteemed for his own worth, was the only member of Garfield's cabinet who held place through Arthur's Administration.

The cabinet reorganized.

Two notable public events, one historical and the other industrial, handsomely illustrated the first year of this administration. The celebration of the one hundreth anniversary of the close of the Revolutionary struggle and the surrender of the British forces under Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown, Virginia, was a National festival to which the representatives of all friendly Governments were invited. The actual anniversary was on the 19th of October, 1881; the ceremonies were extended over several days and were participated in by the President and his cabinet, representatives of the families of the illustrious Frenchmen — Lafayette and Rochambeau — and of Baron Steuben, and a great company of eminent persons. An historical oration was delivered by Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and there were other literary and musical exercises. A military review and a naval parade added brilliancy to the pomp of the occasion. The laying of the corner-stone of an imposing monument to mark the spot of the surrender was one of the important incidents of the celebration.

Celebration of the Yorktown surrender.

The opening of an international industrial exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, October 5th. 1881, was another event of much significance;

for it not only illustrated pleasantly the restoration of peace and good-will between all sections of the Republic, but it also afforded striking evidence of the thrift, progress, and restored prosperity of the New South. The exposition was under the management of an incorporated association known as "The International Cotton Exposition;" but the great staple of the South, important though it was in the exhibit, was only one of the features of a noble show. Prominence was given to the exhibits of cotton and its manufactures; but the display was attractive and impressive in all departments of human industry, science, and art. The exposition was eminently successful in all respects, and was formally closed on the last day of the year.

The Atlanta exhibition.

Tidings of two Arctic expeditions, those of DeLong and Greely, were received during the period now under consideration. The first of these had disappeared into the frozen solitudes of the North late in the summer of 1879; its survivors were not again heard from until December 29th, 1881. This adventure was fitted out at the cost of James Gordon Bennett, proprietor of the New York "Herald," and was commanded by Lieutenant G. W. DeLong, of the United States navy, an enthusiastic and experienced Arctic explorer who believed that he might solve the secret of the circumpolar regions. His ship, the *Jeannette*, was a steam yacht of 420 tons, originally built for the British Navy, and so strengthened and modified that she seemed to be admirably fitted for her perilous cruise. There were eight officers and twenty-two men on the ship; she sailed from San Francisco, July 8th, 1879, and was last seen on the 2d of the following September on her course about fifty miles south of Herald Island, a small island off the northeast coast of Siberia.

Two Arctic expeditions.

It was the hope and expectation of DeLong to reach the Pole by the less known and apparently more facile route through the so-called open lanes in the ice-pack, scientifically known as *Polynias*, which had arrested the journeys of sledge-travelling explorers in earlier years. It was believed that a northeast passage into an open polar sea might be found near Wrangel Land. As a matter of history, it is now recorded that the open lanes through the ice-pack are not permanent, but accidental; and Wrangel Land is not the extremity of a vast continent, stretching downward from the Pole, but an insignificant island. DeLong's ship entered the ice-fields while within sight of Wrangel Land, and the vessel soon began to show signs of distress, being nipped in the ice and cramped by the grinding masses about her. Caught in the pack, the ship drifted helplessly to the northwest during the year following, the ice being comparatively quiet during the summer; but it ground and piled in the later part of the season. Two islands were

discovered in May, 1881, to the northwest of New Siberia, and were named Jeannette and Henrietta by the discoverers. For twenty-one months the ship was locked in the ice-pack and carried around with the slow drift of the fields; occasionally the ice would open and leave the vessel free; then it would close and pinch the hull with a fierceness which no structure could long withstand. The expedition was carried as far north as Henrietta Island. On the 13th of June the ship sank, and the party, having taken from their floating home her cargo of provisions, started on their line of retreat across the ice to the shores of Siberia, then about 600 miles distant in a straight line. Their highest north was 77° 42′. DeLong's shipwreck.

With dogs, sledges, and boats, the shipwrecked adventurers made their painful way across the ice to Bennett Island, about half way between Henrietta Island and New Siberia, where they landed July 29th and stayed a week. The rest of the way was travelled with the boats, sledges for occasional transportation across the ice-floes being carried with them. Passing through the New Siberian group of islands, off the northeast coast of the mainland of Siberia, and suffering many hardships from cold and hunger, the party finally set out in boats for the delta of the Lena River, Siberia, September 12th, 1881. DeLong commanded the first cutter, and was accompanied by Dr. Ambler, the mineralogist, Collins, and eleven of the crew. In the second cutter, which was hardly seaworthy, were Lieutenant Chipp, U. S. N., and seven others. A whaleboat, in which were Lieutenant Danenhower, Engineer Melville and eight others, was the third of this forlorn little fleet. Danenhower being incapacitated by blindness, Melville took command of the boat.

Lieutenant Chipp's boat was lost, and not one of its navigators has ever been heard from. Melville's boat was driven by a gale on the 12th of September far to the eastward, and on the 17th the party made one of the eastern mouths of the Lena River. DeLong sailed in a westerly direction along the shore and made one of the western mouths of the same river on the 16th. Entering the river, Melville finally encountered three native fishermen, who, unwilling to guide them to the village of Bulun, in the interior, took them out of their way to their own village on Cape Bikoffsky, where they found a Russian exile and a native chief, the former of whom was sent to Bulun station with despatches. Thirteen days passed before the messenger returned; and when he came he brought news of two of DeLong's party, Ninderman and Noros, to whom Melville was then guided. Melville, during the absence of his messenger, had vainly searched for DeLong's party; but he had found their camping-places.

After landing at one of the western mouths of the Lena, DeLong

Sad fate of the DeLong party.

set out with his party for the south, September 19th. His march was hindered by the lameness of some of his men who had been frost-bitten, and one of them, whose feet had been frozen, died on the 7th of October. Suffering indescribable hardships, the forlorn travellers plodded on until the 9th of October, when DeLong chose Ninderman and Noros to advance by forced marches to the southward to obtain succor. On the 19th, after travelling 125 miles without food, these men were found in a starving condition by a party of natives. They were taken to Kumak Surka, and subsequently to Bulun, by the exile who had acted as Melville's messenger. By this time, DeLong and his eleven comrades had breathed their last. When their corpses were found, at the end of March in the following year, a journal which DeLong had kept up to the last day of his life told the sorrowful tale of their sufferings. They had consumed their boots and clothing of skins to allay their last pangs of hunger.

Five expeditions were sent out by the United States Government in search of the DeLong expedition, during 1881. One of these, under Lieutenant Berry, was equipped by the Government at an expense of

Map of the Arctic Regions, showing Location of Circumpolar Stations, 1881-1883.

$175,000, appropriated by Congress. It was this expedition that discovered that Wrangel Land is only a small island, and not the vast circumpolar continent which it had been supposed to be.

While these tragical events were happening, another expedition was preparing for the exploration of the polar regions, access to which was to be sought by the coast of Greenland and Smith's Sound. An international agreement had been entered into by Russia, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Austria, and Denmark, by which stations were to be established within or near the Arctic circle for the purpose of making a series of long-continued observations. The United States was expected to establish such a station at Point Barrow, and perhaps at some other point in the North American archipelago. Congress made an appropriation for the outfit and maintenance of this polar colony, which, under the immediate command of Lieutenant A. W. Greely, of the United States army, was to depart for its distant station in May, 1881, and remain until 1883, supplies to be forwarded annually during the sojourn of the colony in the North. Lieutenant Greely's assistants were Lieutenants Kislingbury and Lockwood, of the army; and the rank and file were fifteen men selected from different regiments, with five subordinates from the signal service of the army. Dr. Octave Pavy joined the expedition at Godhavn, Greenland. The party was to establish itself at Discovery Harbor, Lady Franklin Bay, Grinnell Land, just below the eighty-second parallel of north latitude. The spot finally selected for the encampment was named Fort Conger, in honor of the Michigan Senator who had greatly aided in the enterprise when it was under the consideration of Congress. Fort Conger was at a point at 81° 44′ north, 64° 45′ west.

Another Arctic expedition.

The expedition was conveyed to its station from St. John's, Newfoundland, on the steamer *Proteus*, chartered for the purpose; and the haven was prosperously reached in August, 1881. After some delays, the ship set sail homewards August 26th, leaving the little colony encamped in a wooden structure on a small table-land near the shore. Three of the party returned on the *Proteus;* and a fourth, Lieutenant Kislingbury, having missed the ship, remained with the colony not subject to duty. From the day of the departure of the *Proteus* until July 17th, 1884, no word was received from the Arctic colonists; and when the startling news arrived that the survivors were found and brought back to civilization, death had reduced the party to seven men.

The disasters that overtook the Greely colony in the Arctic are chargeable to the failure of the two expeditions sent out, as agreed upon beforehand, to relieve the party. The first of these two expe-

ditions was that commanded by Lieutenant Beebe in the steamer *Neptune*. Lieutenant Beebe sailed in June, 1882. The season was unfavorable for Arctic navigation, and the ship, after reaching 71° 20′, returned home. Depots of provisions were established at Littleton Island, on the east side of Smith's Sound, and at Cape Sabine, on the west side. Greely's instructions were to the effect that he should retreat southward, provided relief did not arrive by September, 1883; he was to follow the east coast of Grinnell Land until he met with relief, or he should arrive at Littleton Island, where stores would surely await him.

The Greely colony in the Arctic.

The second expedition to succor Greely's party was undertaken in 1883 and was commanded by Lieutenant E. A. Garlington, of the United States army, with a party of fourteen experienced men; and the party was sent to the Arctic on the *Proteus*, again chartered for the emergency. The ship was commanded by Captain Pike, who had a crew of twenty-two men. The United States navy furnished a con-

Greely Survivors and the Rescuing Party on Board the *Bear* at Godhavn.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph by Rice.

tingent, the steamer *Yantic*, commanded by Commander Frank Wildes, who was ordered to assist the *Proteus* and to remain at Littleton Island until the return of Garlington, in case his expedition should find it impossible to proceed so far as the station at Fort Conger. The expedition was a disastrous failure. The *Proteus* left St. John's on

the 29th of June; on the 22d of July, caught in an ice-pack, she was abandoned and a portion of the stores were removed and *cachéd* at Cape Sabine for Greely's use. The *Yantic*, left far behind the *Proteus*, failed to accomplish anything; and on the arrival home of the expedition there were many recriminations and angry discussions among those who were held responsible for the conduct of the undertaking from which so much was expected and so little realized. Official inquiries were instituted, and all concerned in the expedition were freely criticised for the final abandonment of Greely and his little band of heroes in the frozen regions of the North.

Failure of Garlington's relief expedition.

In the mean time, Greely, waiting until August 9th, 1883, for the relief which did not come, had abandoned his station at Lady Franklin Bay and had undertaken the perilous journey southward to Cape Sabine. The third expedition of relief fitted out under authority of the United States Government was that commanded by Commander W. S. Schley, of the United States navy, which sailed on three ships, the *Thetis*, *Bear*, and *Alert*, from St. John's, at the latter part of April and the first of May, 1884. The last-named of these vessels had been the advance ship of the Nares expedition in 1875–6, and was given to the United States by the British Government without conditions. The *Thetis* was the flagship; the schooner *Loch Garry* accompanied the expedition as a tender.

On the 22d of June, 1884, Commander Schley's party rescued the survivors of the Greely Arctic colony at Camp Clay, their winter quarters, five miles from Cape Sabine: one of these subsequently died after suffering amputations which had become necessary in consequence of frost-bites. To quote the language of Commander Schley in his first brief official report: "Seventeen of the twenty-five persons composing the expedition perished by starvation at the point where found. One was drowned while sealing to procure food. Twelve bodies of the dead were rescued and are now on board the *Thetis* and *Bear*." The record of the sufferings and the labors of these men, rescued from the very jaws of death, has thrilled the world with sorrow, wonder, and admiration. They had traversed ice-fields and water for 500 miles, 400 miles of boating and 100 miles of sledging, having left Fort Conger August 9th, and arriving at their winter quarters near Cape Sabine on the 29th of September following. This journey was undertaken with a steam launch and three open boats, loaded with as much coal and stores as it was possible to carry. The steam-launch was abandoned in an ice-pack, and the party struggled on under incredible hardships only to drag out a wretched existence after their final camping-place near Sabine was reached.

The rescue.

Human endurance was taxed to its utmost by the misadventures

that befell this little band of heroes. To the last they maintained their cheerfulness; and the record of manly fortitude, self-denial, and courage of these men may be placed high among those that attest the endurance and the virtues of humanity in all lands. Within a few hours, if no relief had come, four of the survivors would have passed away. The party were encamped in a tent, exposed to the pitiless peltings of an Arctic blast which threatened to sweep away the frail shelter, when the relief expedition landed. By this time the lethargy of exhaustion had brought nearly all of the little band to such a pass that they hardly knew what had happened when succor came. "We came to the tent," says one of the officers of the *Thetis*, "under which lay four of the poór fellows. Two lay outside, one with his face so swollen that he could hardly show by his eyes the excitement that filled his being. The other was muttering, in a voice that could scarcely be heard in the howling of the gale, his hungry appeal for food. Pushing aside the flags of the tent, we saw a sight, the like of which we trust never to see again. Crowded together in the little of the tent that was left standing, lay Greely and three of his men in their sleeping-bags, black with dirt. Their hollow cheeks and gleaming eyes made a picture we shall never forget, and told a story that has few rivals in the histories of miserable sufferings. The short glance revealed four men with the hand of death laid upon them; one, indeed, was gasping his last feeble breath while food and stimulants were forced between his teeth. The fate of the other three was a question of a very few hours." Even the pitifully inadequate rations of mosses, lichens, and seal skin on which these men had latterly subsisted had finally given out, and only a few scraps of this unnatural food was left. History records no rescue more timely than this.

A record of heroic suffering.

During their stay at Fort Conger the Greely colony collected a great amount of valuable scientific information in explorations and observations. They brought back as one of their proudest trophies a British flag that had marked the farthest northern point ever before reached by man. To two of the colonists, Lieutenant Lockwood and Sergeant Brainard, was given the renown of having reached the farthest north ever touched by any man — latitude 83° 24′, longitude 40° 46′ W. They erected, as a record of their achievement, a massive cairn of rocks, containing an account of their journey.

The farthest north.

The Greely party intended to have crossed Smith's Sound to Littleton Island, on the east side, and thus have found relief, before establishing themselves in winter quarters at Cape Sabine; but the sound remained open all winter, and crossing in open boats was impracticable. When Congress made direct provision for the relief of the colony, a reward of $25,000 was offered to "any ship or ships, person or persons,

Drawn by B. J. Rosenmeier.

THE RESCUE OF GREELY BY THE RELIEF PARTY.

not in the naval or military service of the United States, as shall discover and rescue, or satisfactorily ascertain the fate of the expedition of Lieutenant A. W. Greely." It was this incentive that stimulated a search for the party by private vessels. In his account of the rescue, Greely says: "The wise act of Congress in offering a bounty to the whalers was the turning-point in our fortunes, and exemplifies the importance of utilizing all resources when the honor or credit of a nation is at stake. That the United States navy won in the race for Sabine is an illustration of the wonderful adaptability and abundant resources of the representative American seaman, which fits him so well for coping successfully with new and untried dangers and makes him a worthy rival of 'our kin beyond the sea.'"

United States complications in South America.

An unfortunate complication arose in 1881 between the United States Government and the republican governments that were fighting on the west coast of South America. The republics of Bolivia, Chili, and Peru had been at war with each other for a year or two when, in 1881, Peru having been effectually beaten and paralyzed, the United States Minister to that country, Mr. S. A. Hurlbut, addressed a memorandum to General and Admiral Lynch, commanding the Chilian forces in Peru, urging a policy of magnanimity and conciliation towards the Peruvians. This somewhat irregular proceeding greatly excited the Peruvian people, who fancied that the United States Government was about to interfere in their behalf. General Judson Kilpatrick, United States Minister to Chili, felt called upon to disavow the authority with which Minister Hurlbut spoke for his government, and in a letter to the Chilian Secretary of State, Señor Balmaceda, he animadverted with considerable severity upon Minister Hurlbut's course. Both of these diplomatic representatives of the United States were chided by Secretary Blaine, who was on the point of withdrawing from the office of Secretary of State. The publication of the correspondence growing out of these unseemly complications gave rise to much discussion in this country, and in Europe and South America; many of Secretary Blaine's enemies blamed him for his vigorous policy and spirited treatment of the subject. It was necessary to send a special envoy, Mr. William H. Trescot, of South Carolina, to the distracted republics of the west coast, before these difficulties could be adjusted and the real intentions of the United States Government made intelligible.

An anti-Chinese bill vetoed.

President Arthur's veto of the anti-Chinese immigration bill, early in 1882, provoked a storm of indignation in those far Western States that were chiefly interested in enacting measures to restrict that variety of immigration. A new treaty between the United States and China, modifying the famous "Burlin-

game treaty," had been negotiated in 1880; one of the provisions of this convention was that either government might limit the residence or immigration of persons from the dominions of the other, provided the limitation or restriction was "reasonable." President Arthur's veto of the bill was based on the proposition that a total suspension of Chinese immigration for twenty years, as provided by the bill, was not "reasonable" in the sense that that word was employed in the treaty. The Chinese Minister in Washington had protested against the bill, and there were not wanting ribald persons who accused the President of being subject to the insidious influences of the Chinese legation. But he was generally commended for his courage in withstanding the influence of popular clamor; and when Congress passed a second bill, in which the suspension of immigration was reduced to ten years, the President signed it, May 6th, 1882, and the bringing in of Chinese laborers was made a penal offence.

The President's decision of character was again evinced when, in August, 1882, he vetoed a bill making appropriations to the amount of nearly $19,000,000 for the improvement of rivers and harbors, many of which, as he said, were "for purposes not for the common defence or general welfare, and which did not promote commerce among the States." The executive veto was sustained by vote of the House of Representatives, the requisite two thirds vote to pass the bill over the veto not being mustered.

The Star Route frauds and trials.

During the second year of Arthur's term of office the notorious "star route" trials excited public attention and furnished topics for much political gossip. Before the close of Hayes's Administration there had been intimations of the existence of scandals in the postal service that threatened soon to be made public. Early in 1881 the developments began. It was charged that frauds were committed in the letting of contracts for carrying the mails over routes other than those served by railways or steamboats. These routes were officially marked in the schedules with a star, and were popularly and technically known as star routes. The result of the exposures was the resignation of Thomas J. Brady, Second Assistant Postmaster-general, in April, 1881. One of his subordinates was removed, and the auditor of the postal accounts, McGrew, also resigned. Several persons were indicted for complicity in these frauds.

The trials went over into the next year, and a number of officials, contractors, and one prominent Republican politician, S. W. Dorsey, a United States Senator from Arkansas, were presented in court under indictment. It was found that the contracts calling for services on comparatively unimportant and inexpensive routes were made profitable by raising the rates of compensation under the pretence

that greater expedition and more frequent trips were demanded by the public needs. This could only be done by the connivance of persons in the employment of the Government in the Post Office Department. It was found that some of these augmentations, dishonestly undertaken, increased the cost of carrying the mails on 134 routes from $143,169 to $622,808 per year. On 26 routes the same devices were employed to raise the pay of the contractors from $65,216 to $530,319. The trials were a prolific source of political scandal and gossip. During the time of their continuance, which reached over into 1883, an immense mass of testimony was taken, and a large number of prominent persons were drawn into the vortex of the scandal. Two or three United States Senators were involved in the noxious business; bribery and corruption among detectives and witnesses were freely charged; and a vast amount of bad feeling among participants was engendered, In the end, the offenders escaped unwhipt of justice, and the trials, of which there were several, resulted in nothing but an exposure of the methods of the swindlers and of the extent of their crimes against the Government.

An important revision of the postal laws in 1883 reduced the rates of letter postage from three cents for each half ounce to two cents, and so simplified the entire schedule and liberalized the rates for printed matter that the service was made more useful and necessary to the people than ever before. In the same year, important changes were made in the rates of internal revenue taxation, certain taxes being abolished and others materially reduced. Corresponding changes were made in the customs tariff, the principle of protection to American industries, however, being still maintained with vigor.

Civil service reform.

The movement which had steadily though slowly been carried forward in the interests of a reformed civil service finally culminated, in January, 1883, in the enactment of a law enlarging the powers of the National board of civil service commissioners and formulating a better code for the regulation of appointments, promotions, and dismissals in the service. The frightful abuses that had increased with the increase of the official patronage of the Government, made more apparent though not more flagrant at the beginning of Garfield's administration, loudly called for rectification. To a certain extent, it was felt that Garfield's tragic death was due to the disorders of a debauched public service; for it was a mean squabble over the distribution of offices that gave excuse to the miserable "crank" who wrought that death. It was time that something should be done to check the quadrennial wild rush for place. The law of 1883, subsequently improved upon, made fitness a prerequisite to appointment, and secured in his place the employee of the Gov-

erment against removal except for just reasons and for the good of the service.

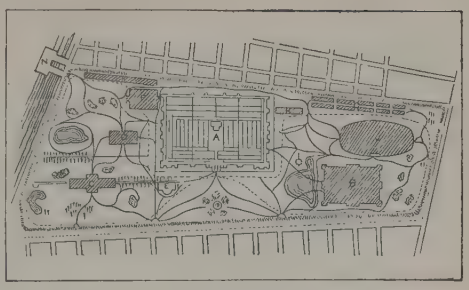
President Arthur early asked Congress to consider the condition of the navy, reduced since the war to a feeble force of vessels of an obsolete pattern and low power. Under the vigorous administration of William E. Chandler, Secretary of the Navy, Congressional appropriations were made for the reconstruction of the navy, and steps were taken for the gradual substitution of iron and steel cruisers in place of the crafts that, in these later years of naval progress, were no longer formidable.

The latter part of Arthur's administration was not disturbed by many complaints from organized labor. The partial failure of the agricultural crops of 1881 had caused discontent in the years immediately succeeding; and in 1882 the society calling itself the Knights of Labor began to be conspicuous. In the region west of the Alleghany Mountains an organization known as the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers about the same time began to exhibit considerable power. A strike for a new scale of wages, declared in June, 1882, extended through all branches of the iron business and lasted into the following September. Another strike, which

The South Portal of the Main Building at the New Orleans Exposition.

Drawn by John Macdonald from a photograph.

excited working people in the Eastern States, was that of the New York freight handlers in the same summer. It caused great inconvenience to shippers of merchandise, and resulted in a blockade of transportation that lasted for several weeks. The next two years were comparatively tranquil in all departments of American labor.



Plan of the New Orleans Exposition.

(A, Main Building; [1] B, United States and State Exhibits; C, Horticultural Hall; D, Mexican Building; E, Art Gallery; F, Factory and Mills; G, live stock stables; H, restaurants; I, fountain, 80 feet high; J, live stock arena.

In 1883 the Ohio Valley was devastated by greater and more destructive floods than had been known since the country was settled by the white people. In February, 1883, while the ground was frozen and covered with snow, excessive rains filled with freshets the valley regions of Western Pennsylvania, Northern Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. The Ohio River rose to an unprecedented height, covering the country for miles around with floods, sweeping away a vast amount of property of every description, and causing much suffering and loss. The culmination of the flood came on the 15th of February, when the water rose to the enormous height of sixty-two feet and four inches at Cincinnati, cutting off railway travel by nearly all the lines and almost completely isolating the city. Great damage was also done at Lawrenceburg, New Albany, Jeffersonville, Madison, and Aurora, in Indiana, and in Louisville, Kentucky. Several lives were lost, and the property destroyed blotted out millions of dollars from the region visted by this infliction.

Floods in the Ohio Valley.

One of the unpleasant incidents that marked the foreign relations of the United States during the year 1883 was a coldness that grew

[1] A table showing the comparative sizes of great exposition buildings: —

		sq. ft.
Crystal Palace, London	(1851)	989,884
London Exposition	(1862)	1,400,000
Paris Exposition	(1855)	545,934
Paris Exposition	(1867)	456,923
Vienna Exposition	(1873)	430,500
Philadelphia Exposition	(1876)	872,820
Atlanta Exposition	(1881)	107,520
Louisville Exposition	(1883)	677,400
New Orleans Exposition (Main Building alone, and not including galleries)	(1884)	1,656,030
Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building at Chicago World's Fair (including galleries)	(1893)	1,327,669

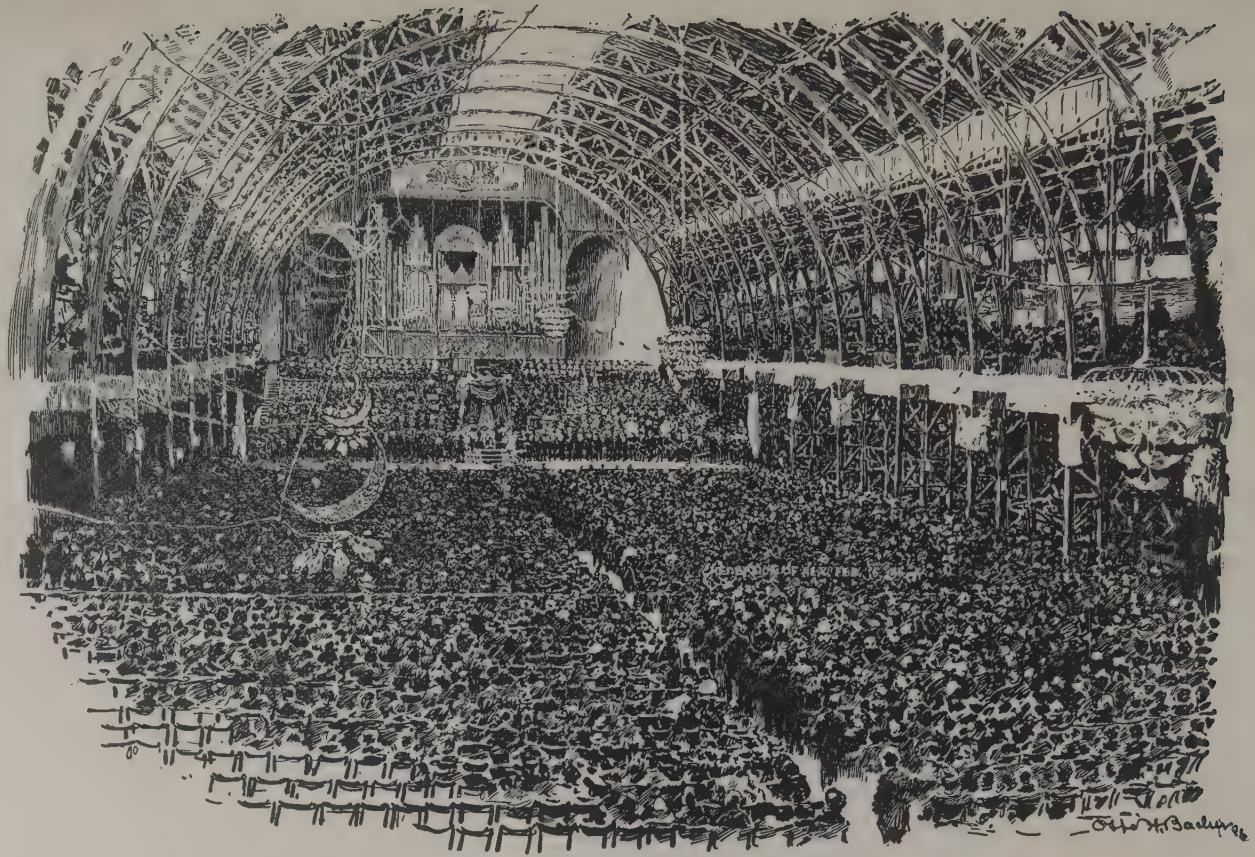
up between our Government and that of Germany in consequence of the attitude which the German Government took on the question of trichinosis in American pork. Something like a panic agitated the European countries that had been large customers of American exporters of pork products, the allegation being that American pork was diseased and unfit for human food. This panic, which begun in Italy, in 1879, spread through the countries of Southern and Central Europe, fanned to some extent by the governments and persons interested in excluding American products from competition with those of domestic origin. The interdiction was most severe in Germany; and out of the controversy that arose over the extravagant charges made by the German Government against American pork, came a personal disagreement between Prince Bismarck, the ruling power in Germany, and the United States Minister to Berlin, A. A. Sargent, in consequence of which the Minister resigned, and retaliatory legislation was proposed, but not resorted to, in the United States.

German hostility to American pork.

The centenary of the beginning of the cotton industry of the United States was celebrated in New Orleans in 1884 by an exhibition, which, like that of 1881 in Atlanta, with the great American staple for the fundamental idea, grew to the proportions of an international exposition of the world's industrial progress. The exhibition, having a *quasi*-National authorization, was opened December 1st, 1884, and closed at the end of May in the following year. In some respects the exposition surpassed all others that had been previously held in the United States; and in all respects it was notably successful, excepting only its financial results; the estimates of the costs of the enterprise were too low, and considerable embarrassment was met when the affairs of the organizers were finally closed. Many foreign countries were represented in the exhibition, Mexico being notably the largest contributor among these.

One important official change which took place during President Arthur's last year in office was occasioned by the death of Charles J. Folger, Secretary of the Treasury. Postmaster-general Walter Q. Gresham was appointed to the post thus made vacant, September 25th, 1884, and Mr. Frank Hatton, First Assistant, was promoted to be Postmaster-general. Mr. Gresham was subsequently appointed, in October following, United States Circuit Judge, and Hugh McCulloch again became Secretary of the Treasury. A melancholy interest attached to the closing years of Secretary Folger's life, on account of his recent defeat for the governorship of New York. While he was yet Secretary of the Treasury, he was nominated for Governor by the Republican Convention of that State, held

Notable cabinet changes.



THE RECEPTION OF REX AT THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

in September, 1882. The nomination was warmly resisted by many who objected that Mr. Folger was "an Administration candidate, forced upon the Republicans of New York against their will and against his own will." The canvass was not conducted by the Republicans with much spirit. The Democrats nominated as their gubernatorial candidate Grover Cleveland, who, as mayor of Buffalo, had attracted attention throughout the State by his vigorous, independent, and successful administration of local affairs. The New York Republicans were not united, and the result was the election of the Democratic candidate for Governor by a majority of more than 150,000 over all, and a plurality of 192,854 over Folger. Secretary Folger deeply felt the sting of this disappointment; and it was not until after his death that the dissensions caused in New York politics began to be quieted.

Grover Cleveland Governor of New York.

Considerable popular interest was felt in the completion of the Washington Monument, in 1884.[1] This vast structure, begun in 1848, had long excited the regret of visitors to the National capital, as it stood bare, forlorn, and unfinished on the banks of the Potomac. The society that had undertaken the work abandoned it to the Government in 1877, and operations were soon after begun to carry it forward to completion. As finally finished, the monument is a simple but gigantic obelisk, its extreme height being 596 feet and 9.36 inches above sea level. The shaft is 45 feet square at the base and is provided with a capacious elevator car for the use of visitors to the apex. The structure cost $1,187,710, and is adorned within by numerous votive stones from all parts of the world, the gifts of governments, civic and social organizations, and noted people.

An important piece of Congressional legislation during the second year of Arthur's administration was the enactment of a severe statute against polygamy. This law, known as the "Edmunds law," was passed in 1882, and provided for the punishment of persons convicted of plural marriage. Under the act five commissioners were appointed by the President for the superintendence of the elective and other political machinery for the Territory of Utah. The operation of this law had the effect of gradually extinguishing polygamy in the Mormon establishment of Utah.

[1] Dedication of the monument was deferred till Washington's birthday, Feb. 22d, 1885.

CHAPTER XXVII.

A NATIONAL POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN OF 1884. — DEVELOPMENT OF MR. BLAINE'S CANDIDACY. — PUBLICATION OF THE MULLIGAN LETTERS. — BLAINE'S SPIRITED REPLY. — NOMINATION OF BLAINE AND LOGAN. — THE DEMOCRATS NOMINATE CLEVELAND AND HENDRICKS. — "RUM, ROMANISM, AND REBELLION." — ELECTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES. — A CLEAN SWEEP EXPECTED IN THE OFFICES. — DEATH OF GENERAL GRANT. — HIS IMPOSING FUNERAL. — THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION PROVIDED FOR BY LAW. — FLOODS AND EARTHQUAKES, STRIKES AND MOBS. — ANARCHY IN CHICAGO. — DIFFICULTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION. — IMPORTANT CABINET CHANGES. — RENEWAL OF THE FISHERIES DISPUTE. — TROUBLES WITH INVADERS OF THE BERING SEA FUR-SEALING GROUNDS.

THE logical issue in the presidential canvass of 1884 was the tariff. The creation of a commission to revise the tariff in 1882, and the enactment of a new tariff during the next year, had brought this subject prominently before the people. More recently, in March, 1884, the so-called "Morrison horizontal bill," reducing most of the existing duties twenty per cent. without much discrimination, had been reported in the House of Representatives by Mr. William R. Morrison, of Illinois. The proposition created great uproar and was defeated two months later by a vote of 159 to 155, no less than 42 Democrats voting against it. The majority of the House was then Democratic. These recalcitrants were known as "Randall Democrats," as they trained with Representative Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, who was a high-tariff, or protection, Democrat. Another reason for the conspicuousness given to the tariff question was the renewed prominence of James G. Blaine as a presidential candidate. Mr. Blaine was now regarded as the special champion of a protective tariff. His nomination by the Republican party was tolerably certain.

The political situation, 1884.

But there were other questions agitating the public mind; and, as events subsequently proved, even the dominating issue of the tariff was not destined to determine the result of the elections of 1884. What is known as "the machine" in political management had become offensive to the people, the "machine" of the Republican party being notably active and arrogant. A few

leaders in each State dictated to the rank and file of the party what nominations should be made, what policy adopted, and what distribution of political plunder should be had. The combinations of labor organizations were growing more formidable; and talk of strategical movements by these, which would compel the respect of the leaders of the great political parties, was common. The "boycott" as a means of coercion had been imported from Ireland, and politicians quailed before a threat of a "boycott" which might be declared on any one of their candidates.

Another form of popular discontent was the general uneasiness over the laxity that characterized the administration of justice in many parts of the country. Juries were either corrupt or easy-going; the laws were defective, or the courts lacked that severity which is indispensable to a just enforcement of the laws. The immediate consequence was a resort to lynch law in some parts of the Republic, and a somewhat general inclination on the part of aggrieved citizens to take the law into their own hands. This condition of things provoked a serious riot in Cincinnati, in March, 1884. One William Berner had been tried for assisting in the killing of his employer, William H. Kirk. The crime was one of peculiar atrocity and had been confessed by the principal, Joseph Palmer, and his accessory, Berner. Notwithstanding this, the jury found Berner guilty of manslaughter only. The observant public, reflecting that at that time there were no less than twenty murderers in the Cincinnati jail who had long been without due trial, were roused to a high pitch of indignation. Throngs of men assembled about the jail, grumbling and growling over the slow pace of leaden-footed justice and recalling the many scandals that had disgraced the criminal courts. A meeting was held in one of the public halls to protest against the verdict and to demand a more rigid enforcement of the laws.

It was an easy transition from protest to actual violence, and the meeting, hastily adjourned to shut off the advocates of mob law, was made an occasion for the gathering of a mob which flew to the jail and broke open the doors only to find that Berner had been privately removed to the State penitentiary in Columbus by the alarmed authorities. The sheriff brought in a company of militia and ordered the rioters to withdraw from the jail. They refused and were fired upon, several being killed. The rioting now became general in many portions of the city. Gun-shops were broken into and rifled of arms and the city was thrown into the wildest disorder. Barricades were built in the streets; the court-house was set on fire; prominent business buildings were threatened, and shots were exchanged between the rioters and the military. Great alarm prevailed throughout the

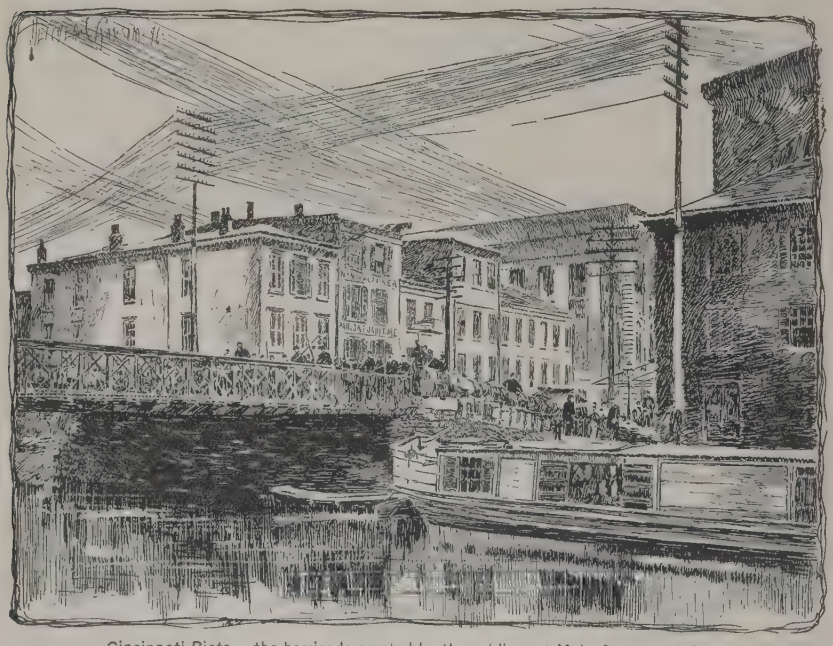
Riot in Cincinnati.

State, and the militia were hurried into Cincinnati to save the city from threatened destruction. As was the case in the railroad riots of Pittsburgh, in 1877, the mob finally spent its force and order was restored after six days' disorder had distracted Cincinnati. It was reported that 45 people were killed and 138 wounded during these riotous disturbances.

Other riots.

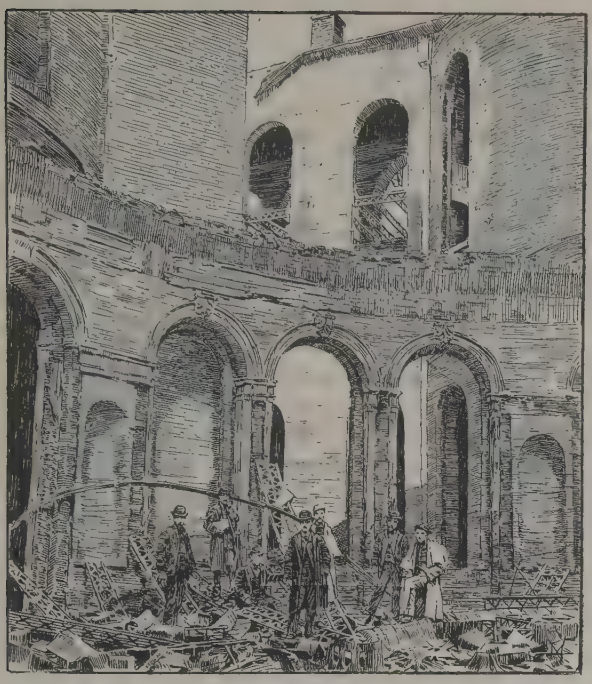
In April, 1884, a disagreement as to wages arose in the coal mines of Hocking Valley, Ohio, which was destined to play some part in the impending political campaign. The miners were undoubtedly poorly paid; and their statement of grievances excited much indignation throughout the country. Public sympathy was with the striking miners; but when, from protesting against the lockout that deprived them of work and reduced them to the verge of starvation, the strikers proceeded to acts of violence and incendiarism, they lost much of the sympathy that had been at first enlisted in their behalf. Lawless men had interfered to destroy the property of the mining operators; but, as usual, the real sufferers were not guilty of the crimes of rioters.

In February, 1884, the Ohio River again inundated a considerable section of country, the most destructive point of the freshet being



Cincinnati Riots — the barricade erected by the soldiers at Main Street and Canal.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph by Rombach & Groene.



The Cincinnati Court of Common Pleas, where Berner was tried, after it had been wrecked by the rioters.

Drawn by John Macdonald from a photograph by Rombach & Groene.

the city of Cincinnati. Heavy rains and melting weather had combined to swell the stream and its tributaries and break up the ice. The river rose rapidly, so rapidly indeed, that many poor families were surprised by the flood; their houses were swept away and a large part of the city was under water. Other towns and villages and outlying farms suffered heavily; buildings were carried off bodily by the freshet; many cattle and horses were drowned, and a few lives of the people were lost. The water at its highest stage reached the mark of 71 feet at Cincinnati, February 14th; this was the highest point ever recorded. With their accustomed generosity and thoughtfulness, the people of other States hastened to the relief of the stricken inhabitants of the Ohio Valley, and money, provisions, and other necessaries were forwarded to the sufferers. One notable feature of the flood in Cincinnati was the temporary loss of the means of lighting the city; the gas-works were under water and the horror of great darkness added to the dangers of the night.

There were signs of mutiny in the camps of the Republicans when it became apparent that Mr. Blaine would be the presidential candidate of the party in 1884. At the last previous convention of the party, in 1880, and before that, in 1876, "the man from Maine" had been a conspicuous candidate for the nomination. On the eve of the convention of 1876 he had been assailed with charges against his personal honesty, it having been alleged that he had been implicated in sundry disreputable railroad transactions. One of these was an

Lawrenceburg, Indiana, during the Floods of 1884.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a copyrighted photograph by Rombach & Groene.

allegation to the effect that he had transferred to the Union Pacific Railroad company seventy-five worthless bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad company as security for $64,000, which he had borrowed and never paid. This charge was disproved by the testimony of the President of the Union Pacific Railroad company, who swore that he had turned over to the company the bonds in question.

Charges against Mr. Blaine.

But the charges were immediately revived, and great importance was attached to a series of letters that had passed between Blaine and one Warren Fisher, relating to the transactions in which the former had been involved. These letters were now in the hands of James Mulligan, a clerk in the employment of Fisher. In an interview with Mulligan, Blaine obtained possession of the letters; and when his taking possession of them thus had incited his enemies to declare that he would not dare to divulge their contents, he confounded his opponents and surprised his friends by producing the letters in open session of the House and reading them. Blaine's friends claimed that this exposition of the famous letters completely exonerated him from all the charges that had been made against him. His enemies would not admit this exculpation. But even if this defence were complete, a misfortune prevented Blaine from taking any part in the proceedings which might have given him the nomination of

1876. He was prostrated by a sunstroke during the time when the nominating convention was held; he failed to receive the nomination.

The charges of 1876, amplified and amended, were brought up against Blaine when his candidacy became firmly developed in 1884. A very considerable element of the Republican party declared itself irrevocably opposed to his nomination. A few old-time Republicans openly proclaimed that they would not vote for him if he were nominated. They charged him with having used his official station for personal and mercenary ends, and declared him unfit for the high office of President. These persons, who were stigmatized as being too good and too knowing for the times in which they lived, were dubbed "Mugwumps" by the friends of Blaine. In the Algonquin dialect, it is said, a Mugwump is a person of superior rank and intelligence. The invention of 1884 introduced the Mugwump into American politics. The epithet, first employed in derision, was ultimately adopted by Blaine's opponents without demur.

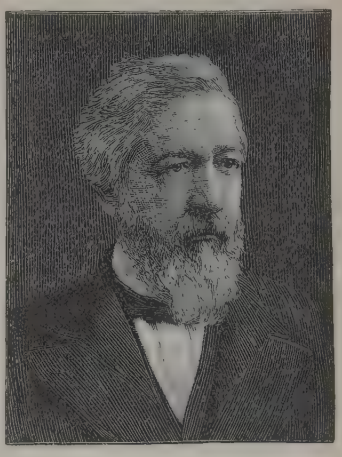
Advent of the Mugwumps.

At this time Blaine's popularity, especially in the Western States, was tremendous. He had the same hold upon the popular heart and imagination that Henry Clay had during his long and ineffectual chase for the presidency. His easy manners, sympathy with the people, fluent rhetoric, and captivating address made him the idol of the crowds. To defeat his nomination in the Republican National Convention which met in Chicago, June 3d, 1884, it was necessary that

Gas Tanks in Cincinnati during the Floods of 1884.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph by Rombach & Groene.

all his opponents should unite upon one candidate, as the anti-third-term men had united upon Garfield four years before. The delegates who were inclined to "mugwumpery" adhered to Senator George F. Edmunds, of Vermont. The element that was largely composed of the old Grant phalanx now stood by Chester A. Arthur, who, although he would probably not have been seriously regarded as a presidential possibility if he had not accidentally been given the opportunity to show of what stuff he was made, was now frankly a candidate. John A. Logan, of Illinois, was another strong candidate, and John Sherman was again in the field.



James G. Blaine.

Blaine nominated for president.

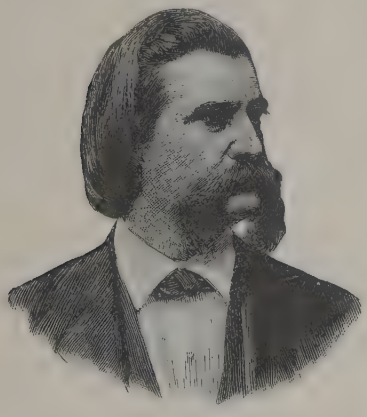
The convention was marked by many dramatic and stirring incidents, one of which was a renewal of the attempt made under Conkling's lead, in 1880, to bind the delegates to the support of the nominee of the convention, whomsoever he might be. This device to retain the threatening Mugwumps failed; the convention refused to adopt it. Blaine easily led on the first ballot, Arthur being second, and Edmunds, Logan, and Sherman following in the order in which they are here named. Logan sent a message to his friends to support Blaine when his own nomination seemed to become impossible. The Edmunds men could not unite on any one of the candidates; and Blaine was nominated on the fourth ballot by a decisive majority. The scene that followed was one of indescribable confusion and enthusiasm. The Blaine men were intoxicated with joy. They furnished the keynote of the campaign by singing songs glorifying "Blaine, Blaine, Blaine of Maine;" and in the midst of the tremendous uproar a floral helmet, bearing a long white plume, placed upon the desk of the presiding officer of the convention, recalled the proud title of "The Plumed Knight," given to Blaine in the convention of 1876, when he was put in nomination by a florid orator who, referring to Blaine's defiance of his enemies in the House of Representatives, said: "Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every defamer of his country and maligner of its honor."

At an evening session, General Logan was nominated for Vice-president, giving the ticket that sub-flavor of militarism which it was

supposed the people were not yet quite ready to give up. The platform resolutions were not characterized by the introduction of any new issue. They pledged the party to a reduction of the surplus now beginning to embarrass the Federal treasury, to the protective principle in the management of the tariff, to the control of corporations by Congress, and to the enactment of an interstate commerce law.

Cleveland nominated by the Democrats.

The Democratic National Convention met in Chicago, July 8th. For a long time before its convocation, the name of Grover Cleveland had been on the lips of multitudes of men. Cleveland's fame as the efficient and independent mayor of Buffalo, and his extraordinary triumph in 1882, when he defeated Folger for Governor of New York by the phenomenal majority of more than 190,000, seemed to point to him as "the Man of Destiny." The other candidates were Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, and Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania. None of these had a large following, and Cleveland was nominated on the second ballot. There was some dissension in the New York delegation, the Tammany delegates having stood out against Cleveland until the last moment. The defection of the Republican "Mugwumps" had greatly impressed the Democratic leaders; it was this consideration which deterred them from nominating any of the "old war-horses" that had been named. An independent man, fresh from the people, was more likely to receive the support of the bolters than any Democrat of the old school. The nomination of Thomas A. Hendricks as candidate for Vice-president placated the survivors of an elder time in politics. The decided attitude of the bolters from Blaine had attracted the attention of Democrats, who were ready to meet these half way.



John A. Logan.

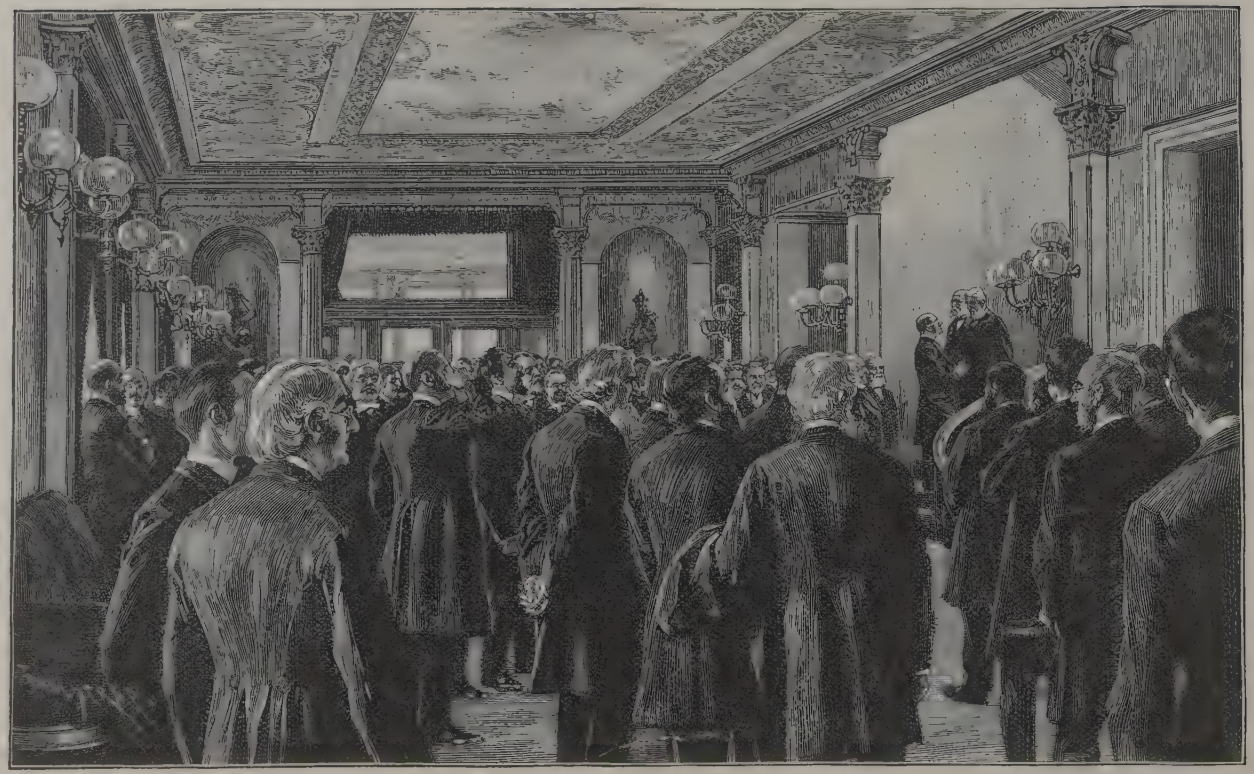
The platform of the Democratic convention was constructed with a view to making odious the Republican policy. On the tariff the deliverance of these resolutions was more than usually guarded. Instead of declaring in favor of a tariff for revenue only, the convention denounced the "abuses of the existing tariff," and demanded "that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the government economically administered."

The campaign that ensued was characterized by great enthusiasm on both sides, by an unseemly virulence, and by attacks on the private character of the candidates rather than by assaults upon the policy and principles of parties and nominees. In his letter accepting the nomination, Mr. Blaine set forth with much elaboration and lucidity the industrial condition of the country and the policy which should be pursued by the incoming Administration. Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance did not disclose any indications of the policy which he would pursue, if elected; but he did promise an honest, business-like, and just administration of public affairs. There were several other organizations in the field of National politics that year. The National, or People's, party, reorganized from the Greenback party of 1880, nominated General B. F. Butler, of Massachusetts; their platform demanded the substitution of greenbacks for the National bank currency, and denounced all corporate monopolies. The Prohibitionists nominated John P. St. John, of Kansas, for President. The American, or anti-Secret Society party nominated S. C. Pomeroy, of Kansas, for President. During the canvass an attempt was made on the part of Theodore Woolsey and other men of mark to induce St. John to withdraw, as his candidacy was an injury to the Republican strength, but St. John refused. General Butler was accused of playing into the hands of the Republicans and drawing from the Democratic strength, in return for money paid from the Republican party treasury. This was denied by Butler in a vigorous and vehement address which was printed and circulated in October.

Incidents of the campaign.

The campaign of the Republicans was not so strictly directed by an exposition of political principles as Blaine had evidently expected it would be. It largely partook of a defensive character, owing to the attacks of his adversaries. Political processions were employed by both sides; and the Democrats enlisted the aid of the starving Hocking Valley miners (Blaine being reported to own stock in the Hocking Valley mines) as a feature of their torchlight displays. They rung the changes on "the Mulligan letters," chanted passages from those celebrated documents, and made the most possible of all the petty scandals that had been brought against the Maine statesman. On their part, the Republicans were not far behind their adversaries with the volume of slanders which they produced. Some of these were indecent assaults on Cleveland's private character, and Democrats retorted in kind. One of the most striking incidents of the campaign was an ill-advised remark of the spokesman of a religious body, who, in an address to Blaine, referred to the fight of "the Plumed Knight" as an attack on "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion."

J. M. King.
S. D. Burchard. J. G. Blaine.



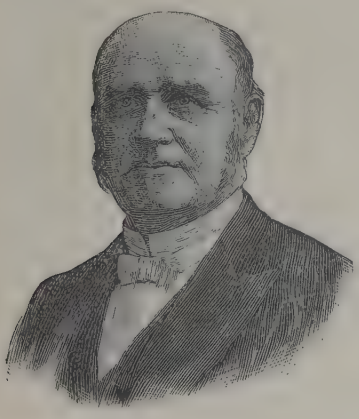
Drawn by T. de Thulstrup.

THE MINISTERIAL RECEPTION GIVEN MR. BLAINE AT THE FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, OCTOBER 29, 1884, AT WHICH THE "RUM, ROMANISM, AND REBELLION" SPEECH WAS MADE.

The alliterative phrase was at once caught up by Blaine's opponents and used with great effect to alienate from him the Irish Catholic votes, which, it was believed, were naturally gravitating to him. It was in vain that he disavowed any sympathy with the utterance of the spokesman, and declared that he had not even heard it at the meeting in which it was made. The phrase stuck, and it had some influence in determining the result. Mr Burchard's "Three R's."

The Democrats had begun the campaign confidently; for they had the 153 votes of the "solid South" and needed only 48 from the North to give them a clear majority in the electoral college. From the so-called doubtful States of Indiana, New Jersey, Connecticut, and New York these votes must come, the last-named being regarded as the "pivotal State," whose vote would decide the election. Cleveland's election. Cleveland carried all four of these, giving him 66 votes from the Northern States; the Republicans had all the rest. For several days, however, the result in New York was in doubt, and great excitement prevailed, angry Republicans charging that the returns were being tampered with in the Democratic interest. The canvass showed that Cleveland had carried the State by a plurality of 1,149 in a total vote of more than 1,000,000, and the electoral vote of the State (36) gave Cleveland 219 to Blaine's 182. The National popular vote was the largest ever polled up to that time, reaching over 10,000,000, of which Cleveland had 4,911,017, and Blaine had 4,848,334.

Grover Cleveland was the first Democrat to occupy the presidential chair since it had been vacated by James Buchanan, twenty-four years before. The political revolution thus effected was the more impressive on account of the length of the party domination to which it put an end. To many timorous people this disturbance of a long-continued party rule seemed fraught with dire consequences. They expected financial disasters and such an incursion of place-hunters at the National capital as had disgraced the country when Andrew Jackson's coming into power, in 1829, had displaced the Whigs and opened the flood-gates of official patronage for the people. Mr. Cleveland's inaugural address was reassuring; it breathed a manly and patriotic spirit, and even his enemies praised him for his moderate utterances and his evident desire to administer his high office with the single purpose of



Rev. Samuel D. Burchard.

serving the whole country with ardor and wisdom. Before he was inaugurated he was asked, by a committee of the representatives who were in favor of the free coinage of silver, to express his views on what is now known as "the silver question." His reply was not encouraging to those who advocated an unlimited coinage of the white metal.

The new cabinet.

President Cleveland's cabinet was announced as follows: Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning, of New York; Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney, of New York; Secretary of the Interior, L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; Postmaster-general, William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin; Attorney-general, Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas. The army of place-hunters in Washington were disappointed; they surged through the corridors of the various department buildings, camped in the hotels and parks, invaded the private offices of the chiefs of bureaus and made difficult the orderly transaction of current business. But, for the first time in the history of the Republic, a change in the political complexion of the National Administration did not involve an immediate and sweeping change in the minor offices in the gift of the Government. To a great extent, however, these changes were to come later, when even the stalwart resistance of the President must give way to the continuous pressure of the politicians; for the time being, office-hunting was deliberately discouraged.

Difficulties in building the new navy.

One of the earliest acts of the new Administration that aroused the antagonism of its opponents was the rejection of one of the cruisers built for the navy under a contract made by the previous Administration. The ship *Dolphin*, technically known as a despatch boat, after examination by a board of experts appointed by Secretary Whitney, was reported as unfit for duty on account of her "structural weakness." Attorney-general Garland, having examined the question of the disposition of the vessel, decided that the contracts under which the *Dolphin* was built were not valid. This so greatly embarrassed the contractor, John Roach, of Philadelphia, then engaged in building three large cruisers, the *Chicago*, *Atlanta*, and *Boston*, that he was forced into bankruptcy. The four vessels were subsequently finished under the direction of the Government, the Roach works and workmen being employed, with the consent of Roach's assignees. Roach did not long survive his financial suspension. He died in January, 1887.

In 1885 the renewal of the United States fisheries disputes with the Governments of Canada and Great Britain excited much ill-feeling on both sides of the Atlantic, the Canadians being especially violent in their expressions of hostility to the American fishermen.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Copyright by C. M. Bell.

W. C. Whitney.

The United States Government, annoyed and chagrined by the decision of the Fishery Commission, constituted by the Treaty of Washington, by which the round sum of $5,500,000 had been extorted as its price for American advantages in a reciprocal arrangement, took the very first opportunity to give notice of an abrogation of the arrangement under which that sum of money was paid. This was done by act of Congress, March 3d, 1883; and in June, 1885, the State Department concluded a diplomatic agreement with the British Minister by which the privileges conceded to American fishermen in the Treaty of Washington were continued through the season which had already been entered upon. The reopening of the old quarrel created much ill-feeling for the time; but it was evident that the United States Government was determined to secure a just and honorable settlement of the long-vexed question at the earliest possible day. Several years were to elapse before this desirable consummation could be reached.

General Grant died at Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, New York, July 23d, 1885, after a long and painful prostration, not unlike that which Garfield suffered, and during which, as in the case of Garfield, the American people universally sympathized with the illustrious man who passed away under distressing circumstances. Not long after his return from his foreign tour, General Grant became a partner in a New York banking house with his son and other persons. By the dishonesty of a junior partner, the firm became insolvent and great financial loss was entailed upon the general, who was now well stricken in years. Congress, at the close of Arthur's administration, endeavored to assist the general by placing him on the retired list of army officers, with the usual allowances and pay of a full general, although he had resigned from the army when he accepted the nomination for President in 1868. A soreness in the roof of his mouth, in 1884, developed into a cancer at the roots of the tongue, which ultimately caused his death. The last years of Grant's life were full of suffering; but in view of certain death, the heroic man maintained a calm demeanor, and, addressing himself to the task of writing a book of his memoirs, for the benefit of his family, he kept steadily at his work, which was completed four days before

Death and burial of General Grant.

his death. The subsequent sales of this book brought to his widow the largest amount of money ever earned by any single publication; the first payment to her was in a check for $200,000.

For five weeks after General Grant was taken to McGregor to breathe his last in the pure mountain air, the American people and many foreign nations read with sorrow the daily bulletins that gave token of the stealthy approach of death. The inevitable came at last, and millions of American ensigns all over the broad land drooped at half-mast as a sign that the war-worn and long-suffering soldier was no more. There was some controversy over the question of the place of his burial; but the wishes of his family finally prevailed, and

The Grant Funeral — the Procession arriving at the Tomb.
Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

the body was deposited in a temporary tomb in Riverside Park, New York city. The great civic and military funeral of Grant was one of the memorable sights witnessed in the metropolis after the war. It was the most imposing spectacle of the kind ever seen in the United States. The funeral took place August 8th, in the forenoon, and was attended with every incident and device that ingenuity and reverence could suggest and money could secure. The procession, stretching from the City Hall up Broadway, was eight

An impressive funeral pageant.

miles long. It moved to the solemn tolling of bells, the firing of minute guns, and the lamenting dirges of numerous military bands and singing societies. Among the formal mourners were the President and his Cabinet, the Vice-president, the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, Senators and Representatives in Congress, Confederate generals of renown, and men distinguished in the army, the navy, and civil life. General Hancock and a brilliant staff marshalled the funeral pageant, and by the bier, when the mortuary casket was brought to the tomb, were ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur, General Sherman, General Sheridan, Admiral Porter, and the Confederate Generals Gordon, Buckner, and Fitzhugh Lee. A naval

The Temporary Tomb, showing decorations, in 1890.
Drawn by W. N. Smith from a photograph.

detachment in the Hudson River fired a salute for the illustrious dead. The casket was laid in the temporary tomb, and the great event was over. A popular subscription, started soon after, was required to secure a great sum of money for an imposing mausoleum for the final reception of Grant's remains.

After repeated and inexplicable delays, Congress finally passed, in January, 1886, a bill to provide for the presidential succession, in the case of the death or disability of the person who should be chief

The Grant Monument in Riverside Park, 1896.
(Just before its completion.)
Drawn from nature by Otto H. Bacher.

executive. Notwithstanding the warnings given by the death in office of four Presidents, Harrison, Taylor, Lincoln, and Garfield, the statutes providing for the induction into the presidential office of a successor still remained very imperfect. It was merely provided that in case a vacancy should occur in the office, the Vice-president should act as President. Supplementary to this provision, it was enacted that in case the President and Vice-president should both be removed by death or disability, then the presidency should pass in order to the temporary President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. But it was possible that both of these two last-named offices might be vacant at the same time; and this contingency did actually happen when Arthur was called to the executive chair by the death of Garfield. The death of Vice-president Hendricks, November 25th, 1885, left the presidential succession increasingly uncertain.

The law of the presidential succession.

The law of 1886 provided that in case of the death or disability of the President and his lawful successor, the Vice-president, the presidency shall devolve upon a member of the existing cabinet in the historical order of the establishment,[1] beginning with the Secretary of State. Thus, in the event of death or disability depriving the country of the President and the Vice-

[1] The Executive Departments were established in the following order: State, Treasury, War, Attorney-general (subsequently known as Department of Justice), Post Office, Navy, Interior, Agriculture.

president, the presidential succession would fall to the members of the cabinet; and in case of the death or disability of the Secretary of State, first succeeding to the President's place, then the order of succession would be as follows, each taking the place of his predecessor removed by any casualty or constitutional disability: the Secretary of War, the Attorney-general, the Postmaster-general, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Interior.

Another important law of Congress, approved by the President January 18th, 1887, provided for the counting of the electoral votes of the States in joint meeting. In the absence of any statute that provided for all the contingencies possible when disputed returns should be before the joint meeting, great dangers had been avoided only by mutual forbearance. It was seen that there might come a time when this forbearance could not be safely counted upon; and anarchy and revolution might result from a dispute over doubtful, imperfect, or multiplied returns from the States. The law of 1887 provides that any question that may arise during the counting of the votes in joint meeting shall be discussed by each House separately. In case the two Houses shall not agree, when two or more sets of returns are offered from any State, then the returns that are "certified by the Executive of the State, under the seal thereof, shall be counted." The law seeks to place upon the several States the responsibility of determining the lawfulness of their election returns; and it also provides that no return shall be rejected except by the concurrent vote of both Houses of Congress.

The electoral count.

A pleasing international incident this year (1886) was the inauguration of the colossal statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," which took place in New York harbor on the 28th of October. The statue was the gift of liberty-loving Frenchmen, 100,000 of whom contributed to defray the cost of building the enormous effigy. The figure was made of sheet bronze, by M. Bartholdi, of France, and was ingeniously braced within; it represents the Genius of Freedom holding aloft a torch. The figure was placed on a pedestal, the cost of which was greater than that of the statue, and was met by a popular subscription in the United States. The monument, for such it is, was erected upon Bedloe's Island, which had formerly been occupied by a small fortification. The highest point of the statue (the tip of the torch) is 305 feet above low water. The festivities of the inauguration were participated in by distinguished officials of the French Republic, President Cleveland, and a great concourse of eminent citizens. A naval parade was one of the features of the celebration, and the city extended its hospitalities to the foreign dignitaries who honored the occasion by their presence.

The Bartholdi statue.

The second year of Cleveland's Administration will long be remembered for the notable events that marked its course. On the night of August 31st, 1886, a severe shock of earthquake was felt all over a section of country extending as far west as Dubuque, Iowa; as far south as Jacksonville, Florida; as far north as New Haven, Connecticut. The greatest intensity of these disturbances was felt in and immediately around Charleston, South Carolina. In that city a large number of buildings were thrown down, and other structures were so badly shattered that they were subsequently demolished. The loss entailed amounted to about $8,000,000. Many persons were killed by falling walls and timbers, and much damage was done to railway tracks by the rifting of the earth and the heaving of the ground into hummocks and other phenomenal irregularities. An indescribable terror seized upon the inhabitants, a large proportion of whom were ignorant and superstitious negroes. Their lamentations and cries added to the horror of the night; and thousands of them were compelled to camp in the open squares and suburban fields, while the terrifying shocks continued. These earth tremors did not cease at once, as is the manner of most seismic disturbances; for nearly a week the earth shook and rumbled, and awful noises proceeded from the bowels

The Charleston earthquake.

St. Philip's Church, showing the outer part of the tower fallen, with the framework intact.

SCENES IN AND NEAR CHARLESTON

Drawn from photographs

Camp of the Homeless on Colonial Lake.

Two-foot Fissure at Oak Forest.

AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE.

by W. St. John Harper.

of the solid globe. Relief for the distressed people was sent as soon as possible; but telegraph lines and railways were dismantled for a long time, and isolation increased the sorrows of the stricken city.

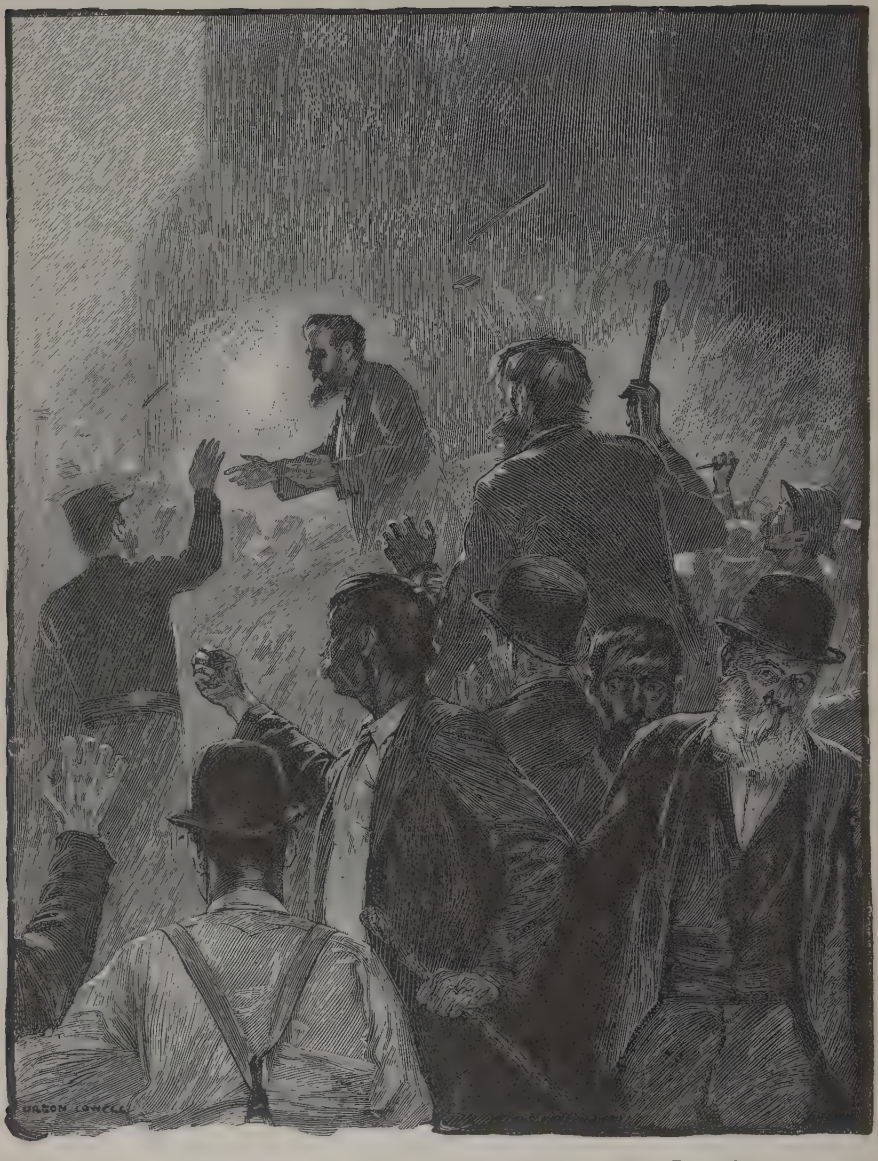
An extensive strike, beginning with freight-handlers in Galveston, Texas, ultimately spread all over the railway system of the Southwest, tying up a large railway combination and for a time prostrating almost every indus-

trial interest in the region immediately affected. At the beginning of the year, a strike was in operation in the Galveston district and a boycott of a steamship company ordered, on account of the substitution of colored men for white Knights of Labor, who had quit work when their demand for higher wages had been refused. All the freight-handlers on Texas railroads refused to touch freight brought by or consigned to the boycotted steamship line. The strike extended to the Southern Pacific and other railroads; and before the difficulty could be composed, the entire system known as the Missouri-Pacific was involved. Much acrimony was developed in consequence of the refusal of one of the railroad officials, Mr. Hoxie, Vice-president of the Missouri-Pacific, to hold a conference with the delegates from the Knights of Labor, or to recognize that society in any way. The Governors of Missouri and Kansas vainly offered to mediate between the companies and the strikers: there was some correspondence between Jay Gould, the capitalist, and some of the leaders of the strikers; but the trouble was not adjusted until after the first of May, when the strike gradually collapsed and the men resumed work, most of them accepting the company's terms and taking their old places individually, not collectively.

A great railway strike.

This strike was the most extensive which had ever been known in the United States. Its influence was far-reaching, for it was active in the States of Texas, Louisiana, Missouri, Kansas, and Arkansas, and it affected the business of nearly every other State in the Union. There was considerable disorder at times, and some rioting, which called out proclamations from Governors Marmaduke of Missouri, Hughes of Arkansas, and Ireland of Texas. Incendiarism, as usual, was resorted to by unknown persons during the strike, and much property was destroyed by these means. It was estimated that the striking employees lost nearly $900,000 in wages, and that the Missouri-Pacific Railroad company lost at least $3,000,000; to this must be added the great loss sustained by innocent persons thrown out of work by the long continuance of the strike.

Immediately on the heels of this misfortune came the anarchist riot in Chicago, May 4th, 1886. There had been much uneasiness among the laboring people of that city during the preceding month, and a strike in the yards of the Lake Shore Railroad company had resulted in considerable disorder. Governor Oglesby visited the yards, and under his advice the men agreed to arbitrate; after mutual concessions, work was resumed, April 22d. Fresh troubles soon broke out, and a demand for eight hours as a day's work was made. Failing to receive this, a general strike of workingmen was precipitated. This included, not only men employed by the railroad companies, but a great



Drawn by Orson Lowell.

"WE ARE PEACEABLE."

The scene in Haymarket Square, Chicago, during Fielden's speech, just before the bomb was thrown.

variety of workmen; by May 1st it was boasted that 40,000 men were "out" for the eight-hour rule. Incendiary speeches were made and processions were organized to march about the city with cries and devices of a threatening character. The freight-houses were closed and barred, and all the railroads were more or less crippled. Every law-abiding citizen dreaded a repetition of the scenes that had been witnessed in Pittsburgh during the great railroad strike of 1877.

By Monday, May 3d, the idle and demonstrative crowds had degenerated into a mob, and in a moblike spirit had assembled around the works of the McCormick Reaper Manufacturing Company, whose employees were under the displeasure of the strikers on account of their supposed contentment with their present lot. An attack on the works was made when the employees left on a half-holiday, and the police were called for. Dashing up with their patrol wagon, the police were fired upon by the mob, and in the mêlée which followed a dozen of the mob were wounded. This was the opportunity of the anarchists, who had all along been waiting for an occasion to put into practice their destructive theories. That night handbills calling upon working people to meet in a square known as the Old Haymarket were circulated; the bills were printed in English and in German, and the object of the meeting was declared to be to "denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen," the affair at the McCormick works being thus referred to.

Anarchist plot in Chicago.

About 1,400 people responded to this invitation. The first of the speeches delivered by the anarchists were rather moderate in tone; but one Fielden, an Englishman, addressed the crowd in a vehement style, declaring that the law was the people's enemy and that he and his associates were rebels against it. At this point a detachment of police, 180 in number, marched upon the ground and ordered the throng to disperse. It appeared as if Fielden gave the signal for an attack; for as he said, "We are peaceable," and fired a pistol, a lighted bomb was thrown from a narrow alley near the throng of policemen. Falling in the midst of their ranks, the missile exploded with fearful effect, killing one of them instantly and so wounding five others that they subsequently died; several policemen were also grievously wounded. The news of this murderous outbreak created a profound impression throughout the United States. It was suspected that the anarchical association in Chicago might have branches ramifying all over the country, with headquarters in the great cities. For a time the anarchists and their friends rejoiced in their notoriety and in the terror that their deeds had evidently inspired. The result was not altogether encouraging to these architects of ruin.

Trial, conviction, and sentence of the Anarchists.

It was not difficult to identify the leaders in the bloody plot. Eight of the anarchists were arraigned on the charge of conspiring to kill. Judge Gary, presiding, early in the trial, gave a decision to the effect that it was not necessary that the members of a conspiracy should have agreed to commit a murder at any particular time to constitute them murderers or accessories before the fact; that if the killing has been agreed upon, the conspirators are guilty of murder, although the other details of the murder are not settled, providing the killing has been done. The evidence adduced was furnished by anarchist informers, detectives, and newspaper reporters. It was shown that dynamite, bombs, deadly explosives, and weapons of various kinds were handled at the secret meetings of the anarchists; and some of these were found in the haunts of the criminals brought to trial. The men convicted of murder were August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg. Oscar Neebe was found less guilty, and his punishment was fixed at fifteen years' imprisonment; the others were sentenced to death.

With the approval of Judge Gary and the prosecuting attorney, Mr. Grinnell, Governor Oglesby commuted the sentences of Schwab and Fielden to imprisonment for life; Lingg committed suicide in prison by exploding in his mouth one of his own bombs; Engel, Parsons, Fischer, and Spies were hanged, November 11th, 1887; and the three convicts who remained in prison were subsequently pardoned by Governor Oglesby's successor, Governor Altgeld, eight or nine years later. The heroism of the police, who charged upon and dispersed the mob in the Old Haymarket, undeterred by the frightful slaughter wrought by the bomb, was duly honored by the erection of a noble monument on the spot where their comrades fell.

Political criticism of Mr. Cleveland.

As the Senate of the United States was Republican, President Cleveland was subject to frequent criticisms by that body for his acts. One of the earliest political incidents of the time was a controversy that arose between the President and the Senate over the suspension from office of a district attorney in Alabama. The Senate asked for the papers in the case, the presumption being that the official was removed for political reasons. The President replied that the papers were private, not public; and he refused to send them to the Senate. The incident closed without any result further than confirmation of the growing suspicion that removals from office were being made on political considerations.

Another criticism of the President's course was directed against his frequent vetoes of bills to provide pensions for veterans of the war. During the session of Congress that ended in August, 1886, Con-

gress passed 747 pension bills, of which the President signed 491; 154 became laws without his signature, 101 were vetoed, and one remained unsigned when the session closed. The messages of the President that accompanied the pension bills returned to Congress were objected to as "partaking too much of the character of a lecture." The motives of the pension-seekers, and sometimes of Congress, were impugned.

The Statue erected in Haymarket Square to the Murdered Policemen.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

In numerous instances, rejoinders were made by the pension committees of the Senate or House, in which it was argued that the President had acted under a misapprehension of the facts. The contention of those who opposed the passage of most of these private pension bills was that the proper channel through which pensions should be sought by deserving persons is the bureau provided for that purpose. The President early acquired a reputation for exercising the veto power with unusual freedom. During the session of Congress just referred to, he vetoed 115 bills, mostly providing for private pensions or public buildings.

Civil service reform, notwithstanding serious drawbacks, made substantial progress during President Cleveland's term. So great was the desire of some of the leading Democrats to make the pathway to official patronage easier, that one Senator, Mr. Vance, of North Carolina, actually endeavored to have the entire machinery of the civil service reform bureau destroyed. His motion to repeal the law, June

18th, 1886, was lost by a large vote in the Senate, and the reform was confirmed.

Deaths of notable men.

During the year 1886 a remarkable number of conspicuous American statesmen passed away. Vice-president Hendricks had died late in the preceding year; and in 1886 three men who had been candidates for the presidency died, as follows: General W. S. Hancock, February 9th; Horatio Seymour, February 12th; and Samuel J. Tilden, August 4th. Ex-President Chester A. Arthur died November 18th, 1886.

Revenue reform attracted much attention during the Administration of Cleveland, the accumulation of surplus revenue in the treasury being a source of constant anxiety to all observant citizens. It was felt that this accumulation indicated the necessity of modifying the burdens of taxation so that the people should not be taxed to fill the treasury with an unused surplus. In his message to Congress, in December, 1887, the President boldly engaged the financial situation; and waiving the questions of Free Trade and Protection, he insisted that a reduction of taxation was the plain and simple duty which the Federal Government owed to the people. Prefacing his recommendation with the phrase, "It is a condition which confronts us, not a theory," he referred to a radical reduction of duties on raw materials and the necessaries of life as being imperatively needful.

Changes in the personnel of the Administration.

Several important changes in the Administration were made during its closing years. Mr. Manning, Secretary of the Treasury, resigned on account of ill health, February 4th, 1887, and was succeeded by Charles S. Fairchild, of New York; Mr. Manning died in December of that year; L. Q. C. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, appointed to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, December, 1887, resigned his place as Secretary of the Interior, and Postmaster-general Vilas was transferred to the Interior Department. At the same time, Donald M. Dickinson, of Michigan, was appointed Postmaster-general in place of Mr. Vilas. There was some objection to the confirmation of Mr. Lamar as Associate Justice on account of his active participation in the rebellion; the change thus proposed was not confirmed by the Senate until the following January. Morrison R. Waite, Chief Justice of the United States, died March 23d, 1888, and was succeeded by Melville W. Fuller, of Illinois. Another notable man, General Philip H. Sheridan, died during that year. General W. T. Sherman, who had been placed upon the retired list of the army with the rank and pay of a full general, was succeeded in command of the army by General Sheridan, November 1st, 1883. Sheridan succeeded to Sherman's rank as general under the operation of a special act of

Congress, June 1st, 1888, and died on the 5th of the following August.

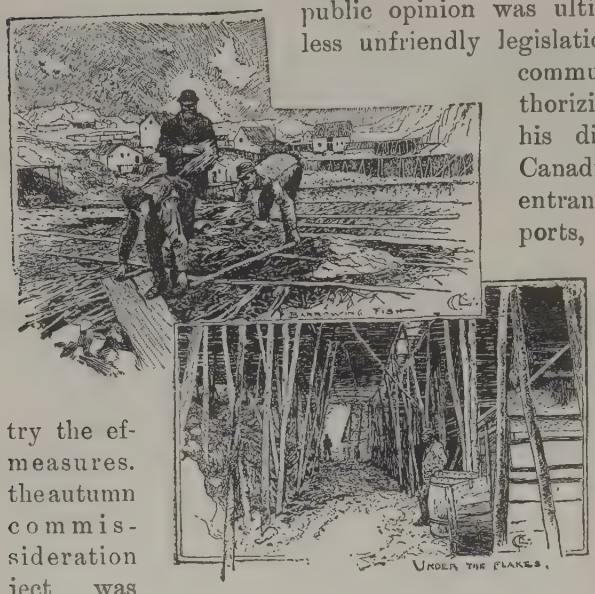
The Interstate Commerce Law.

An important legislative work accomplished in 1887 was the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Law, which was approved by the President, February 4th. For several years Congress had been besought to interfere for the better regulation of freight and passenger rates on railroads intersecting the States. This was resisted by attorneys of the corporations, who contended that Congress had no right to assume control of the subject. But it was strongly argued on the other side that the clause of the Federal Constitution that gives Congress the right to regulate commerce among the several States confers this authority. The new law provided for the appointment of five commissioners whose duties and functions were to inquire into the business of all common carriers and to enforce the law. Generally, the statute provided for justly uniform rates of railway transportation between the States; it made impossible the unjust discriminations that had been made, by some companies, most oppressive to individuals, communities, and corporations. The members of the first Interstate Commission were Thomas M. Cooley, of Michigan, William R. Morrison, of Illinois, Augustus Schoonmaker, of New York, Aldace F. Wheeler, of Vermont, and Walter A. Bragg, of Alabama.

Renewal of fishery disputes.

The later years of the Cleveland Administration were marked by a renewal of the apparently interminable fishery dispute. The termination by the United States of the reciprocity clause of the Treaty of Washington, under which the Canadians had enjoyed profitable privileges, deeply angered the people of the Dominion; it would appear that they now entertained a notion that if the American fishermen were sufficiently harassed by the Canadians, the United States Government would finally be driven into restoring those privileges for the sake of securing the advantages of which the American fishermen had been deprived. This is probably the explanation of the outrages committed upon American fishermen at Fortune Bay and other points along the Canadian coasts, when vessels were seized on the slightest pretext of irregularity, nets were torn up, and needed pilots and the necessaries of life were refused in Canadian ports.

The American people were greatly excited by these violent and unfriendly acts; and war with Canada was freely threatened in newspapers that tickled the popular fancy for belligerent demonstrations by making calculations of the number of men that could be poured across the border into Canada before the mother country could be made aware of what was about to happen. Congress at first threatened to cut off all communication by land or water with Canada, but



Scenes in Quidi Vidi, a Typical Newfoundland Fishing Town.

public opinion was ultimately satisfied by less unfriendly legislation respecting land communication and authorizing the President at his discretion to deny Canadian vessels "any entrance into the waters, ports, or places of or within the United States." This power was not exercised, the President preferring to try the effect of peaceful measures. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1887, a joint commission for the consideration of the whole subject was convened in Washington. The commission was composed of Secretary Bayard, President Angell, of Michigan University, and W. L. Putnam, of Maine, on the part of the United States; and Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, and Sir Lionel Sackville-West (British Minister to Washington), on the part of Great Britain.

The treaty drafted by this commission was submitted to the Senate during the next year; it was rejected on account of the prevailing belief that it conceded too much to the Canadians; but on their part the Canadians objected to the treaty as conceding too much to the Americans. The joint commission also agreed upon a *modus vivendi* which should enable all parties to participate in the privileges of the fisheries, pending the adoption of a formal treaty, American fishermen being allowed to take out licenses which would give them the rights of merchantmen in Canadian ports. Some of these licenses were sought for; but many fishermen preferred to fall back on the rules and regulations prescribed by older laws. The excitement subsided, and fishing was resumed without any further demand for retaliation on the part of the Government of the United States; and those thunders so carefully prepared for the unfriendly Canadians were allowed to sleep.

Another serious dispute arose between Great Britain and the United States at this time in consequence of the depredations committed on the fur-sealing grounds of Alaska by vessels fitted out in ports of

British Columbia. The region frequented by the fur-seals was leased to a commercial company by the United States Government, soon after the acquisition of Alaska by purchase. The Bering Sea trouble. Under the Russian Government, these grounds had been carefully protected, as an indiscriminate slaughter of the animals would soon destroy the entire industry. This protection was to be continued by the Government as a condition of the lease executed to the company paying roundly for the monopoly. Incursions of British and American vessels soon resulted in complaints from the lessees, and several vessels, most of which were British, were captured by the American revenue authorities. To enforce its claim to exclusive jurisdiction in the Bering Sea, the United States set up the theory that that body of water was "a closed sea." The claim was derided by foreign writers, and the British Government made demand for damages on account of the vessels seized and cargoes confiscated. There was a manifest conflict of opinion between the Department of Justice and the Treasury, in the United States, when these demands were being considered. The Attorney-general ordered the release of the seized vessels and their crews and property; the Treasury officials did not revoke the orders under which these seizures were made. Amidst much confusion of authority, the whole matter went over into the next succeeding Administration for adjustment.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A SECOND HARRISON ADMINISTRATION.

THE PRELIMINARY CANVASS OF 1888. — A GREAT DESIRE FOR BLAINE. — THE TARIFF IN THE CAMPAIGN. — HARRISON AND MORTON, CLEVELAND AND THURMAN NOMINATED. — OTHER NATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND NOMINATIONS. — "FLOATERS" AND "BLOCKS OF FIVE." — THE BRITISH MINISTER INVOLVED IN AMERICAN POLITICS. — ELECTION OF BENJAMIN HARRISON. — THE SAMOAN HURRICANE. — NEW YORK CELEBRATION OF WASHINGTON'S FIRST INAUGURATION. — FRIGHTFUL DISASTER AT JOHNSTOWN, PA. — THE PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS. — OPENING OF OKLAHOMA. — FOUR NEW STATES IN THE FAMILY. — THE GREAT SIOUX RESERVATION OPENED TO SETTLEMENT.

As the presidential campaign of 1888 drew near, there seemed to be but one logical candidate for each of the two great parties to nominate. Cleveland, by his firmness and courage, had silenced all opposition within his own party; and although there were occasional murmurs from rebellious members of the rank and file, it was evident that the Democratic party needed Cleveland more than he needed the party. His was the rare experience of a man who, as a leader, was popularly regarded as wiser, stronger, and better than the party that he led. At first, his failure to reward his followers with the sweets of office had excited the indignation and surprise of those who had never taken any higher view of politics than that which regarded politics as a means of getting at the offices. His occasional lapses from the unpartisan course which he had marked out for himself as regarded the distribution of patronage had alarmed the Mugwumps, whose cardinal principle was the absolute independence of the office-holder, so far as party considerations are concerned. But in the end Cleveland had managed to placate, if he did not wholly satisfy, both of these incongruous elements of the party that elected him. Nowhere on the political horizon could one discern a possible candidate for the Democratic party other than he.

As for the Republicans, their mortifying defeat in 1884 had somewhat chastened their spirit, and they were now approaching the presidential campaign with apprehensiveness, but with a certain desperate feeling that they owed their nomination to the man who had so

laboriously and gallantly led the fight during the last presidential contest. They urged that the narrow majority by which Cleveland carried New York (and thereby the election) was an accident, due to Burchard and possibly aided by frauds. They felt that somehow Blaine had been the victim of a great injustice, and that one more chance given him would surely carry him in triumph to the White House. With his old followers he was more popular than ever; for mingled with the adoration with which he was regarded was a certain sense of indignation at his wrongs that was almost akin to pity — a pity that kindled and deepened the sincere affection in which he was held by multitudes of men.

But "the Plumed Knight" was absent from the country; he could not readily be subjected to the "interviewing" process by which his intentions and desires could be made known to the country. The unanimity with which the Republicans called for him was sufficiently forcible to reach his ear, however, and in a letter dated in Florence, January 25th, 1888, he explicitly informed the Republican National Committee that his name would not be presented to the nominating convention. It was not complimentary to Blaine's candor that many of his followers cheerfully argued that this did not finally exclude him from the running. They insisted that he would yield gracefully when the nomination came to him unasked. The party was now thrown into confusion by the determination of some to accept his (Blaine's) letter with reservations and by the unwilling acceptance of that document as final by others who still clung to him in the belief that he would certainly win in another trial of speed on the presidential race. To satisfy all these, Blaine wrote a second letter, dated in Paris, May 17th, in which he distinctly declared that he could not allow the use of his name, at this time, without incurring a just charge of indirection. He virtually appealed to his devoted followers to save him from such an imputation and so false and embarrassing a position. Even this did not deter the more tenacious of his admirers from the hope that something would yet happen to make it possible for him to take the nomination.

Blaine declines to run.

The Democratic National Convention met in St. Louis, June 5th, attended by an unusually great assemblage of politicians whom the past four years of party enjoyment had warmed and nourished into a condition of comfort and confidence. At the opening of the session of Congress of 1887–8, in the preceding December, President Cleveland had departed from all precedent in office, and had devoted his annual message exclusively to a discussion of the tariff question, making a strong argument for an immediate revision of the existing tariff. Instantly party lines were formed on

The Mills bill in the canvass.

the issue so unexpectedly presented. Representative Mills, of Texas, chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means, prepared and brought forward a bill to revise the tariff, the main lines of which conformed to the general theory advanced in the President's message. The Mills bill was at once adopted as a party measure; loyalty to its principles, even its text, was required of all who would be regarded as true Democrats. Non-adherence to its claims as a party measure forfeited the favor of the Administration and the party leaders. The bill was yet pending when the Democratic convention assembled in St. Louis.

Naturally, the Mills bill was to be made prominent in the platform resolution adopted by the convention. Although the bill was still pending in the House of Representatives, so sacred was it as a party fetich that it was felt that the platform must uphold it, rather than it should be a part of the platform. Nevertheless, the reluctance of a considerable minority was respected, and the committee charged with the duty of framing the platform did not report directly upon the expediency of passing the bill. That was reserved for a postscript, as it were, one of three resolutions subsequently offered independently from the floor and unanimously adopted being to the effect that the convention indorsed and recommended the early passage of the bill then pending before the House of Representatives for the reduction of the revenue. Due regard to the dignity of a political deliverance that promised to be historic excluded mention of a piece of legislation which was then only inchoate. As a matter of history, the Mills bill never became a law; it failed to pass the Republican Senate.

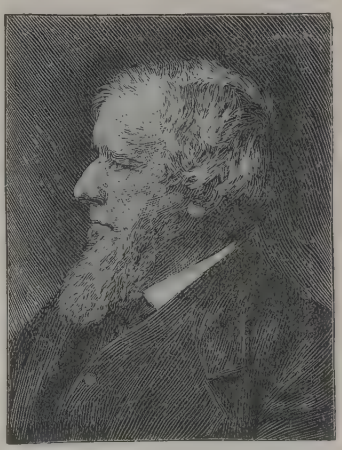
Roger Q. Mills.

President Cleveland's renomination had by this time become so firmly assured that a ballot was not necessary to express the voice of the convention. A simple resolution that he be the nominee of the convention was made and carried at once with tremendous enthusiasm. It was a long time before the cheering and musical accessories of the delegates' joy would permit the business of nominating a candidate for Vice-president to go on. There was some contest over this nomination, but the popular tide set strongly in favor of Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, a Democrat of the old school, who was affectionately known to his party associates as "the noblest Roman of them

Cleveland and Thurman nominated.

all." Mr. Thurman's old-fashioned habit of snuff-taking had caused him to use a red pocket-handkerchief; and the "red bandanna" was adopted by the Ohio delegation in the convention very much as similar badges were by an Ohio contingent when "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" was the watchword of the Whigs, years before. Isaac P. Gray, of Indiana, was the most formidable of Thurman's opponents; his followers, ardent and enthusiastic as those who supported "the noblest Roman of them all," wore white hats as the Gray badge; and after a good-humored display of these totems and emblems, the serious business of voting ended with the nomination of Thurman by a large majority. Mr. Thurman's red bandanna played a conspicuous part in the campaign that followed.

When the Republican convention assembled in Chicago, June 19th, it was seen at once that there was little or no concentration upon any one of the numerous candidates who were in the field. Strange to say, some of Blaine's more fanatical supporters still steadfastly refused to accept as final his repeated declaration that he was not to be considered as a possible candidate in any contingency whatever. He had thought it necessary, indeed, to send a third message to that effect, on the eve of the convention. On the first ballot there were no less than thirteen candidates voted for, as follows: John Sherman, of Ohio, Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, Chauncey M. Depew, of New York, Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, William B. Allison, of Iowa, James G. Blaine, of Maine, John J. Ingalls, of Kansas, William Walter Phelps, of New Jersey, E. H. Fitler, of Pennsylvania, Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois, and William McKinley, of Ohio. Besides these there were five other candidates who received scattering votes during the eight ballotings that were necessary to secure a choice. It is seldom that a political convention has begun its balloting with so much uncertainty as was characteristic of this. Sherman led with 229 ballots; he rose to 249 on the second ballot, and then steadily declined. Gresham began with 111 and rose to 123 on the third, but thence declined to the end. Alger began with 84, rose to 142 on the fifth, and fell to 100. The other candidates cut no important figure in the balloting; but it was significant of the tenacity of some



Allen G. Thurman.

Many ballots in the Republican convention.

of the Blaine men that they cast as many as 48 votes at one time and actually persisted with five votes on the eighth and last ballot.

On the fifth ballot Harrison received 213 votes, having led off with only 80. Sunday now intervened, and during the recess many changes took place. It was evident that Sherman had reached his highest strength; and Harrison, the next in apparent strength of numbers, was not much nearer the goal than when he had passed the hundredth point. Some of the candidates lower down in the list had withdrawn their names; and the decisive point was reached when the eighth ballot was taken, previous to which Allison's name was withdrawn and the Iowa vote was cast for Harrison. On the last ballot the vote stood as follows, 416 being necessary for a choice: Harrison, 544; Sherman, 118; Alger, 100; Gresham, 59; Blaine, 5; McKinley had 4, although he had repeatedly protested against the use of his name. Harrison's nomination was made unanimous amid cheering and other demonstrations of satisfaction that the convention had finally reached a harmonious conclusion.

Benjamin Harrison the Republican nominee.

Sherman, although he accepted the nomination of Harrison with sincere approbation, felt that he had not been fairly dealt with by some of those whom he had regarded as his friends. The movements of the Ohio delegation in the convention were sluggish; and in a historical work which Sherman wrote,[1] years after, he explicitly stated his belief that he was defeated for the nomination by a corrupt bargain made by the New York delegation. Sherman distinctly exonerated Harrison from all complicity or even knowledge of this bargain, but he said: "I believed then, as I believe now, that one of the delegates from New York practically controlled the whole delegation, and that a corrupt bargain was made on Sunday which transferred the vote of New York to General Harrison, and thus led to his nomination. It is to the credit of General Harrison to say that if the reputed bargain was made it was without his consent at the time, nor did he carry it into execution."

Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for Vice-president on the first ballot. The platform of the convention denounced the Mills bill as destructive of the industrial interests of the country, protested against the destruction of the American system of protection, declared in favor of the immediate admission to statehood of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana, and the early admission of New Mexico, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arizona; and it arraigned the policy of the Democratic Administration for its "inefficiency and cowardice" in the management of our foreign relations, and especially of the fisheries question.

L. P. Morton for Vice-president.

[1] *John Sherman's Recollections*, vol. ii. p. 1029.

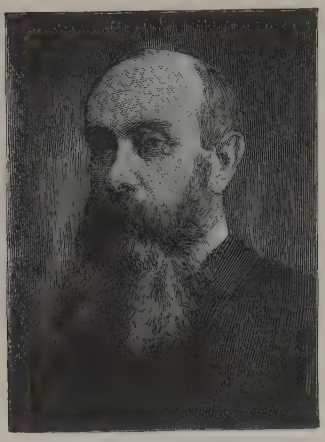
BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Of the other National conventions nominating candidates for the presidency, that of the Prohibition party met in Indianapolis, May 30th, and nominated Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey. The platform of this organization was so extended as to embrace nearly all the topics then engaging public attention. Among these woman suffrage came in for recognition; and polygamy, the tariff, the internal revenue system, and international arbitration were considered at some length. The labor organizations separated this year on sundry questions. The Union Labor party, so called, met in convention, May 15th, in Cincinnati, and nominated for President Alson J. Streeter, of Illinois. The United Labor party, whose strength was largely drawn from the Greenbackers, assembled in the same city, one day later, and nominated Robert H. Cowdry, of Illinois, for President. The American party met in Washington, D. C., August 14th, with a somewhat disordered personnel, owing to the disproportionate numbers of some of the delegations. The object of the "Americans" was declared to be the reassertion of distinctively American principles. James L. Curtis, of New York, was the nominee of the convention. The Industrial Reform party nominated Albert E. Redstone, of California, for President. The National Equal Rights party nominated Mrs. Belva Lockwood, of Washington, D. C., for that office; but a call for a National Greenback convention was so feebly responded to that the assembly made no nominations.

Other National candidates.

The presidential canvass of 1888 was conducted with more dignity and decency than that which had immediately preceded it. The Republicans had the good sense to abstain from reviving any of the vile stories that they had circulated against Cleveland during the campaign of 1884. Harrison's record as a politician, legislator, governor, and soldier was above reproach; and in all the public stations to which he had been called he had proved himself to be able, honest, and sagacious. His personal presence did not inspire enthusiasm; and in this respect he was wofully behind Blaine; for at no time, it may be said, did he ever have any considerable personal following other than that attracted by his undoubted abilities as a statesman and a politician. He had not a tithe of the "personal magnetism" so fondly ascribed to Blaine. He was a grandson of William Henry Harrison, ninth President of the United States, whose father was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

An incident of the campaign was the publication of a letter purporting to have been written by a British subject, naturalized in the United States, and addressed to the British Minister to the United States, Sir Lionel Sackville-West. The letter was signed with the



Lord Sackville-West.

name "Charles F. Murchison," was dated at Pomona, California, and asked the minister's advice (since as he was an exponent of British opinion), as to the writer's choice of candidates in the presidential election then pending. Into this clever trap, set by Republicans to illustrate President Cleveland's "un-American" predilections, the diplomat fell without hesitation. He advised his supposed correspondent that either party that openly favored the mother country would lose popularity; but on the whole, he was disposed to regard the election of Mr. Cleveland as the more desirable. The publication of this letter aroused a storm of indignation from the Democrats; it was received with shouts of laughter and applause by their opponents. For a time the Administration paid no attention to the incident; but when it became evident that the Irish-American vote was likely to slip out of the hands of the Democrats, the minister was notified that his presence was no longer acceptable to the Government at Washington. He declined to leave, however, and his passports were sent him as a further hint that he was expected to go home, the British Government having in the mean time refused to recall him. The minister departed, and the incident so irritated the British Government that the vacancy thus created was not filled during the remainder of President Cleveland's term of office.

The canvass was animated; and it has been alleged, probably with truth, that the corrupt outlay of money by both parties was greater than at any other previous time in the history of American politics. It was claimed that as the policy of protection was on its trial, manufacturers and others likely to benefit by a continuance of this policy must pay liberally toward the expenses of the campaign. One of the scandals of the time was the publication of an official order from the Republican National headquarters directing that workers in Indiana should "Divide the floaters into blocks of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge." On the other hand, charges of vast sums of money being raised and expended in the Democratic city of New York were freely and circumstantially made by the Republicans. The most prominent figure in the open canvass was James G. Blaine, who returned from Europe in time to take an active part, first speaking in his own State of Maine and then making a tour of the West and speaking in a few cities in New Jersey and

New York. The main question discussed by the speakers on both sides was the tariff. Among the Democratic speakers was the candidate for Vice-president, Mr. Thurman, who, although he was advanced in years and was in feeble health, made a series of admirable addresses in the West and in the cities of New York and Newark, New Jersey.

The result of the election was the choice of Harrison and Morton by 233 electoral votes; Cleveland had 168 votes, of which the greater part were from "the solid South." Of the so-called doubtful States of the North, Cleveland carried New Jersey and Connecticut; and Harrison had New York and Indiana. Nevertheless, Cleveland had a plurality of a little more than 100,000 in the popular vote. The total popular vote that year was more than 11,000,000. Of these ballots Cleveland had 5,540,329; Harrison had 5,439,853; all others an aggregate of 400,000 in round numbers; Streeter, the Union Labor candidate, led the list of those who received no electoral vote.

Harrison and Morton elected.

The last year of President Cleveland's term of office was one of general prosperity in the United States. The crops were abundant, that of the cornfields being the largest on record. Labor disturbances, almost as a matter of consequence, were less frequent during the year, and a marked decline in the activity of some of the labor organizations was noticeable. The order of Knights of Labor suffered a great diminution of its numbers during this time, and its leaders were worsted in some of their conflicts with railroad managers.

The railroad corporations manifested some resistance to the ruling of the Interstate Commissioners; and the section of the new law which prohibited pooling by the companies was regarded by the managers as most objectionable on account of the lively competition occasioned by the completion of new lines. The issue of passenger tickets to brokers at reduced rates was denounced by the commissioners as illegal; other means employed to evade the law were discussed by the newspapers; and public demands for reform in railway management were vehemently made. In Iowa, where the Granger element had been dominant, the State railroad commissioners attempted to reduce the rates of railway transportation to a very low figure; the companies resisted and appealed to the Circuit Court of the United States, and an injunction was issued restraining the commissioners from enforcing the new tariff, the presiding justice (Judge Brewer) taking the ground that no rates were just which so far reduced the earnings of a railway that running expenses, fixed charges, and due profit could not be realized.

Closing year of Cleveland's term.

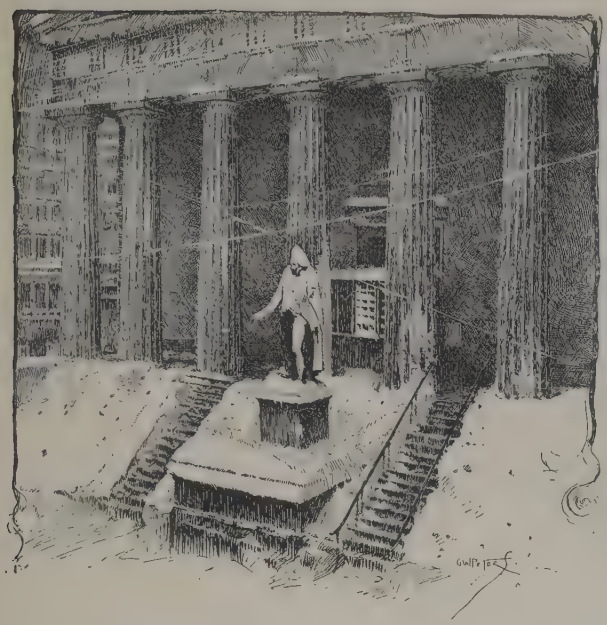
The silver question did not excite much popular concern during these later years of the Cleveland Administration. Congress was

advised by the Secretary of the Treasury to order the suspension of the coinage of the standard dollar and to keep the silver purchases authorized by existing laws in the form of bullion. But no action was taken upon this suggestion.

Before vacating office, President Cleveland had the pleasure and honor of signing a bill providing for the admission of four new States to the Federal Union. These were North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, and Montana. The conditions precedent to their admission, however, were not fulfilled until later, and President Harrison made proclamation of the final acts of admission during the first year of his Administration. President Cleveland signed the bill providing for these additions to the family of States on the 22d of February, 1889. The admission of these four States made necessary a change in the arrangement of the stars in the field of the National ensign and the Union Jack of the navy. It was accordingly ordered that on and after the Fourth of July next succeeding the admission of the States (in this case July 4th, 1890), the stars should be set in parallel lines, forty-two in all. The stripes, seven red and six white, were to remain as before.

Early in 1888 the North Atlantic States were visited by a violent storm of wind and snow, the centre of which was the city of New York. This storm, which was preceded by rain, began March 11th, and continued with varying severity until the night of the 13th. It is known in history as "the great New York blizzard," a term borrowed from the West and signifying a gale accompanied by intense cold and dry and driving snow. On the morning of the 12th, railway travel in the region of Eastern New York and New Jersey was wholly suspended. Mail facilities were brought to a standstill; and for forty-eight hours every variety of travel, except that of painful and laborious walking, was laid under embargo in the cities most seriously affected. The tremendous cold and the deep snows prevented street railways, elevated railways, stages, hackney coaches, and cabs from moving. Passenger trains were weather-bound in the country; their passengers were compelled to pass one or two nights in the cars, foraging among the farmhouses and sometimes suffering for lack of fuel. In the city the streets were blocked with snow, and it was with great difficulty that the necessaries of life were delivered from the great depots of supply. In some instances the supplies gave out, milk, coal, fresh meats, and vegetables being for a time scarce and difficult to get at any price. There was dread of a famine; but the crisis passed, the blockade was raised, and the city which had been the centre of this phenomenal commotion resumed its normal conditions. Several deaths resulted from exposure to the

A great blizzard in New York.



The Sub-Treasury in Wall Street.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

storm; and not a few persons bearing the stress of the weather or being overtaxed by the exertion required to wade through the snow-blocked streets, subsequently died of disorders brought on by exhaustion.

Mr. Harrison was inaugurated President of the United States March 4th, 1889; his cabinet was as follows: Secretary of State,

Union Square, New York, during the Great Blizzard of 1888.
Drawn by A. Schoennagell from a photograph.

James G. Blaine, of Maine; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, of Vermont; Postmaster-general, John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania; Attorney-general, W. H. H. Miller, of Indiana; Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York; Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, of Missouri; Secretary of Agriculture, Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin. The new President's inaugural address presented no striking features, but was a business-like and sensible production, enforcing the principles which had been advocated in the preceding canvass by the Republican party.

The Samoan incident.

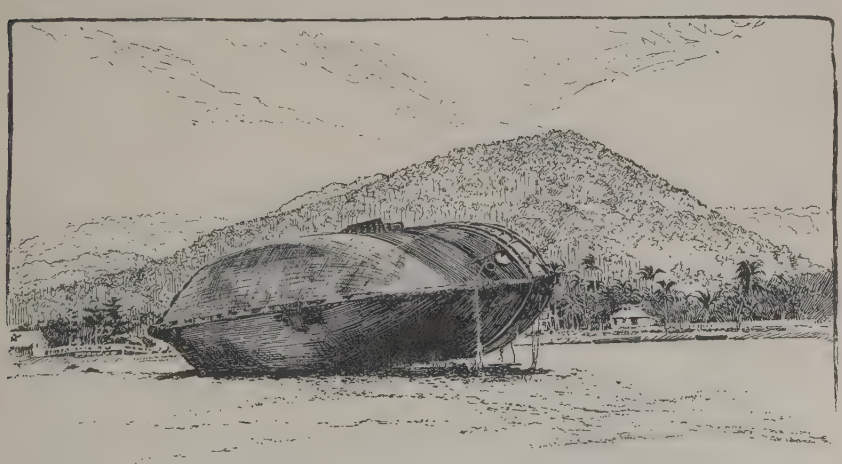
One of the earliest topics to engage the attention of the new Administration was the relation of the United States to the Samoan question, then a subject of disturbance with Germany and Great Britain. During the Hayes Administration a treaty was executed by the United States with the King of the Samoan Islands by which certain exclusive privileges were granted to naval vessels of the former power in the harbor of Pago Pago. At that time, and for a long period subsequently, civil war prevailed on the islands, the German Government siding with one of the chieftains and the United States supporting the claims of another who had apparently the legitimate right to rule. The attitude of the British Government was less decided than either; but the British Foreign Office generally declined to take any active part in the conflict that raged in the islands. The German representatives in Samoa assumed to consider American and British citizens as subject to military law; in the chaos which ensued the independence of Samoa was threatened. But at a conference, held April 29th, 1889, it was agreed by the three powers — Germany, Great Britain, and the United States — that the deposed King, Malietoa, should be restored, and that, the independence of the little kingdom being guaranteed, the general administration of its affairs should be in the hands of the Samoan people; but a Supreme Court, consisting of a single judge, was constituted, the presiding justice being appointive by the three signatory powers.

In the midst of these dissensions on the Samoan group, a fearful hurricane burst upon the islands and destroyed or disabled all the German and United States men-of-war that had congregated in the harbor of Apia to give support to the diplomatic negotiations of the representatives of the two governments. The vessels were anchored in a semicircular bay when the storm broke, March 15th, 1889, and attempts were made to get under way and avoid drifting upon the reefs in the harbor. The British corvette *Calliope* alone succeeded in getting out to sea. The German flagship *Adler* was capsized, with the loss of 20 men; the German gunboat *Eber* first

struck a reef and then turned bottom upward, losing 71 officers and men; the German corvette *Olga*, after striking nearly every other vessel in the fleet, was run ashore on a sand-flat. Of the United States war-ships, the *Vandalia* was carried on a reef and sunk, losing five officers and 39 men; the *Nipsic* was run upon the beach, losing her screw and rudder and seven men; the *Trenton*, after being roughly handled by the hurricane, was thrown on the beach in front of the American consulate, with the loss of one man. The behavior of the officers and men of the American men-of-war was courageous, and their skill prevented the greater losses that at one time seemed inevitable. During the storm, which lasted two days, every merchant vessel in port, fifteen altogether, was either sunk or stranded.

Centennial of the inauguration of Washington.

A happier event in the early history of the Harrison Administration was the New York celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of Washington. The observance assumed a National character, as it was participated in by sundry dignitaries of the United States Government and by detachments of the army and navy; but for the most part, it was carried on by the citizens and government of the metropolitan city in which it was originated and by the State authorities, who subsequently took it up and made it the object of their care and generosity. The impressive and beautiful incidents of the celebration extended over three days, and, so far as possible, the original features of the ceremonial arrival of Washington in New York, in April, 1789, were commemorated. As Washington arrived by the way of Elizabethport, New Jersey, so President Harrison, accom-



The German Gunboat *Adler* at Apia after the Samoan Hurricane.

Drawn by H. L. Brown from a photograph by Davis.

panied by members of his cabinet and other distinguished guests from the National capital, arrived at the same place, April 29th, where an impressive demonstration was made under the auspices of the State of New Jersey. One feature of the reception was imitated from that of Washington, when a bevy of young girls strewed flowers in the path of the approaching President-elect. The same route as that taken by Washington, one hundred years before, was driven over by his successor in 1889.

One of the most striking features of the great celebration was the water pageant that accompanied the President from Elizabethport to New York. Leaving the little New Jersey seaport on a United States despatch-boat, and followed by a long procession of pleasure craft, the presidential party steamed around into New York bay and passed through a double column of gaudily decorated vessels anchored along the route. The United States naval contingent embraced representatives of three periods in its history; the *Essex*, bearing one of the historic names of the old navy, the *Kearsarge*, recalling the memories of a famous sea-fight of the civil war, and the *Chicago*, being the type of the newest addition to the iron-clad fleet of the Republic. Next to the naval vessels came the revenue service and harbor steamers, and next were the private yachts of New York. In double lines behind these were the merchant ships; and all were dressed in a profusion of flags and bunting, streamers and pennants, the whole forming, on the blue water and under the brilliant April sky, a spectacle of unrivalled beauty. Off Wall Street, where Washington landed, the President was taken on board a barge manned by twelve retired sea-captains, and, amid the blare of music, the firing of salutes, and the cheers of thousands of spectators, was escorted into the city. Raising anchor, the assembled fleet, divided into three squadrons, under the command of Admiral David Porter, passed up the Hudson River to the lower end of the Palisades, and was then disbanded.

A reception at the City Hall, an elaborate luncheon, and other attentions to the President occupied the daylight hours; and the day was wholly given over to merrymaking and holiday entertainment by the people. At night, a great and brilliant ball was given in the Metropolitan Opera House, which the President attended, and which was one of the famous social events of the time. The second day, the actual anniversary of the first presidential inauguration, opened with cannon salutes and a display of the National colors if possible more striking than that of the previous day. Following the historic example of Washington, the President attended divine service in St. Paul's Chapel, where were assembled many lineal de-

President Harrison being rowed ashore at Wall Street, New York, during the Inauguration Centennial of 1889.

Drawn by W. St. John Harper from a photograph.

scendants of the old families of New York who were represented in the congregation that greeted Washington one hundred years before. Next came the literary exercises of the day, in front of the United States Treasury building, at the corner of Wall and Nassau streets; and on the very spot where Washington took the oath of office in 1789, a platform had been erected for the reception of the President and the prominent persons participating in the ceremonial.

A bronze statue of heroic proportions had been already set up to mark this historic spot, and the chair, Bible, and table used on this later occasion were all related to the first inauguration. The oration was delivered by Chauncey M. Depew; a poem, written for the day by John G. Whittier, was read, and President Harrison made a brief address. A vast concourse of people filled every space available within seeing distance of the treasury building. But the great feature of that day's doings was a military procession representing the Nation and the several States. That vast pageant, in which were more than 50,000 persons, marched in three divisions, under the command of General John M. Schofield, and was headed by 400 cadets from the United States Military Academy, a naval brigade of 1,200 men, and 1,200 men from the army of the

A great military parade.

United States. Twenty-three States were represented in the long line that followed; each State had sent a militia contingent, and at the head of each of these rode the Governor of each State, the Old Thirteen leading the line. The enthusiasm that greeted this remarkable and unique feature of the procession was unbounded. It was impressive to see in line Massachusetts and Florida, New York and Louisiana, with their citizen soldiery and their respective governors. The Grand Army of the Republic and the Loyal Legion, representing veterans and survivors of the civil war, came next; and in the line preceding were recognized not a few who had been brave fighters on "the other side;" Fitzhugh Lee was Governor of Virginia and John B. Gordon of Georgia.

A monster open-air concert by choruses and orchestra (in Madison Square) and a banquet at the Opera House concluded the day's festivities. The third day was devoted to a civic parade. Under the marshalship of General Butterfield, who had been General Hooker's chief of staff, a procession of students from colleges and pupils of public schools, trades, firemen, charitable and mutual benefit organizations, military corps of foreign-born citizens, and other civic associations passed down Fifth Avenue, by the reviewing stand, where stood the President of the United States, ex-President Cleveland, members of the cabinet, Senators, and other distinguished citizens. The array of boys from the public schools, marching in admirable order and carrying patriotic emblems, was one of the most attractive features of this parade; and another characteristic phase of the passing show was the introduction of a series of historic groups that revived the stories of the past: Hendrik Hudson, John Smith and his party, William Penn and the Quakers, and similar figures typified the colonial period; and Washington and his compeers were introduced to illustrate the revolutionary era. In this interesting pageant more than 75,000 persons took part.

One notable characteristic of this centennial celebration was the universality of its observance, which seemed to bespeak a revival of that patriotism which glowed and flamed during the civil war. The city of New York was a blaze of the National colors, covering alike the homes of the poor and those of the rich. The route of the processions was richly and artistically decorated. At certain points were beautifully designed temporary arches; and one of these, at the head of Washington Square and facing Fifth Avenue, designed by Stanford White, was subsequently reproduced in enduring marble to perpetuate in the "Memorial Arch" the glories of that day.

Only a few days had passed after this inspiring and memorable celebration in New York, when the whole country was thrilled with

horror by the dismal tidings that a great catastrophe had overwhelmed the towns and settlements of the Conemaugh Valley, in the western part of Pennsylvania. This memorable disaster occurred on the 31st of May, 1889. The city of Johnstown, 39 miles west-southwest of Altoona and 78 east-by-south of Pittsburgh, was practically wiped out by the onrush of one of the most destructive floods of modern times. Conemaugh Lake, a sheet of water in a basin partly natural and partly artificial, was at the head of a lateral valley which debouched into the rock-bound valley in which the city was built. The lake, about 18 miles from Johnstown, was confined by a dam nearly 1,000 feet in length and 110 feet high. This dam had been regarded with apprehension by the people of the region roundabout, its suspected weakness being considered a menace to the towns and villages in the valley below. But the owners of the property, members of a pleasure-seeking club, were assured that the dam was in no danger of giving way. The body of water here confined was 275 feet above the level of Johnstown and was 100 feet deep in many places, with a length of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and width of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Here was a tremendous power for destruction held within insecure bounds just above a doomed community.

The Johnstown flood.

Violent and long-continued rains had so swollen the feeders of the lake that the water was running over the dam during the earlier hours of the fatal 31st of May; and at half past two o'clock in the afternoon, so grave were the fears of the watchers at the lake that mounted messengers were sent to warn the inhabitants of the valley below of the danger. But the people, used to small freshets, paid little heed to the gradual rise of the water in their streets. Most of them laughed at the often-repeated story of the weakening dam. A few hundred persons fled to the hills, and so escaped the flood that was then impending. At three o'clock in the afternoon the centre of the dam gave way and a break 300 feet wide was opened. Through this the imprisoned waters burst like a thunderbolt in a compact, upright mass, carrying a front of nearly forty feet in height. This solid bolt, as it seemed to be, sped down the valley with tremendous swiftness, tearing from the ground every vestige of human habitation, and even rending the earth as it shot towards the doomed city. The eighteen miles between the lake and Johnstown were covered in about seven minutes. Then the gigantic wave, laden with trees, logs, timbers, railway iron and machinery, fragments of buildings, rocks, and bodies of the slain, struck the city with a force more destructive and more tremendous than that of a tornado. Almost in the twinkling of an eye, the city was destroyed. The flood, divided by the natural features of the valley, attacked the city in two wings; these ploughed their way

Tree driven through House at Johnstown.

(This tree, an elm, was torn out of the ground by the flood, which ground off the roots and hurled it through an adjacent dwelling)

Drawn by John Macdonald from a photograph by Rau.

through Johnstown, struck a great stone viaduct below, and whirled around, the currents and counter-currents forming a seething, boiling whirlpool, on the stormy surface of which was borne a vast mass of indescribable wreckage. The choked arches of the viaduct prevented the escape of the waters, and a dam was formed to retain for a time the floods. This recoil completed the destruction of Johnstown.

A night of horror succeeded this awful inundation. One mass of wreckage was accidentally set on fire, and the terrors of a conflagration were added to those of the flood. No less than fifty persons were rescued from this enormous pyre, but it was supposed that many others lost their lives in the flames that raged for nearly twelve hours. Floating around on wrecks of houses were panic-struck sufferers, who, in the mad whirl of waters, were continually in danger of missiles shot to the surface by the eddying and seething currents. The bodies of the drowned choked the outlets of the flood, mingled with a confused welter of débris. So swift was the movement of the waters that dead bodies were found in the Allegheny River, next morning, at Pittsburgh, seventy-eight miles distant.

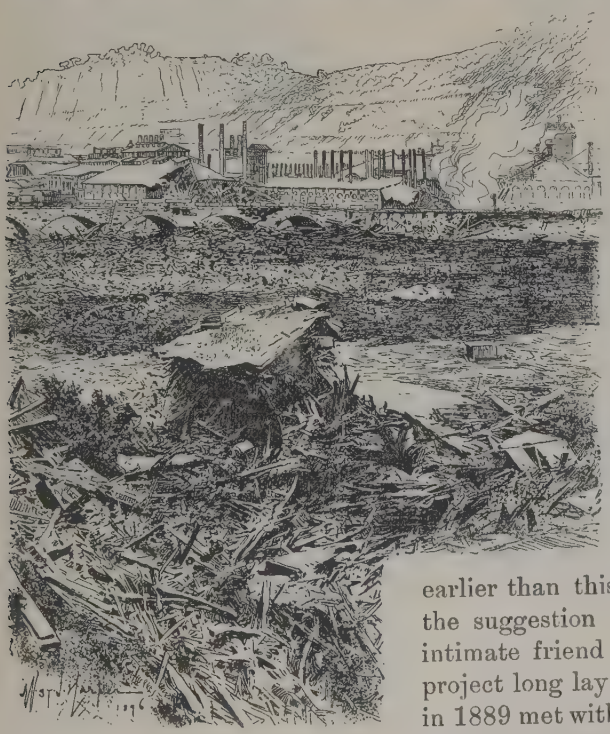
The loss of life by the Johnstown flood was estimated at 5,000. The property loss was $10,000,000. Great destitution prevailed, for whole communities had been deprived of home and subsistence. Relief soon came pouring in from all parts of the United States, and before the work of mercy was brought to an end, about $3,000,000 in cash, supplies, and cheap frame houses for immediate occupation were

sent to the stricken Conemaugh valley. A strong police force was organized under the State authority for the preservation of order and the execution of such sanitary measures as could be concerted in the midst of wreck, for the removal of the decaying objects that threatened the health of the unhappy survivors who were encamped among the ruins of their homesteads. Three weeks were required for the burial of the dead; and vast quantities of disinfectants were needed for the purifying of the wrecked city and adjacent towns from the sickening odors that loaded the air. The State of Pennsylvania pledged $1,000,000 for the purpose of removing the ruins and cleansing the city of Johnstown. New York and Philadelphia each gave $500,000 for the relief of the sufferers by the flood.

Losses of life and property.

One of the notable events of this year was the convocation in the city of Washington of what is known as the Pan-American Congress, an international commercial conference which originated in the fertile and active brain of Secretary Blaine; but the idea had been historically famed as one of the projects of that remarkable statesman, Simon Bolivar, the leader of South American independence. It was Bolivar's purpose, in 1826, to convene representatives of all the South American States to promote the political unification of those States and to provide against European encroachments. Ten years earlier than this, he had advanced the suggestion in a letter to an intimate friend; and although his project long lay dormant, its revival in 1889 met with a cordial greeting from many of the States of South America and Central America to whom it was addressed.

The Pan-American conference.



The Great Drift and the P. R. R. Bridge after the Flood.
Drawn by W. St. John Harper from a photograph by Rau.

Those who responded to the invitation of Secretary Blaine by sending representatives were as follows: the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Brazil, Chili, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Hayti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The sessions of the conference extended into the next year; during these sessions much harmony of action was obtained, and on nineteen of the twenty-five topics discussed the action of the delegates was unanimous. The general results of the conference may be summed up as follows: the adoption of a plan of arbitration by the nations and states represented; formal declaration of the inadmissibility of the right of conquest under American law; recommendation of a uniform currency among the American States, and the negotiation of free exchange of certain commodities; recommendation of uniform systems of quarantine, customs regulations, consular invoices and fees, port charges and tonnage dues, and of codes relating to commercial

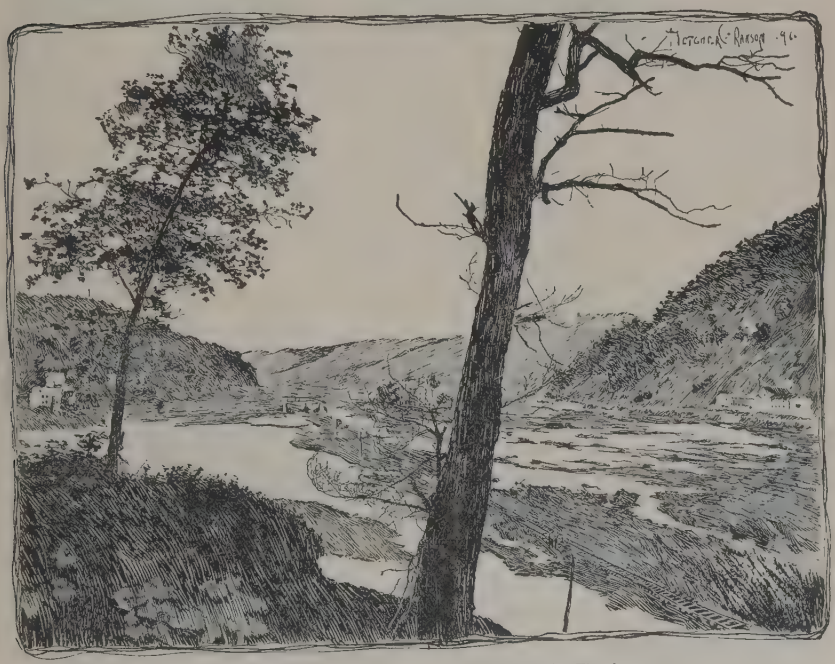
Main Street after the Flood.

Drawn by W. St. John Harper from a photograph.

exchanges; the adoption of plans to facilitate communication between the States represented in the conference, and the adoption of a treaty protecting patents and trade-marks. As this was a deliberative body without final powers, much of its work was merely recommendatory;

but eleven of the States represented subsequently assented to the plan of arbitration proposed, and others asked for more time to consider the proposition. From this conference also issued reciprocity treaties among many of the nations that participated in the deliberations thereof; and a permanent bureau, known as the Bureau of American Republics, was established at Washington. A recommendation that plans and surveys for the construction of an inter-continental railway be adopted by the several states resulted in the establishment of an inter-continental railway commission, with headquarters at Washington, and the appropriation of $65,000 as the share of the United States in the expenses of this work. But the moral effect of the conference was greater than can be estimated. Its ultimate results are to be realized in the future of the nations actively interested.

While the attention of the people of the United States was thus



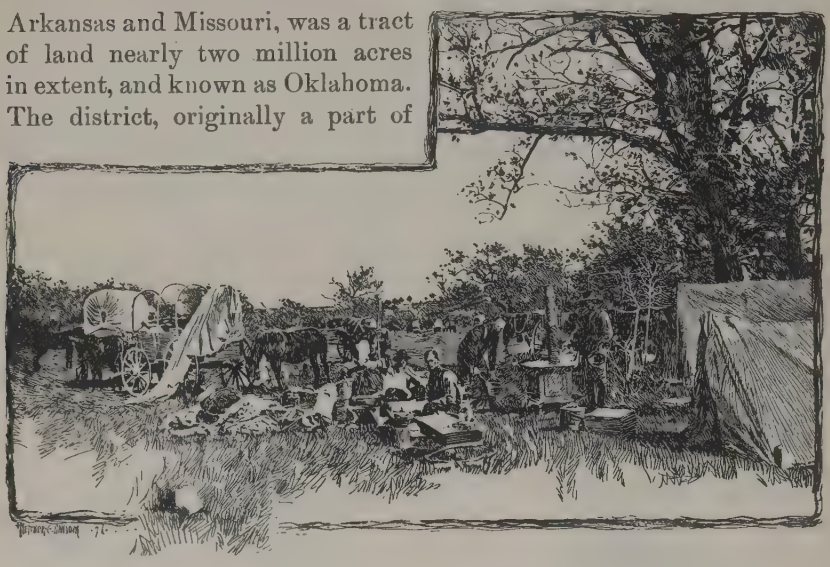
Looking up the Conemaugh Valley after the Flood.

(The space in front of the bridge was filled with houses from bank to bank which were wiped out as shown.)

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

directed to their neighbors in the South, great pressure was being brought to bear to extend the boundaries of civilization and settlement in the regions far to the westward of the Mississippi Valley. In the heart of the Indian Territory, south of Kansas and west of

Arkansas and Missouri, was a tract of land nearly two million acres in extent, and known as Oklahoma. The district, originally a part of



"Boomers" outside the Line, April 21, 1889, waiting for the opening next day.

the Louisiana purchase, which had been set apart for the exclusive use of certain tribes of Indians, had never been occupied. Glowing

The Town of Guthrie on April 24, 1889, the second day after the opening.

THE MAKING OF A WESTERN

Drawn from photographs

A View along Oklahoma Avenue, Guthrie, May 10, 1889.

reports of its richness, beauty, and salubrity had been spread abroad from time to time, and the covetous eyes of roaming settlers who never settled anywhere for a very long time had been fixed upon Oklahoma — "the Beautiful Land," as it was called in the florid language of the Indians. Finally, in 1866, by treaties with the Indian

Oklahoma Avenue on May 10, 1893, during Governor Noble's visit.

TOWN, GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA.

by F. C. Ransom.

owners, the United States secured full possession of a considerable tract of these lands, a portion of which was the district of Oklahoma. One of the conditions of the conveyance was that the district should be occupied only by freedmen and colonies of civilized Indians. This condition was found impossible of observance, and the lawless enclosure of great tracts by the rich owners of cattle ranches only served to increase the discontent and inflame the avarice of the men who, outside the pale, regarded the interdicted region as a veritable paradise, a land flowing with milk and honey, to which they were unjustly denied access.

Opening of the Oklahoma lands.

The excitement grew, and one David L. Payne, of Kansas, began to organize his "boomers," as they were called in the Western parlance; and again and again these persistent nomadic adventurers forced their way into the forbidden territory, only to be forced out again by the military arm of the Government. Finally wearying of this condition of things, Congress appropriated $4,000,000 to obtain the absolute fee simple of the lands; and in a proclamation of the President, April 22d, 1889, was named as the day when intending settlers might enter and take possession of the land. On the appointed day, thousands of persons from the nearest adjacent States, and from even more distant parts of the Republic, were crowded together waiting for the bugle call to announce the hour of noon, when the gates to this new paradise were to be opened.

The bugle sounded, and a wild rush of people streamed across the

The Crook Commission holding a Conference with Sioux Indians at Lower Brule Agency, S. D., July 3, 1889.

(The negotiations led to the opening for settlers of eleven million acres of the Sioux Reservation on February 10, 1890.)

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

Settlers crossing the Missouri River on their Way to the Sioux Lands.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

prairie, on foot, on horseback, and in vehicles of every pattern and design. Some of these men had covertly spied out the land beforehand and had selected the particular spots on which they were to stake out their claims. Others went blindly, looking with eagerness for a promising piece of real estate on which to rest and to hold against all comers. The scene was one of wild and picturesque confusion. In the mad sweep, some of the feebler were crushed, and collisions took place between rival claimants to choice parcels of ground. The sun had risen over a region of almost untrodden and virgin territory, at the beginning of a lovely spring day; it set on a torn and littered soil where 50,000 people had camped. Towns to hold 10,000 inhabitants were laid out before darkness came on, and cities were organized into orderly government during the evening of the first day. There was something like a famine, as no adequate provision had been made for the sustenance of the eager "boomers." Each man was too intent on securing a farm or house-lot for himself to think of earning money by laying in supplies to sell to others. The prices of the necessaries of life were like those that obtained in California during the flush times of the early gold discovery. As a matter of fact, it was soon found that the attractions of Oklahoma had been greatly exaggerated. Want and destitution were the lot of thousands who failed to realize their golden dreams. Heat, dust, hunger, and thirst drove from the Territory a majority of those who had so joyfully rushed in to take possession. Yet when this wild effervescence had subsided, a permanent and prosperous population remained. The census of that year showed that Oklahoma had 60,000 resident population.[1]

A few months earlier in the same year that witnessed this frantic rush, a similar excitement prevailed along the borders of the great Sioux reservation, in South Dakota. After much negotiation, the Indian owners of the lands concluded a treaty by which 11,000,000

[1] Another strip of territory, forming the eastern portion of Oklahoma, was opened to settlement by proclamation of the President, September 22d, 1891, and was at once occupied.

acres were to be thrown open to settlement. In the dead of winter, thousands of land-hungry men assembled at Pierre, Chamberlain, and other points along the borders of the district, waiting the appearance of the President's proclamation announcing the day and the hour when they might cross over the line and take up their claims. Finally, on the 10th of February, the proclamation came forth and the rush across the bare and frozen prairies began. Although it was midwinter, the coveted lands, which had been thoroughly scanned before the snows covered them, were speedily dotted with cabins and shelters of various kinds; and the surface was ground up with the wheels and runners of the nondescript vehicles that sped into the bleak and uninviting region.

CHAPTER XXIX.

POLITICAL EVENTS OF 1890.

THE REPUBLICANS IN FULL POWER. — THE RULINGS OF "CZAR" REED. — THE SPEAKER SUSTAINED BY THE SUPREME COURT. — ATTEMPT TO PASS A NEW "FORCE" BILL. — THE DEPENDENT PENSIONS BILL. — EXCITEMENT OVER THE SILVER PROBLEM. — ENACTMENT OF THE SHERMAN LAW. — THE SENATE IN FAVOR OF FREE SILVER. — THE MCKINLEY TARIFF LAW. — LEGISLATION AGAINST TRUSTS. — DOWNFALL OF THE LOUISIANA LOTTERY. — FORFEITURE OF RAILWAY LAND GRANTS. — TWO MORE NEW STATES. — RISE OF THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE. — TRIUMPH OF THE DEMOCRATS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

THE American people, so greatly given to the discussion of politics, had abundant material for fireside and newspaper debate during this year. With the inauguration of the new Republican Administration came a rearrangement, not only of the distribution of the more important Federal offices, but of the National policy. The dominant party now had a fair working majority of about 20 in the House of Representatives and a much larger proportionate majority of 14 in the Senate. Naturally, it was expected that a new tariff law would now be enacted, since the existing tariff, known as that of 1883, had failed to satisfy anybody, and the last attempt of the Democrats to displace it by the so-called Mills bill had failed. Other measures to which the Republican party had repeatedly pledged itself were looked for; and the irrepressible "silver question" was certain to raise its head again.

The rulings of Speaker Reed.

Very early in the first session of the new Congress — the Fifty-first — the Speaker of the House, Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, evinced a firmness in the enforcement of the rules of the House, and an intention to enforce novel notions of his own, which startled the somewhat factious minority. The time-honored practice of delaying the business of the House by continually making frivolous motions was interfered with by the Speaker, who steadfastly declined to recognize the members making such motions. In vain a member attempting to multiply delays by intruding inconsequent parliamentary motions shouted and cried for recognition. The Speaker, with impassive face, regarded him

not, but steadily went on with the business of the House as if the author of the dilatory motions were not within sight or sound of the Speaker's chair. Another custom of a minority in the House, also time-honored and of unquestioned legitimacy, was to relapse into obstinate silence when the roll of members was called, in order to show that a quorum was not present. The Constitution provides that a majority of either branch of Congress shall be a quorum for the transaction of business. The roll-call is supposed to disclose the fact whether there is such a quorum present, each member answering to his name when called. By refusing to answer, a minority of those actually present could make it appear that less than a majority of the House were present; it is seldom that every member of a majority is in attendance at a legislative session. Speaker Reed observed that members of the minority were present, but silent, when their names were called. He ordered the clerk to record all such members as "Present and not voting." With a counted quorum in sight, legislation could not be blocked by the refusal of members to signify their presence by their voices. The wrath of the baffled minority was fierce. They protested that they were not present for legislative purposes. Actually, they were in sight; constructively, they were absent. In vain; the Speaker calmly went on counting and noting the appearance of the recalcitrant members.

The House committee on rules, of which the Speaker is the chairman, and a majority is of the dominant party in the House, reported a new series of rules intended to sustain the novel ideas of the Speaker. The minority raged around the chair of the ruler of the House; they derisively stigmatized him as "The Czar," and they appealed in vain from the decisions of the Speaker. They were sometimes caged in by the locking of the doors of the hall of the House, while a "call of the House" was in progress (according to ancient custom and usage), and on one occasion a member from Texas achieved fame by kicking down the door that closed his exit. The minority went so far in their contest against the new rule as to make an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States; but the court decided against them. In the next succeeding Democratic House of Representatives, the triumphant majority turned the guns of the newly discovered prerogatives of the Speaker against their old antagonists, but with some modifications. On the whole, however, the fallacious notion that a man's silence when his name is called is ample proof that he is not present was finally dispelled; and this method of breaking an actual quorum was consigned to the limbo of obsolete devices.

One of the immediate reasons for the enforcement of these rules

Thomas B. Reed.

in the Fifty-first Congress was a determination to enact a more severe code of laws for the protection of the newly enfranchised colored men of the South. A bill for this purpose was prepared, its main features being designed to displace local supervision of National elections with Federal supervision. Democratic opposition to the measure was bitter and determined; and not a few Republicans voted for its passage with reluctance; other Republicans declined to vote for it at any stage of its progress. Nevertheless, the "Force bill," as it was injuriously called, eventually passed the House; it failed in the Senate and never became a law.

In his message to Congress at the beginning of this session, the President had called attention to the increasing surplus that was accumulating in the treasury of the Nation. The aggregate receipts from all sources, for the fiscal year ending on the previous June, were $387,050,058. The total expenditures for that year, including the sinking fund, were $329,579,929, giving an excess of receipts over expenditures of $57,470,129. The estimated surplus for the current year was $43,678,883. It was not surprising that the Republican majority in Congress, contemplating this large and growing surplus, should be inclined to consider how it should be spent, rather than how its accumulation could be immediately arrested. One of the first measures concerted to absorb in the country the accumulations in the treasury was what was known as the Dependent Pensions bill. Under previous laws, the veterans and survivors of the civil war had been provided with liberal pensions. But it was nevertheless true that many deserving men suffered in silence, and others who were unused to the ways of the pension agents failed to secure the stipend that was justly due them. To cover all these and similar cases, Congress passed the sweeping act of 1890, pensioning all Union soldiers who had served at least ninety days in the war, provided they were incapacitated for manual labor; and the benefits of this act were extended to all widows, children, and dependent parents of such soldiers. How much this species of legislation benefited the old heroes and their families, and how much it enriched the pension agents who clamored in the lobbies of Congress, it is impossible to say. It is certain that the lobbyists

The dependent pensions.

were greatly influential in manufacturing public opinion in favor of the bill. Under the operation of the new law, the pension-roll showed an increase from $89,131,968 in 1889 to $118,548,960 in 1891, and to $158,155,342 in 1893. The Dependent Pensions bill became a law June 27th, 1890.

Revival of the Silver question.

Another important piece of legislation, that year, was the enactment of a measure which was somewhat mistakenly known as "the Sherman Silver Law." Under the so-called Bland-Allison law, it will be remembered, it was provided that the silver dollar (worth then about 92 cents) should be coined at the rate of not less than $2,000,000 or more than $4,000,000 per month. The anxious friends of silver were forced to be content with this concession to their interests; and they hoped it would serve to enhance the market value of silver, which was then (February 28th, 1878) $1.20 per ounce. But silver had been steadily falling in the market, and at the opening of the first session of the Fifty-first Congress it was 70.6 cents per ounce. A very large and enthusiastic party in favor of a free coinage of silver and a larger circulation of the white metal had sprung up; or, rather, the silver party of 1878 had now become more numerous and influential. The admission of four new States in the far West had increased the strength of that party in the Senate; and as a majority of the Democratic Senators usually voted with the Republican Senators from the West who favored "free silver," as it had now become the fashion to style all measures designed to promote the greater use of silver coins, it was evident that any bill for the purpose of adding to the amount of silver to be coined annually which the House might send to the Senate would be certain to pass that body.

Great excitement prevailed throughout the country while the so-called Sherman bill was under discussion in Congress. It was urged that the enactment of a law to increase in any way the coinage of silver money by the United States would so inflate the currency as to cheapen its value, and would reduce the purchasing power of the dollar and bring the United States to the single standard of silver. On the other hand, the advocates of free silver, among other, argued that the adoption of their pet measure would increase the market price of the white metal and thereby infuse new life and prosperity into the languishing industry of silver mining in the far Western States. Two bills, not unlike in their general character, originated in Congress, one in the House and one in the Senate, in January, 1890. The Senate bill, as amended by the finance committee of that body, authorized the purchase of $4,500,000 worth of silver per month, payment thereof to be made in treasury notes receivable for customs

and public dues, and when so received they might be reissued. These notes were to be redeemable on demand, "in lawful money of the United States," and when redeemed were to be cancelled; and so much of the silver was to be coined as might be necessary for the redemptions authorized. Senator Sherman's amendment, which finally prevailed, provided for the deposits of legal-tender notes by National banks with the United States treasurer, to meet the redemption of the notes of such banks as had failed or gone into liquidation, or were reducing their circulation; this was to prevent the hoarding of the notes in the treasury and thus creating that stringency in the circulation which was so continually deplored by the advocates of "more money;" for these deposits sometimes amounted to $50,000,000.

The House bill, enacted by a majority not in favor of an unlimited increase of silver coinage, was similar in import to that of the Senate; and when it reached the Senate, one of the so-called Silver Senators, Plumb, of Kansas, offered an amendment to strike out the section relating to the issue of notes and insert one declaring the unit of value in the United States to be the dollar, which might be coined of 412½ grains of standard silver, or 25.8 grains of gold, the same to be a legal tender for all public and private debts; further, the Plumb amendment provided for the free coinage of any silver or gold to be deposited in the mints of the United States, to be formed into standard dollars or bars, as the depositor might elect. This amendment was adopted by a vote of 43 to 24, the yeas being made up of Democrats and the Republicans from the silver-producing States; and the adoption of this free silver amendment clearly indicated for the first time that a large majority of the Senate favored the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. From that time dates the current saying "sixteen to one," applied jocosely to many other things than silver and gold.

This amendment, and others added to make the bill harmonize with it, did not receive the concurrence of the House, and a conference committee was finally agreed upon, John Sherman being one of the managers on the part of the Senate. The situation was critical. It was not certain that the small majority in the House that was in favor of a gold standard was strong enough to stand by their own bill; the silver advocates were clamorous, and the development of a large majority in the Senate in favor of free coinage had greatly emboldened them. The outcome of the conference, to which the Senate unwillingly agreed, was that compulsory coinage of the silver purchased under the operation of the new bill was not authorized; the amount of silver to be purchased was changed from $4,500,000 (as authorized by the Bland law) to 4,500,000 ounces per month. As silver fell considerably after this, the amount

The Sherman law.

to be coined was greatly reduced, or, rather, it did not so greatly increase in volume as it would have, if market value, not weight, had determined its amount. The monthly purchase was greater than before; but the coinage was no longer peremptory as to its volume; the residue could be held in the form of bullion. Yet, as a matter of fact, the market value of silver continued to decline; and the compulsory purchase of silver bullion eventually embarrassed the Government to such an extent that when an annual loss of more than $10,000,000 had been entailed, it was necessary for the President to call for special legislation to remedy a great and crying evil. No legislative expedient, apparently, could stop the downward decline in the price of silver. The compulsory purchase of 2,250 tons of the white metal each month failed to maintain the market price of silver.

Even more important than the silver legislation of Congress was the discussion and passage of what was known as the McKinley tariff law of 1890. The so-called Mills bill, which was pending in Congress when the great political conventions of 1888 were about to make their presidential nominations, had failed to pass the Senate. Now that the Republicans were in the full flush of their recent successes, they were determined to pass a tariff law that should embody to the full their protective theories. It was claimed that the recent elections had virtually resulted in a popular verdict in favor of these theories, and that it was the duty of the Republican majority to frame a bill in consonance with such ideas. The result of the long discussions that sprung up when the bill was reported from the House committee of ways and means, of which Representative McKinley, of Ohio, was chairman, gave the country the tariff that bore his name. In effect, that bill was the Senate bill of 1888, which had (at that time) been substituted for the Mills bill; but it was greatly modified and revised by the House committee that took it up in 1890 and sent it to the Senate. It is not needful here to detail the provisions of that law. It is only necessary to say that the new tariff was in some of its features almost prohibitive of certain articles of import. It was a severe measure, — more severe than the cool judgment of many leading Republicans could approve. It provided for reciprocal trade

William McKinley.

The McKinley tariff.

regulations with several other commercial nations; and this feature of the law met with very general popular approval, excepting among those who habitually regarded with suspicion anything attributable to Blaine's suggestion. Nevertheless, reciprocity treaties following the enactment of this law removed the long embargo which had been laid on American pork by Germany, Italy, Belgium, and France. The placing of sugar on the free list proved to be one of the most popular features of the McKinley law; it found favor in millions of households where the operation of other features of the law were unfelt. To protect the sugar-producers of the United States, a bounty was allowed them; and a discriminating duty of one tenth of a cent per pound was levied on sugar imported to the United States from countries which paid a bounty on exported sugar. The dissatisfied Democratic minority, as in the case of the rulings of Speaker Reed, appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, in their determined opposition to the McKinley bill; they found there no consolation; the Court decided that the act was constitutional and regular. The McKinley tariff bill became law July 14th, 1890; it went into effect during the following October.

An important measure enacted by this Congress was that known as the Anti-Trust law. For years previous, there had grown up in the commercial world a system of combinations by which the capital of several corporations or firms in several States were combined in one corporation and were sometimes put under the control of one man. These combinations resulted in placing the amount of production and the regulation of the prices thereof in the hands of a central agent; and the power of such a combination was used to prevent competition by the absorption of all producers of the commodity to be controlled, or by the crushing out of those who refused to enter the "combine," as it was commonly called. To defeat these unlawful and odious combinations, the Anti-Trust law was enacted under the title of "An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies;" it became law June 26th, 1890. Although this wholesome statute did not altogether destroy monopolies and prevent the formation of trusts, it did to a great degree check the combinations that had so injuriously affected the interests of the people; it gave to the courts of the United States the same power to proceed against all such combinations which in the several States already existed, by annulling all contracts prejudicial to the public interest.

The Anti-Trust law.

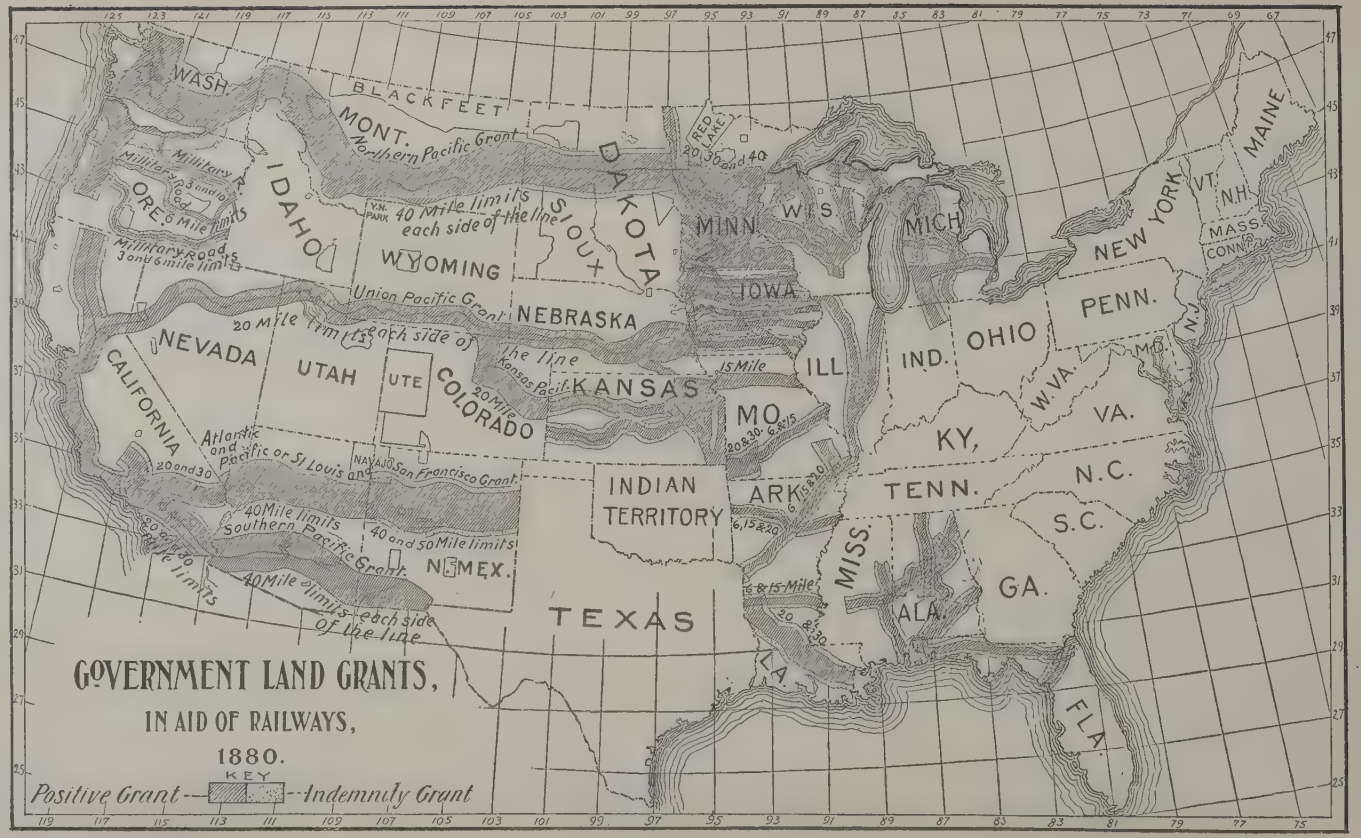
It will be noticed that a part of the more recent legislation of Congress was directed to the regulation of intercourse between the States. The growth of the commerce of the country, the changed relations of

the States, and the multiplication of the means of interior communication had gradually forced this recognition of new exigencies in trade and commerce. The Interstate Commerce act was one of these measures; the Anti-Trust law was another; and the so called Original Package law, approved by the President August 8th, 1890, was a third. Certain States had enacted stringent laws against the manufacture of intoxicating beverages; citizens of these States resorted to other neighboring States in which no such prohibition existed, and, purchasing there the liquors required, brought them back and sold them in the communities where their manufacture was forbidden. Cases of seizure and condemnation having followed this practice, appeal was had to the Supreme Court of the United States, and that tribunal decided that intoxicating liquors manufactured in one State, conveyed into another, and there sold, are protected by the United States law from any regulation or prohibition of sale by the State law, on the ground that such regulation is an interference with commerce between the States. The Original Package law was framed to meet the objection that liquors imported into a prohibition State, and sold in their original packages, were exempt from the local regulation of such State. It declared that all such original packages, or liquors otherwise imported, were subject to the operation of the local law, just as though they had been manufactured in the State where they were offered for sale. This put a stop to the profitable practice of establishing distilleries and breweries just outside of the lines of a prohibition State, and sending the product over the border for sale in packages technically original.

Legislation for the Prohibitionists.

In September, 1890, Congress so amended the statutes relating to the carrying of the United States mails that all mail matter sent to or from the managers of the great Louisiana lottery company, with its headquarters in New Orleans, was declared illegal. To such enormous proportions had this great lottery company grown that its mails were said to constitute one third of all that received daily in New Orleans. Its received money-orders sometimes amounted to $30,000 per day. Its agencies were established all over the Union, demoralizing the people, and infecting all classes with the spirit of gambling, as well as robbing them of their means under false pretenses. For it must be noticed that, while the crafty managers of the lottery held out golden hopes to the unwary, few prizes ever came to the hands of the buyers of chances. The lottery kings revelled in enormous wealth, which enabled them to bribe legislators, subsidize newspapers, and offer to the State of Louisiana great and glittering subscriptions of money for the public uses, provided its shameful traffic should not be interfered with. The

Lottery matter excluded from mails.


WASH.
BLACKFEET
MONT.
Northern Pacific Grant
RED LAKE
20, 35 and 40
MAINE
VT.
NH.
MASS.
CONN.
NEW YORK
Military Road
3 and 6 Mile limits
IDAHO
ORE.
6 Mile limits
Y.N. PARK
40 Mile limits each side of the line
SIOUX
DAKOTA
MINN.
WIS.
MICH.
WYOMING
Military Road 3 and 6 mile limits
Union Pacific Grant
NEBRASKA
IOWA
PENN.
N.J.
20 Mile limits each side of the line
NEVADA
UTAH
UTE
COLORADO
Kansas Pacific
KANSAS
15 Mile
ILL.
IND.
OHIO
MD.
W.VA.
VA.
CALIFORNIA
Atlantic and Pacific or St Louis and
NAVAJO
San Francisco Grant
20 and 30
MO.
20 & 30
6 & 15
KY.
TENN.
N.C.
S.C.
INDIAN TERRITORY
ARK.
6, 15 & 20
40 Mile limits Southern Pacific Grant
40 and 50 Mile limits
N. MEX.
MISS.
15 & 15-Mile
GA.
ALA.
20 & 30
TEXAS
LA.
FLA.
40 Mile limits each side of the line
GOVERNMENT LAND GRANTS,
IN AID OF RAILWAYS,
1880.
KEY
Positive Grant
Indemnity Grant

law of September 27th was a deathblow to the lottery. That law made ample and stringent provision for the exclusion of lottery tickets, orders, and circulars from the mails, refused the privileges of the money-order system to the lottery managers and their victims, and thus added to the ways and means by which public opinion was gradually being awakened to the enormity of the evils of the lottery. The passage of the law marked the downfall of the lottery; its existence was feebly dragged out for a year or two subsequently; but it soon went into exile, and reached for its former patrons from the semi-civilization of one of the Central-American States.

Congress, in this year, also passed a useful measure designed to restore to the public domain vast tracts of lands that had been ceded to railroad companies on certain conditions which had not been fulfilled. Although the time for the performance of the promises of the railroad corporations had lapsed, nothing had been done to take away from these defaulters the right to claim, and occupy or sell, the lands set apart for them. Tracts of arable lands were thus withdrawn from entry and sale; and a bitter cry against the injustice of permitting the corporations indefinitely to hold the lands went up from the Western people. The bill approved September 29th, 1890, carefully provided for an immediate forfeiture of all such lands as had been before granted for the purpose of constructing railroads; and one form of popular discontent was assuaged.

During this eventful year, two more States were added to the Union. The bill for the admission of Idaho as a State became a law July 2d, 1890; that for the admission of Wyoming was signed on the 11th of the same month. As a sign of the movement of the cause of woman suffrage, it is worthy of mention that the Wyoming bill met with some opposition in Congress on account of a provision in the new constitution that permitted female suffrage in the proposed State. In spite of the obstruction of the more conservative members, however, the bill went through Congress with its woman-suffrage proviso unimpaired.

Idaho and Wyoming admitted.

The eleventh decennial census of the United States, taken in 1890, provided for a more complete enumeration of the population, and an estimate of the wealth, industry, and social condition of the people of the United States, than any previous census. Some of the inquiries of the census-takers were objected to by persons unfamiliar with the purposes of the work, and active resistance to their inquisition was not infrequent. The general result as to population showed a vast increase over previous years. These are the figures for four decades: 1890, 62,885,548; 1880, 50,266,104; 1870, 38,558,371; 1860, 31,443,321.

The National convention of one of the numerous organizations of farmers, held at Ocala, Florida, in December, 1890, attracted the anxious attention of politicians. Much confusion resulted from the multiplication of these "alliances," and at a convention of the Farmers' Alliance held in St. Louis in December, 1889, the name of the organization was changed to "National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union," a plan of confederation with the Knights of Labor having been agreed upon. It was this somewhat formidable appearing association that held its National convention in Florida, as above mentioned. The platform of the Alliance contained a great variety of declarations and demands. It was a compendium of the complaints of popular abuses and wrongs then current. One of the schemes endorsed by the convention was what was known as the Sub-treasury bill then pending in Congress. This was a bill to provide for the establishment of a National sub-treasury in any county of any State in which the annual product of wheat, corn, oats, and cotton should amount to at least $500,000 in value; from such sub-treasury any farmer might borrow money to the amount of 80 per cent. of his produce, said produce being deposited in the custody of said sub-treasury as security for the loan. For a time this scheme had great popularity in the Western and Southwestern States, where the Farmers' Alliance was strongest. The Alliance cut a considerable figure in the elections of that year; in the Southern States its members generally sided with the Democrats, but in the Western States it maintained a separate and independent organization.

The American Farmers' Alliance.

At the general election of November, 1890, the Alliance elected its candidates for governor in Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and South Dakota; it also carried important elections in Kansas, Nebraska, and other States, chose 18 members of the Fifty-second Congress, and helped to elect several United States Senators. In the midst of other activities, the Farmers' organizations found time to consider one of the questions that was then amusing the great public: it recommended that the goldenrod should be the floral emblem of the United States.[1]

The elections of 1890 resulted in a "landslide," which was very naturally regarded as a rebuke and a warning to the Republicans, who on their return to power had carried themselves as if there were to be no day of reckoning for them. The new tariff law, it is true, did not go into effect until a few weeks before the Congressional elections came on, and it could not be truly said that the workings of that law were found distressful to the people. But enough was known of its provisions, and of the spirit which actuated its authors in framing

[1] By resolution adopted at the tenth annual session of the Farmers' Congress, held in Council Bluffs, Iowa.

that and other unpopular bills, to kindle resentment against the self-confident majority in Congress. When Congress reassembled in December, 1890, its Republican members were chastened by the reflection that the next House would show an overwhelming Democratic majority. The House of Representatives of the Fifty-first Congress, then in session, had a Republican majority of 20; in the Fifty-second Congress, to meet in 1891, the Democrats in the House would have 236 to the 88 Republican members, making no account of the unattached, who were classed as members of the new Populist or Farmers' Alliance party. This chastisement, severe as it was, gave some indication of another Republican defeat, the shadow of which was even then rising in the political sky. Words were not sufficient to give expression to the exultation of the Democrats, whose complete return to power now appeared certain. It was confidently predicted that another year would wipe the Republican party out of existence. Some of the more eager newspaper organs of the triumphant party insisted that the defeated Republicans had no right to legislate during the few remaining months of their Congressional existence; it was even maintained that, now that the popular verdict at the polls had been so decisively rendered, the rebuked Republicans should, in the three months left them, humbly repeal all their obnoxious legislation and go home. No such suggestion was received with hospitality.

Great Democratic successes.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CENTURY DRAWING TO A CLOSE.

THE BARRUNDIA INCIDENT. — RIOT IN NEW ORLEANS. — COMPLICATIONS WITH ITALY. — ATTACK ON AMERICAN SAILORS IN VALPARAISO. — THE BERING SEA DISPUTES. — THE GREAT STRIKE AT HOMESTEAD. — MINING TROUBLES IN IDAHO. — REVOLT AGAINST TENNESSEE CONVICT LABOR. — ANOTHER CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT. — CELEBRATION OF THE COLUMBIAN DISCOVERY OF AMERICA. — DEATH OF GENERAL SHERMAN. — PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1892. — SECOND ELECTION OF GROVER CLEVELAND. — THE HAWAIIAN REVOLUTION. — PROPOSED ANNEXATION OF THE ISLANDS TO THE UNITED STATES. — REPEAL OF THE COMPULSORY SILVER PURCHASE LAW. — BITTER FEELING OVER THE SILVER QUESTION. — DISASTROUS STORM ON THE SOUTHERN COAST.

SECRETARY BLAINE'S administration of the Department of State was characterized by much activity and energy, and events so shaped themselves during the latter part of his term of office that his department was required to exercise great vigilance and skill in the management of diplomatic questions unexpectedly thrust upon the Government. One of these difficulties was the Barrundia episode, August and September, 1890. José Martin Barrundia was a citizen of Guatemala, who had formerly been Minister of War of that republic, and had latterly conspired with others to invade Guatemala from Mexico. About to cross the boundary, he was arrested and disarmed by Mexican troops and escorted to Acapulco, where he was requested to leave the country. An American mail steamer, the *Acapulco*, touched at this port, and Barrundia took passage on her and went south. Arriving at San José de Guatemala, August 27th, the Guatemalan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Señor Aguiano, requested the American Minister to Guatemala, Dr. L. B. Mizner, to direct the captain of the steamer to deliver up Barrundia, who was charged with treason, sedition, and conspiracy against the government. Two United States men-of-war, the *Thetis* and the *Ranger*, were anchored near the *Acapulco*, and the captain of the last-named ship asked Commander Reiter, of the *Ranger*, to send on board a force to protect his passengers. This request Commander Reiter declined, saying that he regretted that he could do nothing

A complication with Guatemala.

without the permission of the naval authorities of Guatemala, in whose waters the *Acapulco* now lay. Minister Mizner, considering that the country was then under martial law, exacted of the Guatemalan authorities a promise that Barrundia, if surrendered, should have a fair and lawful trial. Then the minister, reminding the authorities of this promise, declined to interfere further, expressing his opinion to the captain of the *Acapulco*, who exerted himself to protect his passengers, that there was no power to prevent the Guatemalan Government from arresting Barrundia, even although he was temporarily under the American flag. Under this construction of the law of nations, no help could be obtained from the United States naval vessels; and the hapless Barrundia, about to be taken from the ship to certain death, rushed from his cabin and fired at the captain of the steamer, and at the officer who had come aboard to arrest him. The soldiers accompanying the arresting officer immediately fired and killed Barrundia. Minister Mizner protested to the Guatemalan Government against the shooting of Barrundia after the promise to spare his life. Commander Reiter was disciplined by the Navy Department for his share in the melancholy incident; and great indignation prevailed throughout the United States on account of the apparent violation of the right of asylum under the American flag. After an interchange of diplomatic notes, the affair was passed over; a daughter of Barrundia subsequently attempted to shoot Minister Mizner; Commander Reiter was restored to duty and the stigma upon him was removed.

A far more serious and tragical occurrence was the riot in New Orleans, which grew out of the assassination of the chief of police of that city in October, 1890. This officer, David C. Hennessy, had been active in the arrest and extradition of one Esposito, an Italian bandit, who had escaped to this country and had identified himself with a band of Italian ruffians in New Orleans. Hennessy had also been active in procuring evidence against members of a band of Sicilians who were accused of conspiring to murder; and the revelations at the trials of these men confirmed the popular belief that there existed in Louisiana a secret oath-bound society, the "Mafia," the members of which were pledged to commit murder, perjury, or other crimes, in each other's defence. Repeated secret murders and assassinations and other deeds of violence, credited to these men, added to the general disrepute in which they were held in New Orleans, especially among the working classes, whose competitors in trade they were. Rank perjury among the Italian witnesses, it was charged, prevented the conviction of the men for whose trial Hennessy had collected evidence. The assassination of Hennessy

The Mafia in New Orleans.

was regarded as an act of revenge on the part of the Italians. He was shot at his own door, after a signal had been given by a little Italian boy who ran before him.

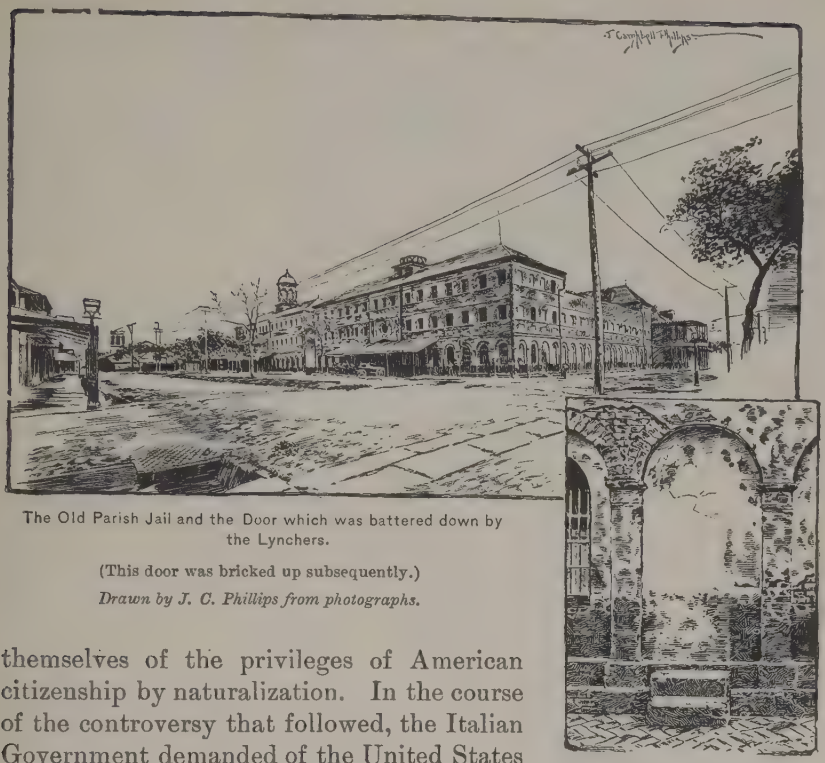
The trial of eleven Italians, accused of the murder, proved conclusively that the defendants had been concerned in the crime. Their weapons were produced, and overwhelming corroborative evidence of guilt was adduced. To the wrath and amazement of law-abiding citizens, an inconclusive verdict was brought in by the jury. It was not certain whether bribery or intimidation had been resorted to in order to secure a verdict so notoriously against the facts. The populace were greatly excited, and a meeting was called to protest against this frightful failure of justice. From the statue of Henry Clay, around which the meeting assembled, a vast throng marched to the jail in which the culprits were imprisoned; the doors were battered in, and the mob exultingly sought for the prisoners, who ran for their lives. Sudden and horrible death was at once dealt out to the eleven men.

Protest of the Italian Government.

This occurrence acquired the dignity of an international episode when the diplomatic and consular representatives of the Italian Government protested against the lawless murder of the prisoners in New Orleans. The dispute was handled by Secretary Blaine with much skill. In answer to a demand from the Italian Government for indemnity, it was proved that only three of the murdered Sicilians were Italian subjects. The others had availed

The Clay Statue in New Orleans.

Drawn by J. C. Phillips from a photograph.



The Old Parish Jail and the Door which was battered down by the Lynchers.

(This door was bricked up subsequently.)

Drawn by J. C. Phillips from photographs.

themselves of the privileges of American citizenship by naturalization. In the course of the controversy that followed, the Italian Government demanded of the United States the punishment of the lynchers. Secretary Blaine pointed out that the authority of the Federal Government did not permit any interference with the functions of the government of the State of Louisiana; that the courts of that State were open alike to Italians and Americans; and, in reply to the statement that the treatment of the Italians in New Orleans was in violation of treaty obligations, the Secretary said that the foreign resident must take his chances with the native citizen in the established courts of law; his government has no right to interfere in his case. After a long controversy, which extended into the following year, the ultimatum of the Italian Government, to the effect that the Federal Government must give a guarantee that an indemnity would be paid and the lynchers tried, was received in Washington. On refusal of this demand, the Italian Minister, Baron Fava, took his leave and departed, March 31st, 1891. Ultimately, however, the Italian Government accepted an indemnity of $25,000 to be distributed among the families of the murdered men.

An unprovoked assault upon a party of sailors from the United States cruiser *Baltimore* in the city of Valparaiso, October 16th, 1891,

gave occasion for another diplomatic complication which was distressing and acrimonious while it lasted. Chili had been disturbed by a local rebellion, during which the insurgents had conceived a violent dislike to the government and people of the United States, on account of the supposed complicity of the United States Minister, Mr. Egan, with the constituted authorities of the republic. This antipathy was especially bitter in Valparaiso, where the populace was savage and unruly. An attack, apparently concerted, was made upon a party of petty officers and seamen, 117 in number, who had shore leave from the *Baltimore*, then lying in the harbor. The Americans were assaulted in various parts of the city at the same time; they were unarmed, and, surrounded by mobs of several thousand people, they were compelled to flee for their lives. Two of the sailors were killed, and eighteen were stabbed and brutally wounded with clubs and stones. A judicial inquiry resulted in a dismissal of the whole affair as trivial, the blame being thrown upon the sailors, who were accused of being intoxicated and aggressive. An inquiry by the officers of the *Baltimore* revealed the true character of the assault; and, the incident being duly reported to the home government, President Harrison sent an account of it to Congress.

The *Baltimore* incident in Chili.

The Hennessy Monument in New Orleans.
Drawn by F. D. Steele from a photograph.

In the mean time great indignation had been kindled all over the United States by reports of this cowardly and unprovoked attack upon American "blue-jackets" in a foreign port. The version of the Chilian authorities was disbelieved and discredited. An offensive circular prepared by the Chilian Secretary of State, Señor Matta, accusing the American Minister and the American naval

officers of making false statements, was sent to all the Chilian diplomatic and consular posts in the United States and Europe. The publication of this circular roused the American people to the highest pitch of indignation. Its language was offensive, and it aimed to throw discredit upon American naval and diplomatic officers, the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Navy, and all concerned in the investigation of the Valparaiso affair. Secretary Blaine served on the Chilian Government the ultimatum of the United States, which was to the effect that an apology should be given for the assault, an indemnity paid to the sufferers by the affair, and the insulting circular of Señor Matta be unconditionally and formally withdrawn. After some delay, during which the war spirit ran high in the United States, the Chilian reply to the ultimatum was received. It was conciliatory and apologetic, and disposed of all the points at issue. An indemnity of $75,000 was received and distributed among the families of the murdered men and the men who had been wounded in the encounters.

The so-called Bering Sea controversy was a wearisome subject; it stretched over many years of diplomatic shuffling and evasion, the British Government continually postponing any decision in the case, and never coming to any conclusion in time to prevent the incursions of unlawful sealing expeditions, as each sealing season came and went. The question hinged on the determination of the exclusive rights of the United States in Bering Sea. Russia, it was said, had claimed and exercised exclusive rights in the regions inhabited by the seals, and in the waters traversed by the animals in their annual migrations to and from their breeding haunts. The governments of Great Britain and the United States, although protesting against the validity of this claim, had respected it as long as Russia exercised jurisdiction over the waters in dispute. Now that the United States had acquired the rights held by Russia, whatever they were, the British Government coolly disregarded exclusive rights, treating them as if they were first exercised under a novel claim set up by the United States. And while diplomatic delay and quibbling continued, the wholesale slaughter of the seals also went on; and complications were multiplied by questions of indemnity arising out of seizures of British-American sealing vessels by the authorities of the United States.

Finally, a treaty providing for the arbitration of all matters in dispute between the two governments, so far as the killing of seals was concerned, was agreed to in 1892, ratifications being exchanged in September of that year. Meanwhile, temporary regulations to prevent unlicensed sealing were adopted by the high contracting

powers. The tribunal of arbitration consisted of representatives of the governments of the United States and Great Britain, France, Italy, and Sweden. The tribunal met in Paris; its ultimate decision was to the following effect: Russia never asserted or exercised any exclusive jurisdiction in the waters of Bering Sea beyond her own territorial limits; Great Britain never acknowledged or conceded any claim on the part of Russia to exclusive jurisdiction in said waters outside of said territorial limits; all Russian rights passed to the United States under the treaty by which Alaska was ceded; the United States has no right to the protection of property in seals outside of the customary three-mile limit of territorial jurisdiction. This decision so left the whole question that the concurrence of Great Britain was necessary for the establishment of regulations for the protection of seal life in the regions outside of the three-mile limit. Accordingly, the tribunal drew up and submitted a code of regulations for that purpose, for the acceptance of the two governments; and this concluded the matter so far as arbitration could conclude anything; the main contention of the United States — that Bering Sea was to all intents and purposes a closed sea — was not allowed.

Domestic troubles of a very grave nature were added to foreign

The Homestead Strikers burning the Barge from which the Pinkerton Men had been taken.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

complications during these later years of the Harrison Administration. The most disastrous and lamentable labor troubles of recent years were those which in 1892 disturbed the States of Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Idaho. Most serious of these was the Homestead strike, which, beginning in July, lasted until the following November, and set in motion influences that endured for years afterwards. A new scale of wages had been promulgated in the Carnegie Company's steel works, at Homestead, eight miles east of Pittsburgh. The workmen, dissatisfied with the scale, refused to work under it; the company declined to hold any conference with the workmen, who had put their case in the hands of the "Amalgamated Association of Steel and Iron Workers," an organization which the company declined to recognize.

A labor strike in Homestead, Pa.

The workmen resolved to prevent any others from taking their places. The company, shut out of their works, which were now closed by the employees, who had broken through the enclosures and taken possession, attempted to land a force of private detectives brought by river from Pittsburgh in barges. This was resisted by the strikers, who were posted in and around the works. They fired upon the barges from both sides of the river, and, having thrown coal oil upon the barges by means of hose, and covered the surface of

Militia behind Barricade of Rails in the Homestead Works.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

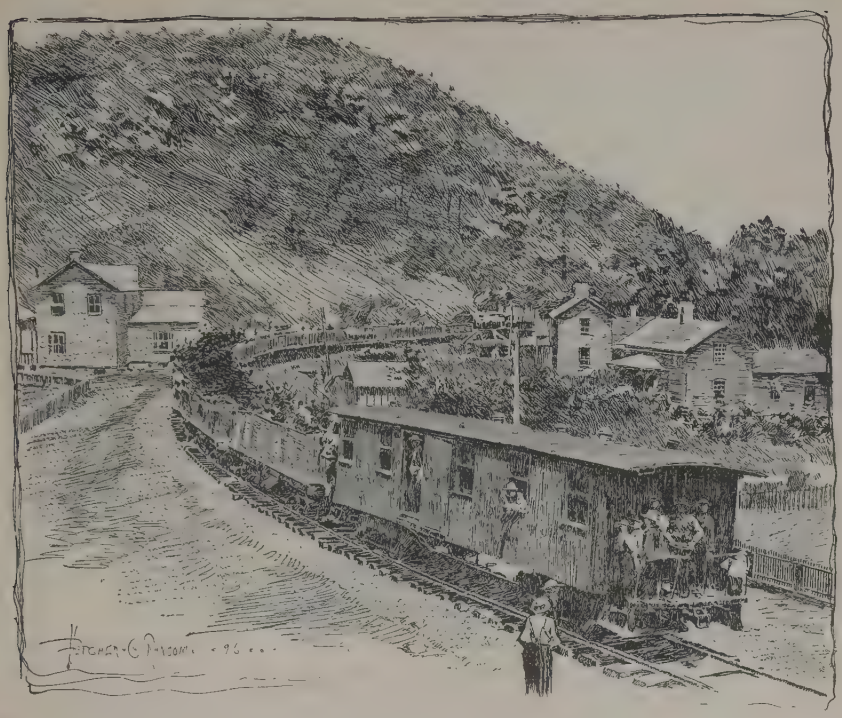
the stream with the same fluid, they endeavored to burn the boats. Flags of truce run up by the detectives on the barges were shot away, but their surrender was finally accepted, and they were allowed to land and depart through the town, running the gauntlet of crowds of angry men and women, who beat and maltreated them on their way to the point of departure. The barges were robbed and burned. The workmen, in their citadel, the works, were entrenched behind defences of steel and iron; they set up shields of steel punctured with rivet-holes, and they were well provided with small arms and cannon. In these opening hostilities seven detectives were killed and twenty-five or thirty wounded; of the strikers, eleven were killed and many wounded.

An attempt at murder.

The riot began on the 6th, but it was not until the 12th that the State militia arrived on the scene. The town was placed under martial law, and order was gradually but very slowly restored. There was much difference of opinion throughout the country as to the justness of the demands of the workmen, but the violence of their conduct greatly prejudiced their case; and when Mr. Frick was cruelly shot down in his office, July 21st, public opinion turned against the strikers. The assailant, however, was a New York anarchist, who had constituted himself the agent for Frick's removal. The victim ultimately recovered. There were

Militia in Fort Anderson firing Gatling Gun on the Coal Creek Miners.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.



The State Troops retreating from Briceville, Tenn., with 200 Convicts, after the surrender to the striking miners, July 20, 1891.

Drawn by F. C. Ranson from a photograph.

frequent collisions between the strikers and the non-union men who came to take their places. It was charged that poison was administered to the non-union men who had succeeded in getting into the works after the arrival of the militia; and two cooks, who confessed their own complicity, accused union men of conspiring to commit murder by poison. The cooks subsequently withdrew their confession. Thirty-one of the strikers were indicted for high treason, four were convicted of poisoning, and several of the Carnegie officials and their detectives were indicted for murder of persons killed in the exchange of shots during the disturbances. Non-union men were gradually set to work, and the mills were in full running order by November, when the strike was declared at an end. The cases against the indicted men were finally dropped.

Mining troubles in the Cœur d'Alêne.

An attempt to establish a new rate of wages in the gold mines of Cœur d'Alêne, Idaho, brought on the riots which raged in that lawless region during the entire summer of 1892. As at Homestead, the proposed reduction in compensation was resisted by the labor union which controlled the mass of workingmen

in the mines; and attempts to introduce non-union men were met with armed opposition. The mine-owners instituted proceedings in law to restrain the miners' union from interfering with their works; the union had sent out warning notices to prevent other miners from coming into the Cœur d'Alêne district seeking work. An injunction was granted restraining the miners from all interference; but violence was soon resorted to, and non-union men were seized and escorted out of the country. Railway trains carrying workmen were stopped, and a general embargo was declared on the transportation of non-union miners. The mines were garrisoned by armed men, and in one case the strikers loaded a car with explosives and ran it down an incline into a mining plant, destroying a mill and compelling a surrender of the non-union force. In another instance, 132 non-union miners were captured bodily, taken to the mouth of a cañon, robbed, and fired upon; in this brutal affair twelve captives were killed and many wounded. Finally, martial law was proclaimed; United States troops were called in by request of the governor; the strong hand of the National Government put an end to the disturbances, and the miners returned to their homes. This strike was characterized by uncommon brutality and atrocity on the part of the strikers.

Convict labor troubles in Tennessee.

The labor troubles in Tennessee were the outcome of a long resistance of free labor against convict labor. The State leased its prisoners, over 1,400 in number, to a coal and iron mining company; this corporation employed the greater part of the convicts in mining, and sublet others to smaller companies and private individuals. When dull times came on and work and wages ran low, the leased convicts, being under contract, were kept employed and free laborers were idle. The popular discontent induced working miners to attack the whole system by violence. The troubles began in 1891, when a mob of 300 armed men attacked a convict camp at Briceville, Anderson County, overpowered the guards, and compelled the lessees to carry away the prisoners by railway train to Knoxville. The Legislature, called together in special session to consider the alarming state of things, dallied with the question, and the miners, again taking matters into their own hands, visited the convict camps of Coal Creek and Briceville and released the convicts who had been returned there. Another camp, at Oliver Springs, was burned and the convicts set at liberty. Many of these left the State and were never rearrested. The troubles were renewed in 1892, when a camp of 362 convicts at Tracy City was broken up by a mob of miners and the stockade was burned. These proceedings were repeated at Oliver Creek, Inman, Coal Creek, and other

points where convict labor was employed. A great number of convicts were liberated, and some damage done to property. These troubles went on through another year, a determined and bloody siege of a convict camp at Tracy City being one of the startling events of the campaign against convict labor in the State. The ultimate result of these disturbances was the abolishment of the system of farming out convict labor to contractors outside of the State penitentiary.

Great flood and fire in Titusville.

Early in June, 1892, one of the important towns in the Pennsylvania oil-producing regions, Titusville, was visited by a novel and disastrous fire. A heavy freshet had inundated the region, which is intersected by numerous creeks, and the lower part of the town was covered with water. Suddenly, while the surface of the water was covered with coal oil from overturned tanks, three explosions shook the place; three great tanks of gasoline had been fired, probably by lightning, which was then playing in the air. The flames were communicated to the floating fluid on the surface of the stream, and a burning, fiery flood poured around the inundated portions of the town and thence down to Oil City, setting fire to that town, and firing villages and buildings along the course of the creek for a distance of eighteen miles. The scene was grand and terrible in the extreme, the roaring flames pouring down the stream like a veritable river of fire. Hundreds of persons were besieged in their homes, surrounded by liquid fire, and finding no place of refuge

Looking West from Franklin Street, Titusville, after the great Fire and Flood.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph by Mather.

The Titusville Flood and Fire. — Looking South from the Hotel Brunswick at 9 A. M., June 5, 1892.
Drawn by W. N. Smith from a photograph by Mather.

in the midst of such a fiery freshet. The loss of life was estimated to be nearly 200, and the value of property destroyed was between $1,000,000 and $2,000,000. Bridges, railway stock, dwellings, warehouses, and factories were wiped out of existence in a very short time, and at least one third of the town of Titusville was burned.

During this year there was a renewal of the agitation of the Chinese question, and Congress was clamorously besought to enact measures for the complete exclusion of the Chinamen. The Geary bill, as it was called, introduced in the House by Representative Geary of California, and entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States," finally passed Congress and became a law May 5th, 1892. This was the most stringent law of exclusion ever passed by any civilized government. It positively prohibited Chinese persons from landing in the United States; compelled each Chinese person then living in the country to apply for registration and certificate of legal residence; and ordered that all Chinese persons found in the United States, and unable to account for themselves satisfactorily, should be imprisoned and subsequently deported to the place from which they embarked. Provision was also made for the identification of Chinese persons lawfully in the country. The enactment of such laws as this had already angered the Chinese Govern-

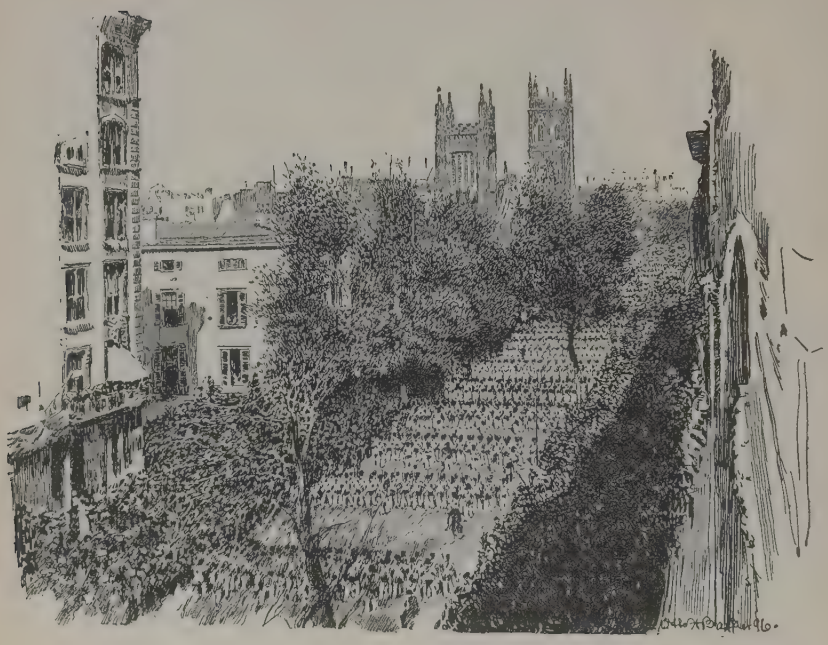
ment; and Henry W. Blair, formerly a Senator from New Hampshire, who had voted for one of these measures while in the Senate, when afterwards appointed United States Minister to China was refused by the Chinese Government, the United States Government being notified that he would not be received at the imperial court at Pekin. The Chinese Government vigorously protested against the Geary law. It was never fully enforced, the cost of deporting Chinese offenders being too great.

Congress, in view of the approach of the four hundredth anniversary of the Columbian discovery of America, declared October 21st, 1892, a National holiday. During the second week in October, New York city was given over to a brilliant and picturesque celebration; the streets were gorgeously and tastefully decorated with triumphal arches, banners, flags, and every device that art and ingenuity could devise. A fine pageant took place on the 10th, when a parade of school children, many thousands in number, passed through the gayly adorned streets bearing allegorical and historical designs and emblems. On the 11th there was a striking water procession, led by fifteen American and French men-of-war. The column formed outside of the Narrows, and passed up the bay followed by an immense fleet of merchant steamers, yachts, and other craft. Salutes were fired from the forts in the harbor, and the air resounded with the strains of martial music. In the evening there was a parade of Roman Catholic societies, numbering some 30,000 persons; and on the 12th, a State holiday, a military and civic parade, in which some 50,000 persons marched, took place, and a monument to Christopher Columbus, the gift of Italian-American residents, was unveiled near the Eighth Avenue entrance to Central Park. Balls, fireworks, and banquets were features of the evenings of these days of festivity.

400th anniversary of the discovery of America.

The celebration of the Columbian anniversary was general throughout the United States, the observances being scattered along from the 8th and 10th of the month to the 23d. On the last-named day the grounds selected for the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, near Chicago, were formally dedicated. The two previous days had been taken up with ceremonies and festivities premonitory of the great event; and on the 23d a vast throng, not less than 250,000 people, assembled in Jackson Park, near the city, where impressive ceremonies took place. The National Government was represented by Vice-president Morton, President Harrison being detained by the mortal illness of his wife.[1] Addresses were made by Chauncey M. Depew, of New York, and Henry Watterson, of Louisville, Kentucky.

[1] Mrs. Harrison died October 25th, 1892.



The Columbian Parade in New York, October 12, 1892. — Looking up Fifth Avenue from Ninth Street.
Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

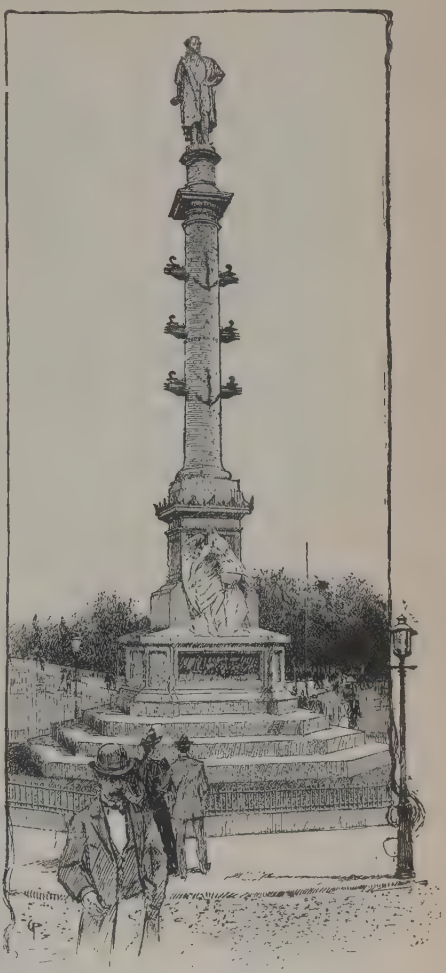
Vocal and instrumental music and other exercises made the day memorable, and fireworks at night illuminated the scene where, one year later, the noble buildings of the great Exposition were to stand in all their beauty and splendor.

This was an age of monument-building. In addition to those that have been already mentioned in preceding chapters, an impressive monument to Robert E. Lee was unveiled in Richmond, Virginia, May 29, 1890; one to James A. Garfield was unveiled in grounds near Cleveland, Ohio, one day later; and one to Horace Greeley was dedicated in New York in September of that year. In 1891 a fine statue of Grant was unveiled in Galena, Illinois, June 3d; and an equestrian statue and monument of Grant was set up, October 7th of the same year, in Lincoln Park, Chicago, where one of the most famous of the many statues of Lincoln had already been placed. In Lexington, Virginia, a statue of "Stonewall" Jackson was unveiled July 21st, 1891; and in Brooklyn, New York, the memory of the famous preacher, Henry Ward Beecher, was honored by the inauguration of a statue, June 24th, 1891. This year witnessed also the passing of General William Tecumseh Sherman. He died in New York, February 14th, 1891, and his

Death of General Sherman.

obsequies were celebrated with much pomp. The remains of the illustrious and greatly beloved chieftain were carried to St. Louis for interment; the funeral pageant, as it passed through the streets of New York to the railway station, was one of the most impressive spectacles of the kind ever witnessed in the city.

Once more, as the quadrennial National campaign came on, there was much confusion in the ranks of the Republican party in consequence of a failure of individual preferences to crystallize around any one candidate for the presidential nomination. This confusion was deepened by the uncertainty of Secretary Blaine's movements. It was hoped by thousands of his devoted adherents that he would allow his name to be used again in the nominating convention. But, on the other hand, there



The Columbus Monument in 59th Street, New York.

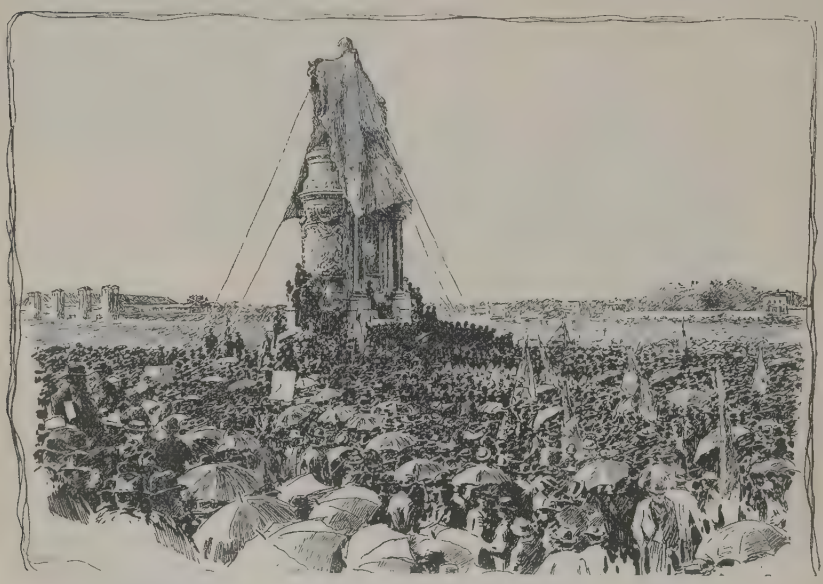
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

The Herts Arch, Fifth Avenue and 58th St., New York.

Drawn by W. N. Smith from a photograph.

The Statue of Henry Ward Beecher in the City Hall Park, Brooklyn, N. Y.
(J. Q. A. Ward, sculptor. Unveiled June 25, 1891.)
Drawn by Martin Borgord from a photograph.

was an unwritten law that a member of the President's cabinet should not become a candidate for that nomination in opposition to his chief; and Harrison's name had been freely used, apparently with his consent, in the preliminary canvass. Mr. Blaine remained in the cabinet, although his health had become very infirm; and his partisans urged



Unveiling the Equestrian Statue of Robert E. Lee in Richmond, Va., May 29, 1890.
(Antonin Mercié, sculptor. The statue shows Lee as he appeared at the Battle of Gettysburg. The pedestal is 40 feet high, the statue 20.)
Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

The Grant Monument in Lincoln Park, Chicago.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph by Taylor.

his nomination with all their old-time fervor and enthusiasm. The situation was embarrassing; for, although ex-Representative and ex-Governor McKinley, of Ohio, the author of the famous protective tariff, was pressed for the presidential nomination, President Harrison and Secretary Blaine were the only possible rivals for the honor. The National convention of the Republicans had been called to meet in Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 7th, 1892. Finally, after a long period of uncertainty as to Blaine's intentions, he resigned, three days before the convention assembled. The resignation, which came suddenly after all, was regarded as a signal to Blaine's followers that he was in the field for the nomination. The actual contest was now between Harrison and Blaine. Harrison was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 535 votes; Blaine had 132 votes, and McKinley received the same number as Blaine; there were only a few scattering votes cast. Whitelaw Reid, of New York, was nominated for Vice-president. The platform reaffirmed the Republican doctrine of pro-

tection, and denounced the course of the Democratic House of Representatives, which had shown its hostility to a protective tariff by passing a series of bills derided as "pop-gun bills," to destroy by piecemeal the protective tariff on certain articles of domestic product.

Harrison and Cleveland again the candidates.

There was really no other "logical candidate" in the Democratic party than Grover Cleveland, who, since his retirement from the presidency, had maintained a discreet attitude, and who was remembered gratefully by many citizens for his independence and his successful administration of the duties of his high office. But there had sprung up inside of the Democratic party of the State of New York a faction opposed to Cleveland, and led by Governor Hill of that State. The factionists were determined to thwart the renomination of Cleveland; and by a series of sharp tricks they won for themselves the title of "Snappers;" their adversaries were called "Anti-Snappers." Both of these factions chose delegates to the National convention of their party, which assembled in Chicago, June 21st, 1892. The "Snapper" delegates, having the regularity of party machinery on their side, were admitted to the convention, and their rivals were excluded. Three candidates were presented to the convention,—Grover Cleveland, of New York, Governor Horace Boies, of Iowa, and Governor David B. Hill, of New York. Cleveland was nominated on the first ballot, receiving 617 out of 909 votes, or 10 more than the two thirds necessary for a choice. Hill had 114 votes, and Boies 103. The number of scattering votes was considerable. Adlai Stevenson, of Illinois, was nominated for Vice-president. The platform denounced the McKinley tariff as "the culminating atrocity of class legislation," and declared it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that "the Federal Government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only." On the silver question, both parties declared in favor of maintaining gold and silver at a parity of value. The Democrats denounced the reciprocity policy of the Republicans as "sham."

Rise of the Populists.

In the campaign that followed, the new party known as "Populists," the legitimate heir of the Grangers and the Farmers' Alliance, cut a considerable figure. The People's party, as it called itself, met in convention at Omaha, Nebraska, July 2d, and nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and James G. Field, of Virginia, for Vice-president. The Populist platform denounced the army, "the subsidized public press," bondholders, and corporations; and demanded the free coinage of silver at the rate of 16 to 1, government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, a graduated income tax, and the establishment of savings banks in the postal

service of the United States. The Prohibitionists nominated John Bidwell, of California, for President. The Socialistic Labor Convention nominated Simon Wing, of Massachusetts, for that office.

The National canvass was marked by unusual confusion. The Democrats named no electoral tickets in the young States of Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, North Dakota, and Kansas, where the Populist vote was strongest, and their voters usually favored the Populist ticket. There was also a partial fusion of Democrats and Populists in Nevada and Minnesota. In Louisiana and Alabama, on the other hand, there was a similar fusion between the Republicans and the Populists. In Oregon the name of one of the Populist candidates for presidential elector was placed on the Democratic ticket. In Michigan, where a new electoral law had gone into operation, the vote of the State was divided.

Reëlection of Cleveland.

The principal issue of the campaign was the tariff, although some of the Democratic leaders, like Mr. Bland, of Missouri, chafed under restrictions that prevented them from bringing the silver question into the discussion. The Democrats made good use of the attempt of the Republicans to pass the "Force bill" of the Fifty-first Congress. The result of the election was that Grover Cleveland had 277 of the 444 votes in the electoral college; Harrison had 145 votes, and Weaver had 22. Weaver's votes came from Idaho, North Dakota, Kansas, Nevada, and Oregon, where Democrats and Populists had fused. The count indicated a curiously confused state of things in these States. Thus, North Dakota gave one electoral vote each to Weaver, Harrison, and Cleveland; Michigan gave five votes to Cleveland and nine to Harrison; Oregon gave three votes to Harrison and one to Weaver. Cleveland's popular vote was 5,556,533; Harrison's was 5,175,577; Weaver's, 1,122,045; Bidwell's, 279,191; Wing's, 21,191. As reconstituted, the United States Senate now had 44 Democrats, 37 Republicans, and four Populists. In the House of Representatives there were 216 Democrats, 125 Republicans, and 11 Populists. For the Republicans the day of adversity had fully come. Their opponents joyfully declared that the Republican party had virtually gone out of business.

There were several changes in the cabinet during President Harrison's administration. William Windom, Secretary of the Treasury, died suddenly while addressing a great company at a public banquet in New York, January 29, 1891; he was succeeded by Charles Foster, of Ohio. Redfield Proctor, Secretary of War, vacated his office December 22d, 1891, to accept an appointment to the United States Senate in place of George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, who had resigned

his seat. John W. Foster, of Indiana, succeeded James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, who resigned June 4th, 1892.

President Cleveland's inaugural address was brief and business-like. He urged the necessity of maintaining a sound and stable currency, pledged his Administration to carry out the wishes of the people in the matter of revenue reform, and condemned that tendency to expect special legislation for the protection of industrial interests which was commonly known as paternalism. The cabinet appointments were as follows: Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont, of New York; Attorney-General, Richard Olney, of Massachusetts; Postmaster-general, Wilson S. Bissell, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama; Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, of Georgia; Secretary of Agriculture, Julius S. Morton, of Nebraska.

The President recalls the Hawaiian annexation treaty.

One of the first official acts of President Cleveland was to recall from the Senate a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, which had been sent to the Senate by President Harrison, February 15th, 1893, with a recommendation that it be ratified. This treaty was one of the results of a revolution that took place in Hawaii January 14th, 1893. The reigning Queen, Liliuokalani, had become very unpopular on account of her dissolute habits and tyrannical disposition. The culmination of troubles that had long been brewing was her approval of a lottery scheme which was notoriously demoralizing to the islands, and her complicity in other legislative scandals; her determination to promulgate a new constitution which would restore many ancient abuses and arbitrary regal powers and prerogatives was still another cause of discontent. The revolutionists, who were chiefly Americans, or descendants of Americans resident in the islands, formed a committee of public safety, of which Sanford B. Dole was chairman; and, after due deliberation, they decided to depose the queen and form a provisional government. This was done, and on the 17th John L. Stevens, Minister of the United States, who had been absent from Honolulu, returned and gave his official recognition to the newly framed provisional government.

The deposed queen protested against the action of the committee of public safety, and addressed a letter to President Harrison charging that Minister Stevens had aided and abetted in the revolution. This charge was based upon the order of Minister Stevens, who, in response to a petition of citizens, had requested the commander of the United States cruiser *Boston*, Captain Wiltse, to land sailors and marines from the ship "for the protection of the United States legation and

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND TAKING THE INAUGURAL OATH.

the United States consulate, and to secure the safety of American life and property." Subsequently, the queen having abdicated under protest and with full reservation of all her constitutional rights, the provisional government, of which Sanford B. Dole was now president, requested Minister Stevens in the name of the United States to assume the protectorate of the islands. Minister Stevens accordingly issued a proclamation assuming such protection for the better defence of life and property, until due action should be taken in the premises by the Government of the United States. Early in the morning of February 1st, the proclamation of the minister was publicly read and the flag of the United States was hoisted over the government buildings in Honolulu.

In the mean time, commissioners appointed by the provisional government sailed for the United States bearing a draft of a treaty of annexation to be submitted to the authorities in Washington. On receipt of Minister Stevens's despatch informing him of what had been done, Secretary Foster of the State Department disavowed the minister's action respecting the assumption of a protectorate in the Hawaiian Islands, and that phase of the case was dismissed. Queen Liliuokalani's agents also arrived in Washington, and presented their protest against the course of Minister Stevens and Captain Wiltse.

The treaty of annexation provided that, until the Congress of the

The Government Building at Honolulu.

(A company of marines was stationed in front while the United States flag was run up over the building, and Minister Stevens's proclamation was read, taking possession of the Hawaiian Islands in the name of the United States.)

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

United States determined otherwise, the authority of the United States should remain paramount in the Hawaiian Islands, the local government to retain its usual powers, subject to the veto of a resident commissioner. It was also provided that the United States should assume the debts of the Hawaiian Kingdom, amounting to about $3,250,000, and should pay to the deposed queen an annual stipend of $20,000, and allow to the heiress-presumptive, Princess Kaiulani, the lump sum of $150,000.

Foreign governments represented in Honolulu had recognized the provisional government, and Secretary Foster, on receiving the draft of the treaty of annexation, had procured from the representatives of those governments, in Washington, assurances that none of the powers would be averse to the proposed scheme of annexation. So far as public opinion in the United States was manifested, the feeling was generally in favor of the establishment of such relations as would insure tranquillity and peace in the Hawaiian Islands, so long distracted by revolutions, and would bind the islands and their material interests to the United States.

The Hawaiian question discussed.

President Cleveland was inaugurated March 4th, and on the 9th he sent to the Senate requesting return of the annexation treaty. Meanwhile, on the 7th, the President had privately sent James H. Blount, of Georgia, to Honolulu to act as a special commissioner, virtually superseding Minister Stevens; in all matters affecting the relations of the two countries Blount's authority was "paramount." Commissioner Blount's refusal to accept the courtesies and hospitalities of members of the provisional government naturally threw him into the exclusive society of the royalists. It is likely that his reports to the Government at home were colored by this fact. Under orders and instructions, he had hauled down the American flag on his arrival in the islands. Minister Stevens was subsequently recalled.

The agitation of the so-called Hawaiian question in the United States became bitter and intense. The friends and supporters of President Cleveland's policy derided the scheme of annexation; and an acrimonious dispute arose over the contradictory reports sent from the islands by persons who espoused the cause of the deposed queen and those who stood by the provisional government. Questions of veracity were raised, and a great deal of ill-feeling was engendered during the progress of the controversy. Finally, President Cleveland undertook to act as mediator, proposing to the queen that the United States Government would "undo the flagrant wrong" that had been wrought by its representatives during the recent revolution, provided the queen, after her reinstatement,

President Cleveland proposes to mediate.

would exercise clemency and magnanimity towards the members of the provisional government. This condition was rejected by the ex-queen, who would be satisfied with nothing short of the execution of the members of the provisional government and the banishment of their families. So the attempt to restore the queen fell through, and the provisional government, now able to maintain itself, remonstrated against this interference with its rights and dignities. For a time, disorders prevailed in different parts of the islands, and in Honolulu there were gathered many combustible political elements which were liable to be kindled into a general conflagration at any moment. Fortunately, there were none of the bloody outbreaks that were apprehended, and the civil government under President Dole gradually became settled and apparently permanent without the moral or physical support of the United States.

Revival of the Silver question.

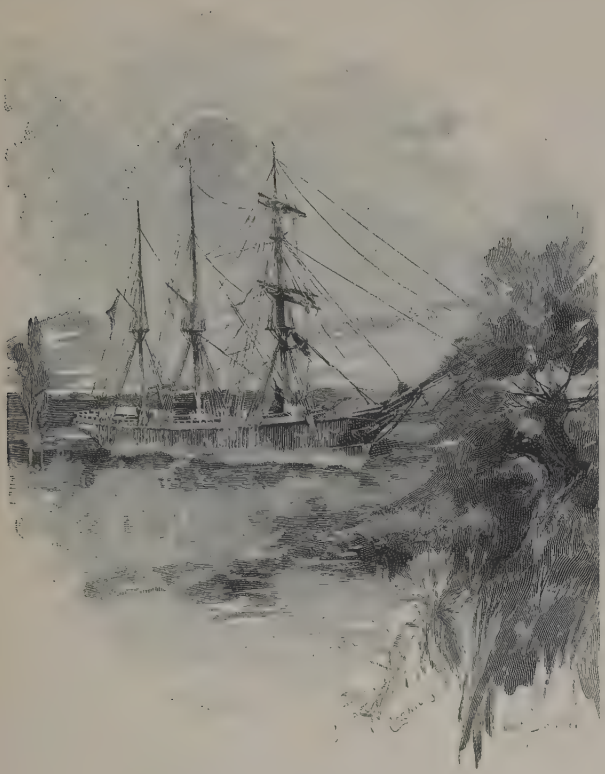
President Cleveland found it necessary to invoke the aid of the Republicans when, in the summer of the first year of his second term in office, he asked Congress to meet and repeal the compulsory Silver Purchase law. The exigencies of the financial situation were such that the President felt constrained, June 30th, 1893, to call a special session of the new Congress to meet on the 7th of August following. In his proclamation calling Congress together he said: "The present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the Government finds embodied in unwise laws which must be executed until repealed by Congress." This reference to the law requiring the purchase of 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month was resented by the supporters of the free coinage scheme. That law, it will be remembered, was the result of a compromise between the advocates of free silver coinage and the more conservative Congressmen, effected in July, 1890. But, in spite of the predictions of those interested in silver production, the market value of the white metal had continued to decline. The country was divided upon the silver question: the thinking men of the States nearest the Atlantic border were generally opposed to any enlargement of silver coinage, and those of the farther Western States were eager for free coinage. In his message to Congress in special session the President ascribed the financial evils of the time to the compulsory purchase by the Government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion each month, and the payment therefor in treasury notes redeemable in gold or silver coin, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and to the reissue of said notes after redemption. He reported to Congress the fact that up to the 13th of July, 1893, such notes had been issued for the purpose of purchasing silver to the amount of more than $147,000,000.

In one year, more than $40,000,000 of these notes had been redeemed in gold. This drain of gold threatened the gold reserves held for the redemption of United States notes, and involved a derangement of the whole financial system of the United States. Congress was now brought face to face with the alternative of the single standard of silver, or a suspension of the purchase of silver bullion.

Repeal of the compulsory Silver Purchase law.

The disposal of this question, however, was by no means easy. The same combination of silver-supporting Republicans from the West and Democrats from the South and West, which had dismayed the advocates of the compromise bill in 1890, still existed; and that combination was now reënforced by a Populist contingent. The special session, almost exclusively devoted to a discussion of the pending question, lasted from August until the end of October. The friends of free silver resisted repeal at every step of the way. The Administration made unqualified support of the repealing bill a test of loyalty; and the powerful influence of patronage and pressure was exerted to induce the desired result, which, it was hoped and expected, would put an end to financial distress and stringency. When the bill to repeal was finally passed in the Senate, October 30th, the affirmative vote was made up of 26 Republicans, 22 Democrats; and the negative vote was of 22 Democrats, 11 Republicans, and 4 Populists. In the House of Repre-

Wreck of the *City of Savannah* near St. Helena, after the Hurricane of 1893.
Drawn by Dan Smith from nature.



A Barquentine blown on Shore by the Hurricane.
Drawn by Dan Smith from nature.

sentatives, the vote to repeal was carried by 130 Democrats and 72 Republicans; of those who voted against repeal and in favor of free silver, 74 were Democrats, 20 were Republicans, and 7 were Populists.

During the debate in the Senate, where the intervention of the previous question does not obtain to cut off discussion, Senator Allen, Populist, of Nebraska, "talked against time;" he made a speech that lasted fourteen hours, beating the record of long speeches in Congress. When sheer weariness obliged him to stop, one of his comrades, opposed to repeal, came in with a series of dilatory motions and obstructed the business of the Senate for the purpose of postponing as long as possible the final vote. But, in spite of these childish tactics, the bill was passed; it became a law November 1st, 1893, after a session that had lasted nearly three months.

Great storm on the South Atlantic coast.

One of the calamities of 1893 was the wreck wrought on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia by a great storm that swept it on the 27th of August, and overwhelmed the Sea Islands and shore plantations. A gale from the southeast and east blew for many hours, heaping up the sea along the coast until the usual inland high-water mark was exceeded by more than five feet. And in the exposed regions the flood was even in excess of this. The Sea Islands and the low-lying islands and mainland in Port Royal Sound were completely inundated. St. Helena Sound, which, like

Wreckage on Coosaw Island.
Drawn by Dan Smith from nature.

Port Royal Sound, presents the open section of a V-shaped body of water to the east and southeast, was swept by rolling waves of terrific force. The water at Beaufort, which is well inland, rose eight feet above the highest mark of spring tides; and the mean level of the flood on the islands was ten feet above the usual high-water mark. The loss of life was very great; the estimated loss on the Sea Islands was 1,000 lives. Growing crops were ruined, the phosphate industry was paralyzed, and thousands of the humble homes of the negro population were swept away in the floods. Much loss was entailed at Charleston and Savannah, the entire loss in the former city being estimated at $2,000,000. Twelve large vessels anchored below Savannah were blown upon the marshes, and some of these were fairly carried two miles across the marshes to an island on the further side. The Red Cross Association and other relief societies went to the succor of the bereft and ruined people along the coast; 30,000 persons were objects of charity on the islands, and it was necessary for the Legislature of South Carolina to enact measures for those who had suffered by the floods.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE AMERICAN QUADRI-CENTENNIAL.

THE MATERIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTINENT. — PROSPERITY OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC. — WONDERS OF APPLIED SCIENCE IN THE UNITED STATES. — PROPOSITION TO CELEBRATE THE FOUR HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COLUMBIAN DISCOVERY. — CONGRESS TAKES UP THE SUBJECT. — CHICAGO AWARDED THE PRIZE OF THE LOCATION OF THE FAIR. — GENERAL FEATURES OF THE EXPOSITION CITY. — SOME OF ITS MOST NOTABLE STRUCTURES. — THE EXHIBITS AND THE EXHIBITORS. — PICTURESQUE ACCESSORIES OF THE FAIR OF ALL NATIONS. — THE MIDWAY PLAISANCE. — OBSERVANCE OF SPECIAL DAYS. — THE CLOSING CEREMONIAL. — FINANCIAL RESULTS OF THE EXPOSITION. — SOME OF ITS EFFECTS UPON THE PEOPLE.

THE record of the discovery and the material and political development of the American Continent during the first four centuries of its occupation by white people draws to a close. This history, although opening with a sketch of the traditional excursions of the Norsemen in America, logically begins with the discoveries of Columbus and those who followed him in his adventurous voyage to the New World. Standing at the threshold of the fifth century after Columbus, the attention of the studious observer is chiefly attracted by the magnificent spectacle of the great American Republic; its domain stretches from shore to shore, its western advance having successively passed the natural barriers of mountain ranges, barren plains, and mighty rivers until it has paused at last on the brink of the Peaceful Sea, unknown to Columbus, which laves the western border of the United States of America.

At this period, when the time for the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America approached, the population of the United States was, in round numbers, 65,000,000. The wealth of the people was estimated at $66,000,000,000. The banking capital of the country was considerably more than $1,000,000,000, and the surplus and profits of the banks was about $700,000,000. The internal commerce of the country was represented by a valuation of twenty-five billions of dollars. Within a period of only a little more than sixty years, the railway system of the United States had risen from nothingness to the astonishing

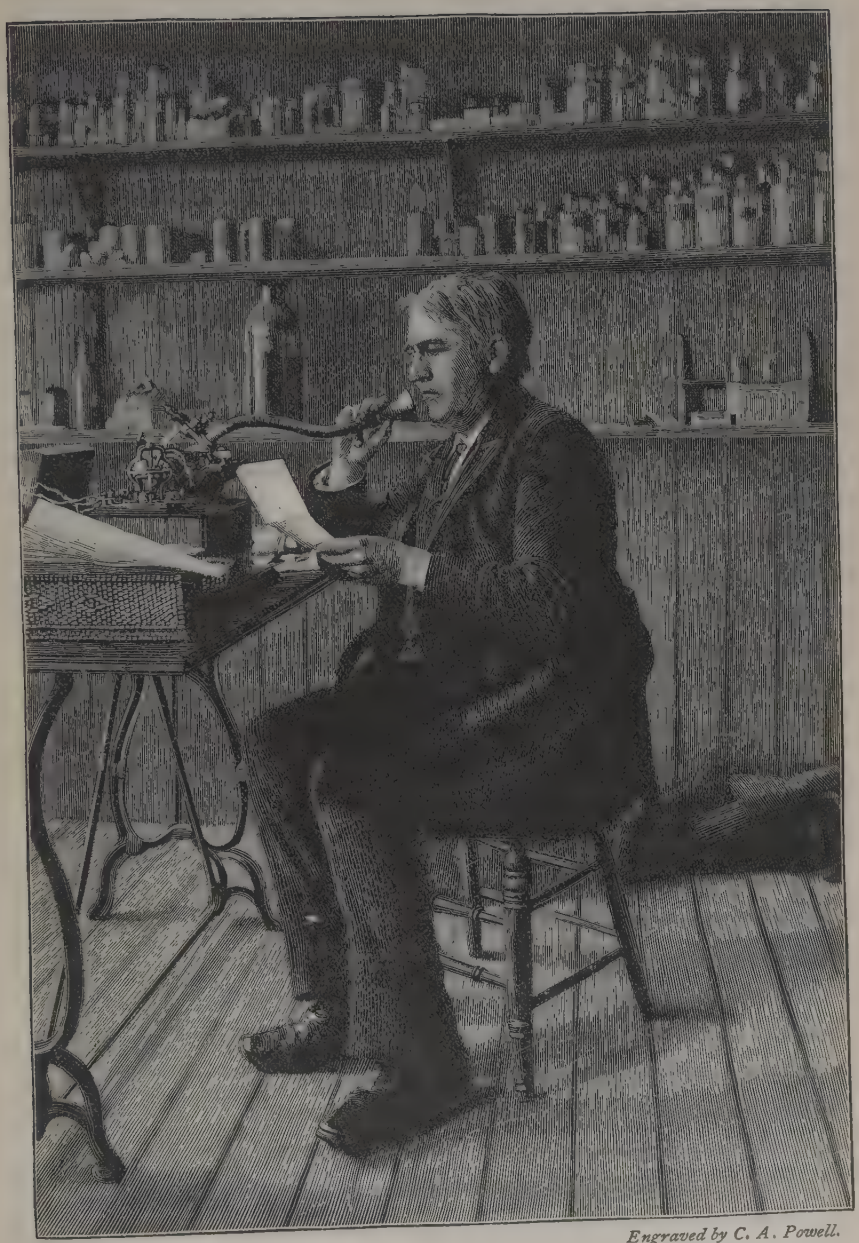
The wealth of the people.

extent of 170,607 miles, representing a capital of more than $11,000,000,000, invested in the various kinds of property required in the building and maintenance of railways. The vast domain of the Republic, enriched by the multitudinous activities of man, now embraced an area of more than 6,000,000 square miles; and of this vast, far-expanding territory, according to the census of 1890, the 4,564,641 farms of the United States covered 973,779 square miles; and these farms, with their machinery, implements, and live-stock, represented a valuation of $16,000,000,000.

If one turns from the development of the simpler forms of human industry to those which are novel and scientific, it will be to find there the highest expression of the world's wonderful advance. In the application of electricity to the uses of trade and commerce, the progress of the United States had been most rapid. The telephone, for example, was first patented in 1876; it began to come into practical use the following year. But at the close of the era now under review, the telephone system of the United States represented an invested capital of $77,000,000, and exchange connections of nearly 2,000,000 per day. The electric telegraph, which antedates the use of the telephone, shows a yet more amazing rapidity of increase in extent and uses. Beginning in 1845 with the slender line of the New York and Boston Magnetic Telegraph Company, the system has grown to a vast network which uses 800,000 miles of wire, requires 20,000 offices for the transaction of its business, and transmits 58,000,000 messages every year. The invention of the electric light was in its infancy in 1878, and ardent experimenters in Europe and the United States were struggling with the difficulties of making it commercially useful. But in 1893 more than three hundred American cities were nightly using the electric light, and more than 7,000,000 people had come to regard this novel means of illumination as an indispensable necessity. The swift progress of invention and improvement reduced the cost and multiplied the number of lights, until many millions of these useful lamps lightened the labors and cheered the homes and factories of the people.

Scientific appliances.

No longer a scientific toy, the phonograph, originally invented by Thomas A. Edison in 1878 but allowed by that busy genius to remain undeveloped until nine years later, became a useful adjunct in the counting-houses, offices, and exchanges of the commercial world as soon as it was again taken up. Words spoken into its ear-trumpet and recorded on its moving cylinder of wax are permanently fixed, and are capable of reproduction in speech at the pleasure of the operator. The cylinders of the phonograph are storage batteries of speech. Of other uses of applied electricity, mention



Engraved by C. A. Powell.

THOMAS A. EDISON DICTATING HIS MORNING'S CORRESPONDENCE TO HIS PHONOGRAPH.

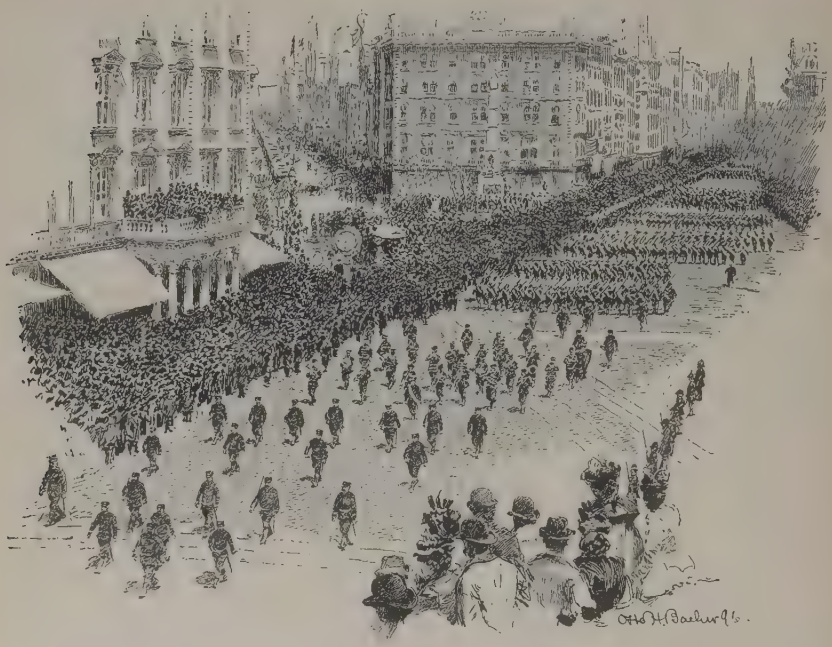
After a photograph hitherto unpublished.

should be made of the great value of electrical power in transportation. Practical use of this means of transit was not made until about the time that Edison resumed the invention of the phonograph, after years of neglect. When the Republic was called to celebrate its Columbian Centennial, 11,000 miles of railway tracks were operated by the use of the electric current, and $750,000,000 of capital had been invested in the building of these roads. Heavy locomotives, run by electric power, were constructed for special use on some of the steam railroad lines; and the business of manufacturing electrical supplies in the United States had sprung from nothing to a volume which required the investment of nearly $1,500,000,000 of capital. American electrical appliances are employed in the gold-fields of South Africa, the streets and godowns of China and Japan, the royal palace of Corea, the avenues and buildings of the Hawaiian capital, the chief cities of Indo-China, and even in the factories and towns of manufacturing England, where American trolley roads and motors lead the world's work in an age of electricity.

With material triumphs and successes such as these, it was not surprising that a resolution to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America should ultimately result in an exposition of the best achievements of industry, science, art, and mental activity. The Centennial Exposition of 1876 celebrated the closing of the first one hundred years of the Nation's existence; it partook largely of a sentimental character; it turned the thoughts of the people to the beginnings of things political and national; it reminded them of their birth as one of the nations of the earth; and the traditions of their family origin were examined with curiosity, and revived with honest pride. The Columbian Exposition of 1893 was a vast object-lesson, showing forth the victories of civilization in a land which had been redeemed from primitive savagery as the four centuries were taking flight. The wonders of mechanism, science, and art were gathered in one full sheaf for the admiration of mankind. The World's Columbian Exposition was something more than an object of local pride and National gratulation. It was a pictorial view of human progress and advancement. Thus it was a fitting celebration of the event which gave to civilization a New World to conquer and inhabit.

Project of a World's Fair.

It had been intended that a great exposition of the products of the industry of all nations should be opened on the day marking the four hundredth anniversary of the Columbian discovery. This was not possible. The work of reclaiming, solidifying, and beautifying the lands on which the exposition city was to be built in Chicago was greater than had been expected. Unforeseen obstacles arose, and



The Columbian Parade in New York, April 28, 1893.— Looking up Fifth Avenue and Broadway from Twenty-Third Street.

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph.

it was found necessary to postpone the actual opening of the exhibition until 1893. Another delay had arisen while lively discussion went on over the fixing of the site of the exposition. In what city should it be? When the project of celebrating the Columbian discovery by a world's fair was first broached, it was generally understood and agreed that the exposition would be held in the city of New York or its immediate vicinity. There was so little question about this that the citizens of New York readily subscribed $5,000,000 as the nucleus of a fund to defray the cost of an exposition which was to be opened in that city October 12th, 1892. Congress was then applied to in order to secure the formal sanction of the work by the National Government. This would give official character to the exhibition, and gain the confidence and coöperation of foreign governments, without which no international exhibition could succeed. But as soon as the aid and countenance of Congress were invoked, the project became public property, as it were; any city of the United States might be a bidder for the honor of furnishing a site for the World's Columbian Exposition. Accordingly, the cities of Chicago, St. Louis, Washington, and New York contested for the privileges and honors at the disposal of Congress.

As the estimate of the cost of the exposition was $5,000,000, the people of Chicago set to work at once to secure pledges for that amount to guarantee the building of the needed structures, improve the grounds, and set the exhibition in motion. A long and lively canvass took place in the House of Representatives before the claims of the four rival cities could be adjusted. The Senate left the settlement of this branch of the subject to the House. Before the matter was concluded, the estimates of the cost of the undertaking had increased to $10,000,000. The competition was narrowed down to Chicago and New York, and, after an exciting balloting, the House awarded the location of the fair to the city of Chicago. The popular subscription of that city had exhausted one field of operations, and it was found needful to enlist the aid of the municipality to an additional extent. The consent of the State Legislature was necessary to authorize the city to lend its credit for the sum required, — $5,000,000 ; and even this sum was not adequate. Although the Legislature, in special session, had authorized the city of Chicago to issue its bonds for this purpose, the growth of the great scheme now made it evident that at least $17,000,000 would be required to conduct the mighty enterprise to a creditable and honorable conclusion. The bigness of this estimate nearly took away the breath of the American people, a majority of whom began to regard the whole proposition as chimerical and fantastic. But the promoters of the plan, undismayed by the vast and swelling proportions of the undertaking before them, went once more to Congress with a candid statement of the facts, asking for a loan of five millions upon terms similar to those on which the bonds of the city of Chicago were issued ; that is to say, the United States Government was to issue its bonds to the corporation upon the agreement of the latter to repay the same percentage that might be paid to the immediate stockholders of said corporation. This proposition was discussed all over the country with much animation, those opposed to it being severe in their comments upon the "Chicago wind" which was alleged to be the only foundation of the financial claims of the city that had secured the honor of holding within its borders the world's Columbian Exposition. After a long and often acrimonious debate, Congress made a compromise with the promoters of the enterprise ; instead of a loan of the Government credit, a free gift of $2,500,000 was voted. This sum was to be given in silver coins, specially minted for this purpose, with the expectation that they would be sold at a great premium and cherished as souvenirs. This expectation was not fully realized.

Chicago wins the prize.

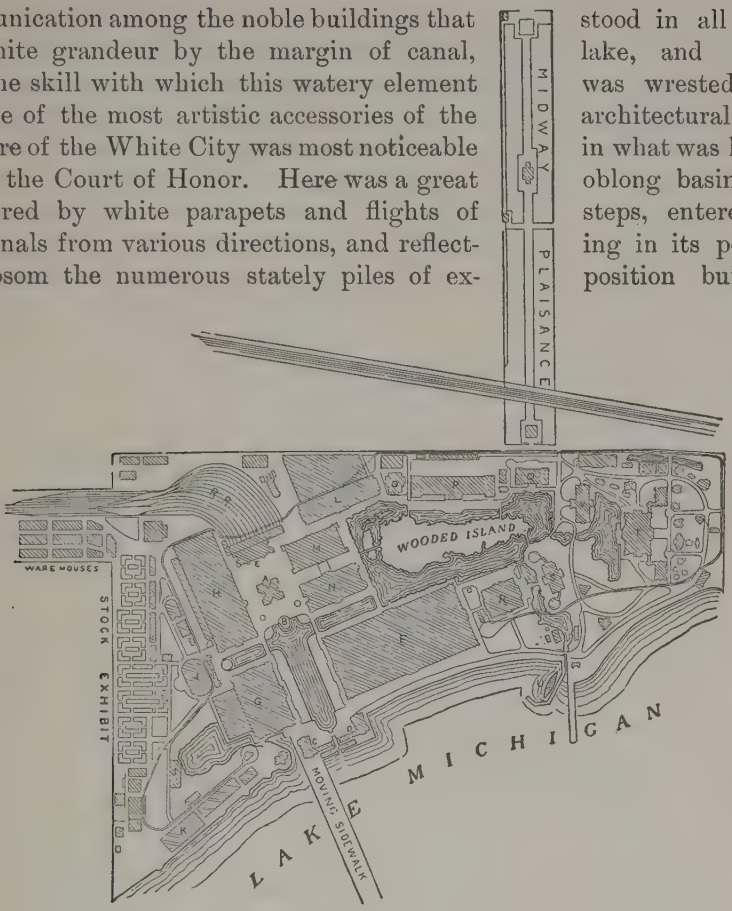
Once more appealing to the civic pride of their fellow-citizens, the

central directory of the Chicago corporation authorized the issue of $5,000,000 in debenture bonds, payable on or before January 1st, 1894, with interest at six per cent., said bonds to constitute a lien on the property of the corporation, and to be paid from the future income of the enterprise. Nearly the whole amount of these debenture bonds was taken, individuals and corporations in Chicago subscribing to the extent of $4,550,000. Still the financial exigencies of the situation became more severe and exacting as the magnitude of the undertaking increased under the developing hands of architects, builders, and planners. Twenty millions, it was now declared, would be needed to finish a work for which five millions were once thought to be sufficient. This great sum, then, was actually expended in the management of the project which finally took shape in the World's Columbian Exposition. Congress, with that laxity of morals which is apt to characterize an aggregation of individuals, reconsidered its promise to give $2,500,000 to the great undertaking, and only $1,929,120 was actually realized from that donation.

Without going into further details of the financial operations of the corporation, it may be said here that the revenues derived from the management of the exhibition subsequently enabled the managers to discharge the floating indebtedness, and to pay off every dollar of the principal and interest of the debenture bonds. To put in a single line the total cost of the great exposition, we may add to the $20,000,000 already footed up the sum of $2,250,000 expended by the United States Government for its own features of the exposition; $6,000,000 by foreign governments, and $7,000,000 by the several States; making a grand total of $35,000,000 as the actual cost of the work, and saying nothing of the expenses of individual exhibitors.

The site of the Columbian Exposition was Jackson Park, a public pleasure ground belonging to the city of Chicago, in its southeastern part, on the shore of Lake Michigan, ten miles by water from the city front. The park had been left comparatively unimproved, but its natural advantages were very great. The surface was level and was intersected with lagoons and swampy inlets. To reclaim this area from the lake, make solid the low-lying grounds, and turn the inlets into lakelets, canals, and basins, was the apparently impossible task of engineers and landscape-gardeners. The result was a wonderful transformation of a watery waste into a noble park intersected with solid and easy avenues, winding paths, and sparkling sheets of water. Flower-beds, masses of shrubbery, and restful expanses of lawn replaced the unkempt fields; and the waterways redeemed from the waste of the lake-front gave a ready and agreeable means of com-

munication among the noble buildings that stood in all their white grandeur by the margin of canal, lake, and basin. The skill with which this watery element was wrested into one of the most artistic accessories of the architectural pic- ture of the White City was most noticeable in what was known as the Court of Honor. Here was a great oblong basin, bor- dered by white parapets and flights of steps, entered by canals from various directions, and reflect- ing in its pellucid bosom the numerous stately piles of ex- position buildings



Plan of the World's Fair Grounds at Jackson Park.

A, Administration Building.
B, MacMonnies Fountain.
C, Casino.
D, Music Hall.
E, Central Railroad Station.
F, Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building.
G, Agricultural Building.
H, Machinery Hall.
I, Stock Pavilion.
J, French Agriculture.
K, Forestry Building.
L, Transportation Building.
M, Mines and Mining Building.
N, Electricity Building.
O, Choral Building.
P, Horticultural Building.
Q, Women's Building.
R, Government Building.
S, Fisheries Building.
T, Art Galleries.
U, Naval Exhibit.
V, Illinois Building.

that were placed by its margin. The heights of these beautiful structures varied, but a controlling mind had so regulated their horizontal lines that absolute harmony characterized the dazzling picture presented in this wondrous combination of light, form, and color. The Court of Honor.

Equally felicitous was the invention and use of materials for the buildings: these structures must be ornate and attractive, and they were not to be permanent; in a few months the occasion for their use

would pass away, and the city of show house would be no more. Just here came in the employment of a composition of plaster of paris and dried vegetable fibre known as "staff." Comparatively inexpensive, this composition is capable of being worked into the most ornamental shapes and artistic designs; and, supported on a backing or framework of wood or iron, the material can be made to assume all the massiveness, grace, and beauty of white marble. It lends itself to the formation of the lightest tendrils and garlands of decorative art, as well as to the imposing proportions and simple dignity of the severest schools of architecture. The twelve principal buildings of the World's Columbian Exposition, thus constructed, were marvels of beauty. Grouped around the Court of Honor, standing stately by glittering canal and lagoon, or partially embowered in the foliage of the park, they formed a picture of ravishing delight, a spectacle the like of which was never before seen on the earth, and the counterpart of which, reproduced in the marble which was so skilfully simulated, would exhaust the treasury of the richest potentate in the world. It was a happy thought that gave to this brilliant and dazzling group of palaces, bridges, parapets, and colonnades the name of the White City. The title, instinctively bestowed by one of the most enthusiastic of the early visitors[1] to the White City, remained as its most felicitous description.

The White City.

The most important and the largest of the edifices of the exhibition was that designed for the exposition of manufactures and the liberal arts. The building was 1,687 feet long and 787 feet wide; its roof of glass and iron covered a space of 1,400 feet long and 385 feet wide, and at its highest point was 150 feet above the floor. It covered a total area of forty-four acres; its floor space was increased by a gallery, which, fifty feet wide, ran entirely around this gigantic building. Four arched entrances, forty feet wide and eighty feet high, were constructed on each of the four sides of the building; these were richly adorned with sculptures and mural paintings; and a handsome loggia, with decorated pavilions at each corner of the edifice, surrounded it. The architecture of the manufactures and liberal arts building was in the Corinthian style, and the effect of its noble proportions, foliated capitals, fluted columns, and enriched entablature was most impressive. The exhibits here were divided into thirty-four principal groups, and these were subdivided into more than two hundred classes of leading industries, representing the product of modern machinery and man's handiwork of every description. This included a vast variety of objects of applied art in

The Liberal Arts.

[1] Henry C. Bunner, of New York, in *Scribner's Magazine*, October, 1892.

Engraved by H. W. Peckwell

THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING ON CHICAGO DAY.

glass, pottery, porcelain, plaster, marble, and semi-precious stones, textile fabrics, metals, wax, and other materials.

At the head of the Court of Honor, and dominating that lovely sheet of water, was the Administration building. This was the most ornate and striking of all the edifices in the exposition grounds. Its lower floor consisted of four pavilions, sixty-five feet high, surmounted by a structure of the same height, enriched with detached columns and colossal sculptures; this section was 175 feet in area, and was crowned by a lofty octagonal dome on a base thirty feet high. The dome was gilded, and was adorned with floral designs in high relief. Within this building were the offices relating to the general management of the exposition. Looking from its front the eye rested on the sheet of water (or Grand Basin), which was bounded on its lower or eastern end by a graceful structure known as the peristyle; and other buildings of the exposition, detached and differing in design, yet harmonious as a whole, were grouped around this Court of Honor on either side. Directly in front of the Administration building was an ample esplanade, handsomely paved, on which were erected the music stands; and beyond these, on the border of the miniature lake, were three immense fountains, that in the centre being a colossal group representing the genius of Columbia in a galley propelled by eight rowers and steered by Father Time.

Administration building.

Facing the Administration building, and at the farther end of the sheet of water around which was built the Court of Honor, was a colossal statue of Liberty, the left hand lightly holding a staff crowned with a Phrygian cap and the right hand lifting high a winged orb. This work, which was gilded and was constructed on lines of prodigious power, was one of the most impressive objects in the exposition. It was a figure of simple but gigantic grandeur. Naturally, the upper end of the Court of Honor was chosen for the most liberal disposition of the ornamental sculptures that formed so considerable a feature of the architectural scheme of the exposition. Here were statues, decorative columns, obelisks, and a lavish display of all the devices which plastic art made ready for the lavish adornment of the spot. But the eye lingered with loving admiration upon the peristyle that bounded the view as one looked eastward down the basin in the midst of the Court of Honor. This structure consisted of forty-eight columns disposed in four rows on each side of an archway that spanned the entrance from Lake Michigan to the grand basin. The central arch of this beautiful work was eighty feet high; the entablature, supported by the forty-eight columns, presented a level sky-line, broken at intervals by statues;

The peristyle.

A Detail of the Golden Doorway at the Entrance to the Transportation Building.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

and on the top of the arch was the Columbian quadriga, — a Roman chariot with a typical figure of a discoverer, drawn by four horses, each pair of which was led by a graceful female figure. Appropriate inscriptions and the names of eminent discoverers of ancient and modern times were carved on the panels of this imposing and truly grand work. The peristyle connected the music hall and the casino, which were on opposite sides of the basin.

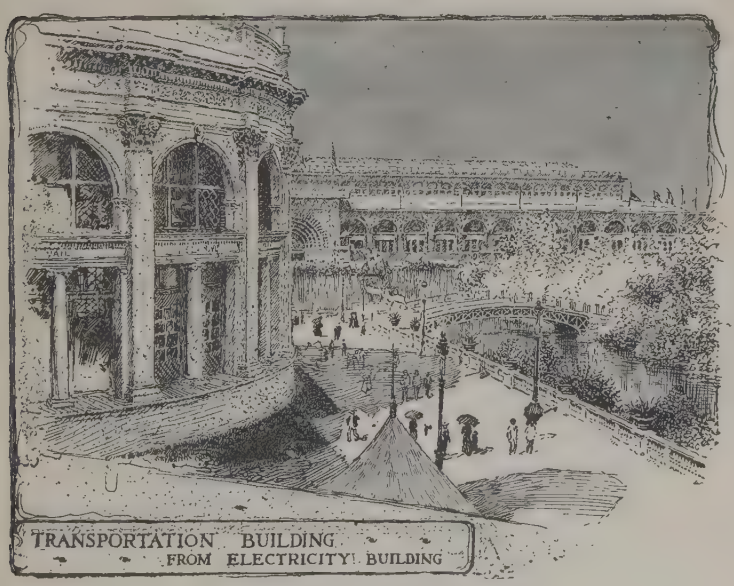
Machinery.

On the right of the Administration building, as one stood facing the vista that led outward to Lake Michigan, was the machinery hall, an ornate building adorned with towers and turrets, and designed in a composite style of architecture. The size of machinery hall was 494 feet by 342 feet, but it required an annex of even greater dimensions than the main building; its entire area covered about seventeen acres. The exhibit in this edifice was of the most bewildering character. It represented the genius, invention, skill, and ingenuity of nearly every civilized nation upon the earth. Its features not only embraced the newest and most startling inventions of recent times, but they also brought to view, by way of contrast, some of the primitive contrivances of other times and ages, thus showing, as no verbal description could, the progress made by man in the domain of machinery and applied mechanics. No such array of labor-saving devices and means of motive-power was ever before brought together since the world began.

Separated from the machinery hall by a broad waterway that

debouched into the basin of the Court of Honor on the south, was the building dedicated to agriculture. This edifice was designed in the classical Renaissance style of architecture; but its decoration was more efflorescent than that of any of its immediate neighbors. The canal that separated it from the machinery building was spanned by a graceful bridge; and a colonnade, somewhat resembling that of the peristyle, connected it on its southern side with the mass of buildings of which machinery hall formed the most distinctive feature. The general effect of the exterior of the agriculture building was one of an almost riotous exuberance of plastic decorative art. Fluted columns and pilasters, caryatides, colossal groups of statuary, pediments, and entablatures, enriched with sculptures, balustrades, pinnacles, and domes, fascinated the gaze and excited the imagination of the spectator. The building was 500 feet wide and 800 feet long. With its annex, it covered an area of nineteen acres. The agricultural exhibit was one of world-wide extent and variety. Naturally the United States led in the display that related to everything that might be called "the kindly fruits of the earth;" and next to the home exhibit, that of Great Britain and its colonies was the largest; but the agricultural products of South America, Central America, Mexico, and the West Indies were vast and varied in their magnitude. Agriculture.

One of the most interesting structures in the park was the forestry



TRANSPORTATION BUILDING
FROM ELECTRICITY BUILDING

Drawn by August F. Jaccaci from a photograph.

building, a unique edifice covering about two and a half acres, roofed with tree-barks in their natural state; its wide veranda was supported by tree-trunks twenty-five feet high. The display of woods in their natural and their finished condition, manufactures of wood, and arboreal growths from all countries, was one of surpassing interest.

Ethnology.

Another novel and interesting exhibition was that of ethnology and anthropology. There the visitor could study the physical development of the American continent from the ice age to the present day, with the flora, fauna, geological phenomena, and ethnological remains of each successive period. There, too, were examples of the clothing, warlike and household implements, dwellings, handiwork, and typical portraits of nearly every one of the numerous tribes of the earth. To an extent unprecedented in the history of international expositions, the habitat, environment, and daily life of the peoples of which the world knows the least were brought together for study and comparison. The outdoor exhibits included examples of the art and architecture of the cliff-dwellers and other prehistoric races of the continent.

Electricity.

Opposite the liberal arts building on the westward, and separated from it by one of the broad canals that intersected the exhibition grounds, was a noble structure devoted to a display of applied electricity and electrical apparatus. The exterior of this building was designed in the Corinthian order of architecture, and its general plan was that of a long nave crossed at right angles by a transept. The nave was 690 feet long; the transept was 345 feet; the area covered was nine and three tenths acres; to this was added 118,546 feet furnished by the galleries that ran around the upper part of the building. The design of this structure provided for an unusually large space for glass windows and skylights; and the effect of the electrical displays at night was therefore exceedingly brilliant. Every device for the employment of electricity for illumination, motive-power, and for every useful purpose, or for the gratification of curiosity, was exhibited here. Naturally the edifice was continually thronged with visitors, who were apparently fascinated by the wonders of science applied to innumerable practical uses.

Mines and mining.

Westward of the electricity building was the hall of mines and mining, with an area of eight and one half acres. The exhibits here were comprehensive and complete. They represented every stage and process of metallurgy, every department of mineralogy. It was truly said that the raw materials exhibited here formed the basis of every other exhibit excepting those of agriculture and horticulture. These comprised precious and semi-precious stones,

mineral pigments, coals, marbles and other building stones, lime, sands, clays, salts, petroleum, earths and soils, and a vast variety of the means and appliances employed by man for the purpose of mining and extracting these raw materials and preparing them for their uses. Ancient methods of mining and ancient tools and machines were shown; and diagrams and charts illustrated the extent and location of coal deposits and the accumulations of natural gas. Other exhibits indicated deposits of chalk, slate, and other useful minerals.

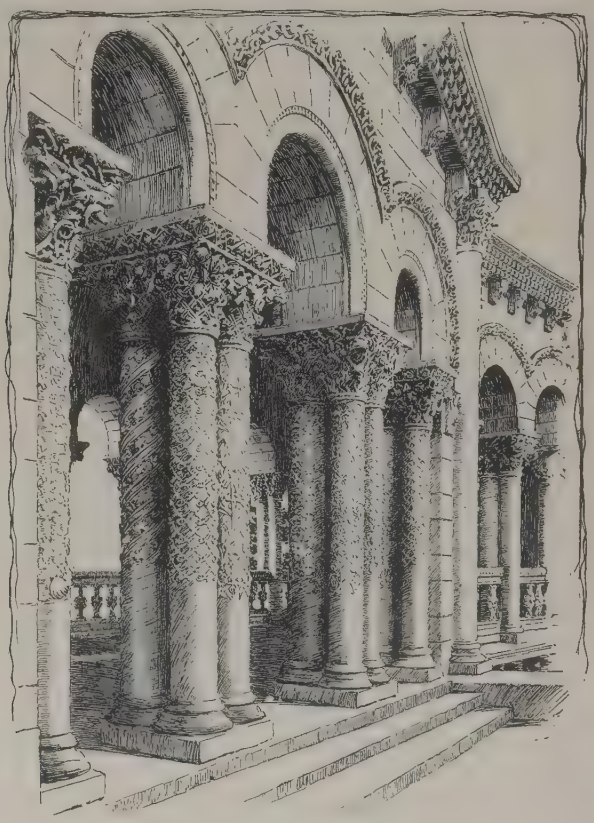
Transportation.

The transportation building was one of the centres of attraction. The total area of this structure was nearly eighteen acres; its exterior was designed in the Romanesque style of architecture, but considerable license was allowed in the execution of details. The principal front was adorned with a façade of Moresque design; its gateway was the famous "Golden Doorway" which allured many thousands of people to gaze upon its grand proportions and glittering splendors. The exterior of the building was decorated in polychrome. The scope and plan of the transportation exhibit included all the means employed in transportation of persons and goods by land and water. The exhibit, like many others, was historical, as well as immediately practical, and was one of absorbing popular interest. The feature of the exhibition which attracted the greatest attention was that which illustrated the growth and improvement of transit by rail. No sharper contrast between the old and the new could be made than that afforded by the juxtaposition of the first locomotives ever constructed in England and America, and those wondrous flyers which seem to devour the land over which they glide with magic speed. The clumsy machines that were the potential promise of the swift engines of to-day were regarded with respectful curiosity. The thoroughly equipped English railway trains, finished down to the minutest detail, stood close by the luxurious and roomy lines of parlor and sleeping cars which every American considers absolutely needful for his comfort and convenience on a long railway journey.

Fisheries.

The department of fisheries required an area of buildings equal to about one and one half acres. A unique feature of this exhibition was an aquarial display. The main building, 1,100 feet long and 200 feet wide, with a central rotunda 60 feet in diameter, was exquisitely designed and ornamented; two circular wings were connected with it by curving arcades, and in one of these circular pavilions, and the corridor leading to it, were great glass tanks filled with salt or fresh water, to suit the needs of the finny tribes that moved in their translucent depths. The arrangement of

the lighting, by night or day, was admirable for the observation of the tenants of the great tanks; and a procession of delighted sight-seers continually moved along the glassy walls behind which drifted the fishes that represented the inhabitants of lake, river, and sea. In the main building of the fisheries department was a strikingly interesting



Detail of the Fisheries Building.
Drawn by F. D. Steele from a photograph.

exhibit of fishing boats and fishing tackle from various countries whose hardy mariners have given the world the best lessons in the art of gathering the spoil of the sea. Norway and Sweden, Newfoundland, Japan, Holland, and the United States, vied with each other in the extent and variety of their exhibits. Models were not considered sufficiently impressive, and actual fishing crafts, nets, and other appliances were brought to the show at considerable expense and trouble. In addition to the boats and gear employed in fishing, there was a

large and complete exhibit of fish food and products. Oil, glue, and other commodities from the fisheries of maritime nations were shown with dried, pickled, and preserved fish. Anglers' implements and gear, with models and pictures of famous game fish, delighted the eyes of the disciples of Izaak Walton. The aquaria, the commercial fisheries, and the angling division were the three sub-sections of this valuable department of the exhibition. Architectural fancy, which ran riot in so many of the designs for the fair buildings, here produced many forms of marine life diverted to purposes of ornamentation. Crustacea, marine plants, fishes in various positions, and implements used in fishing were employed in the architectural embellishment of columns, architraves, balustrades, and capitals. The effect of this profuseness was bizarre, but not meretricious.

For purity of design and perfect proportions, the classic edifice containing the art galleries bore the palm. Built on the border of a sheet of water known as the north pond, this structure covered an area of about six acres. The main building was 500 feet long and 320 feet wide. Slightly in the rear and connected with the central pavilion were two wings. The building was designed in the pure Ionic order of architecture, and, exclusive of the wings, was in the general form of a nave intersected by a transept; a graceful dome, slightly flattened, crowned the intersection. As the centre of the art feature of the exposition, this lovely edifice was adorned with all the wealth of ornament and decoration that plastic, pictorial, and architectural art could lavish upon it. Porticoes, colonnades, medallions, and other designs without, and mural paintings and sculptures within, combined to make this palace of art a veritable dream of beauty. As the walls enclosed priceless treasures from many lands, they were made as nearly fireproof as possible. The building was a permanent structure, destined to remain in Jackson Park. Perhaps no other single feature of the magnificent show so forcibly exemplified the heartiness with which the nations of the earth accepted invitations to send contributions as this. Not only did artists, art associations, and states send their choicest works, but rulers of European peoples lent rare and costly examples of art from their own private galleries. On the upper floors of the main building were shown architectural drawings and etchings. The largest display in architecture was from Germany. Although the picture galleries were ample in dimensions, they were crowded from the opening to the closing hour. No such complete exhibition had ever before been brought together in the United States, if indeed in any other land. It may be said here that the influence of this department of the World's Columbian Exposition was exercised longer in this country, and was more pervasive, than that of any other section of the exhibition.

The art galleries.

Among the other buildings designed for one of the general features of the exposition, mention should be made of the women's building, an edifice of much beauty, designed and decorated by women, and filled with the handiwork of the women of all lands. The interior decoration of this building was of uncommon richness; and the products of feminine ingenuity, skill, and taste therein displayed were wonderful in their variety. The range of activities in which women have employed themselves astonished many; not in needle-work alone, as an ignorant visitor might have expected, did these exhibitors evince their proficiency, but paintings, carvings, works in other branches of decorative art, wrought brass and iron, lace, domestic furnishing, and an innumerable array of useful articles to lighten labor and adorn home, — all gave striking evidence of the adaptability of the gentler sex to the wants of civilized humanity.

Women's work.

Another of the buildings belonging to the general group, which must not be overlooked in any description of the exposition, was that devoted to the horticultural display. This shapely and beautiful structure was, to all intents and purposes, a vast hot-house or conservatory; although its annexes were of wood, iron, and "staff," its central pavilion was of glass. Under its lofty dome were grouped tall palms from equatorial regions, the tree-ferns of Australia, strange growths from China and Japan, and gigantic fronds from the islands of the Pacific. In the annexes were shown drawings and paintings of plants, flowers, and fruits of many lands, the actual products of which could not be brought to the exposition.

Horticulture.

Among the numerous subsidiary buildings, none attracted the multitude more steadily than the convent of Santa Maria de la Rabida, a model of the world-famous edifice in which Christopher Columbus, wayworn and discouraged, once found refuge. The structure was an exact reproduction of the Spanish convent, and all the relics which it contained related to the Columbian discovery of America, or to the doings of those who immediately came after the great voyager. Here were his personal documents, the royal archives and muniments relating to Columbus and his deeds; and here were numerous objects intimately belonging to the illustrious man, or to his life and times. Of these the royal commission issued to him, and the bell and anchor which he used on board one of his ships of discovery, attracted rapt attention. So far as was possible, every scrap of paper, every article ever touched by the hand of the discoverer of America, was brought here to enable the reverent spectator of to-day to recreate in his imagination the daring adventurer who set sail into the Sea of Darkness, four hundred years before, to explore the unknown vastness in which he believed would be found the way to the Indies.

Columbian relics.

Additional personal interest in the Columbian discovery was given by the presence, during the early days of the World's Columbian Exposition, of the Duke of Veragua, a lineal descendant of the discoverer. Another feature of this attempt to revive the memory of Columbus was the construction of three wooden caravels exactly modelled after the three little crafts in which the navigator set sail from the port of Palos on his voyage of discovery. These quaint cockle-shells, with their picturesque archaic decoration, high poops, and antique gear, were a source of great enjoyment to the multitudes who thronged the pier where they were moored. A model of the viking boat in which the hardy Norsemen voyaged forth to Greenland, Helluland, and Vinland was a pictorial object-lesson on the perils encountered by the first discoverers of the continent when they made their way hither in the open craft of these rovers of the seas.

It should be said that the Spanish Government, by its liberal treatment in the matter of sending the priceless relics of Columbus, and in various other ways, won the gratitude of the American people who desired the success of the great exposition. A daughter of the royal house of the Spanish Bourbons was among the foreign representatives attending the fair; and the appearance of the Duke and Duchess of Veragua lent to the event a peculiar picturesqueness not otherwise possible.

The plan adopted at the Centennial Exposition of 1876, of representing National and State Governments in separate buildings, was expanded at the World's Columbian Fair. Beginning with the United States Government, each power and each State represented in the exhibition had its own official headquarters. To a great extent, these buildings were designed on lines that typified the government or the character of the people to whom they belonged. Thus the edifice occupied by the agents of the German Government was a picturesque reproduction of one of the houses of mediæval Germany. The Japanese building represented three distinct epochs of the architecture and decorative art of Japan. And among the States of the American Union many were represented with characteristic houses, each with a marked individuality. Thus the Virginia house was modelled on the lines of Washington's country-seat at Mount Vernon. The Massachusetts building was constructed on a design suggested by the old residence of John Hancock in Boston. The headquarters of the New Jersey representatives were in a house closely resembling Washington's headquarters at Morristown, New Jersey. A more striking effect was produced by the erection of buildings characteristic of the material conditions of the States whose delegates were quartered in them. Thus Idaho was housed in a unique

The State buildings.

edifice of unhewn stone and rough timber. The buildings of California and Texas instantly suggested to the visitor the architecture of the Spanish-Americans who were the first settlers in those States. Maine's building was a sturdy edifice of native granite whose lines were suggestive of Norseland and Northmen.

Among the foreign buildings, that of Germany contained one of the most interesting exhibits of domestic art and architecture. The Swedish building, designed on the lines of one of the old Norse stave churches, was notable for a fascinating show of iron wrought into a great variety of shapes; twisted shafts and columns, bars and barrel of polished metal, chains, slabs, and blades of exquisite finish, excited the wonder and admiration of all who saw them. The Persian exhibit, housed in a decorated pavilion that suggested the wonders of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, was made up of some of the choicest productions of the Persian loom; and a collection of metal work, tiles, armor, and curios was always surrounded by admiring throngs.

The exhibit made by the National Government was one of fascinating interest and real impressiveness. From the State Department came original documents and portraits of priceless value, illustrating the history of the Republic, and reviving glories of American diplomacy, statecraft, and patriotism. One of the most attractive features of the War Department was a collection of life-size models that wore the uniforms of the soldiers and officers of the army of the United States from the foundation of the Republic until the latest day. A model post-office in actual operation and a model postal-car in working order were among the objects with which the Post-office Department illustrated the marvellous progress made in the transmission of the United States mails within the century. By the side of the swiftest and best arranged postal-car in the world stood an ancient mail-coach of antique pattern, still marred with the bullets of the Indians who once captured it. The War Department's exhibit included a battery of heavy artillery. In the Department of Agriculture was a display that indicated the marvellous variety of the products of American soil; and the Department of the Interior, in addition to its other multifarious features, showed something of the land area under cultivation in the United States, and gave a birdseye view of territory yet to be occupied by the farmer and the settler.

A mimic battle-ship.

A novel and interesting feature of the exhibit of the Navy Department was a structure of brick, iron, and wood, which so closely resembled a real battle-ship moored by the lake-side that thousands of unthinking rural visitors doubtless supposed it a ship of the navy brought thither for the gratification of the curiosity

Engraved by F. C. Chadwick.

THE HORTICULTURAL AND TRANSPORTATION BUILDINGS, FROM THE LAGOON.

of landsmen from interior States. This model was built on the lines of the battle-ships designed by the Navy Department for coast defence. It was 348 feet long, 69 feet and three inches deep, and 12 feet above the water-line. It was equipped with all the guns, turrets, torpedoes, anchors, rigging, and other appliances of a first-class battle-ship, and the interior spaces were utilized for a comprehensive display of warlike inventions and historic articles from the several bureaus of the Navy Department. It also contained an historical naval museum.

Travelling in the grounds.

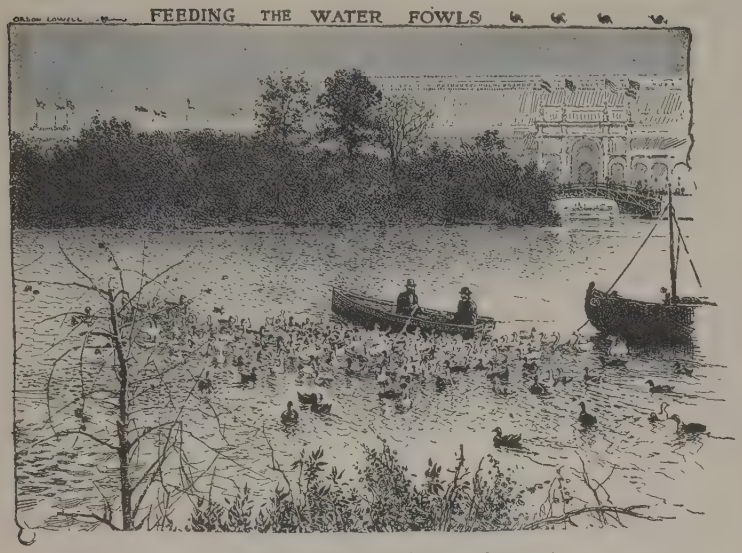
As the area of the exhibition grounds comprised 666 acres, and some of the buildings were remote from the centre of the White City, it was a considerable journey from one extreme of the grounds to another. An elevated railway, known as the intra-mural line, with divers loops and curves, ran around the exhibition city, giving passengers an opportunity to stop at frequent intervals nearest to the principal points on the outer rim of the exposition. Wheeled chairs were at the call of the luxurious and the infirm. But one of the most comfortable means of getting about was by means of the lagoons, canals, and other water ways. Gondolas imported with their gondoliers from Venice, row-boats, and swift launches propelled by electric power, made communication easy between the points nearest to the margins of the watercourses and ponds. At night, when the grounds, fountains, and buildings were illuminated (and sometimes this was done with special profuseness), the water excursion was a delight that can never be forgotten by those who once enjoyed it. The Court of Honor, with its architectural lines differing in details, yet harmonious as a whole, was gorgeous with light and color; the fountains flashed in changing and innumerable hues; far-reaching streams of electric light traversed the sparkling waters and climbed upward to the clouds; and rows of colored lamps defined the curves of swelling domes, and marked the lines of the bridges and pillared façades that skirted basin, lagoon, and canal. No adequate description of these scenes of fairyland has ever yet been written. It is impossible for pen or pencil to convey to the mind of one who did not witness its splendors and loveliness any idea of the wonder that grew up by the lake shore, almost like the exhalation of a night.

The substantial attractions of the White City, its wonderful richness and beauty, did not become duly impressed upon the minds of the American people until the exposition had begun to decline from the meridian of its brief existence. The exhibition was formally opened on the first day of May, 1893; it was closed on the last day of the following October. Several causes operated to check the enthusiasm which it was expected would be kindled in the cities and towns of other parts of the United States than those immediately

nearest to the great White City. The railroad companies did not at first make any concessions to the multitudes that would have gone to the exposition if the fares had been reduced for the occasion. And when these reductions were finally made, the magnitude and splendor of the exhibition had become better known through the reports of those who had visited it. Possibly, civic jealousies at first deterred the people of other States from regarding the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago with much real interest. But, from whatever cause, thousands of people did not realize the extent and unexampled beauty of the White City until late in the season; and other thousands did not begin to comprehend its vastness and uniqueness until it was too late to look upon its treasures and its spectacle.

The Midway Plaisance.

No account of the Columbian Exposition would be complete without mention being made of the great congeries of international places of amusement known as the Midway Plaisance. This vast and varied bazaar of all nations extended westward from the exhibition grounds at right angles with their rear line; entering at its western extremity, the visitor beheld before him an avenue of great width, bordered on either side by shops, bazaars, dwellings, booths, show-places, and pavilions, representing almost every land beneath the sun. At some of these places were sold native goods and refreshments; at others one could find exhibitions of the manners, customs, dress, and mode of life of tribes and people from afar. At other points were the dramatic or musical entertainments, or dances, of the strange races who had sent hither their delegates. Some of these novel attractions were a Pompeian house and an ancient Roman dwelling; a German village and a museum of curiosities of mediæval times from Nuremburg; a panorama of the Bernese Oberland; Turkish, Moorish, and Egyptian cafés, bazaars, and pavilions; a Japanese village with shops for the sale of curios; a street in Cairo, with the camels and donkeys characteristic of the old city; habitations and natives from Java and the South Seas, with their rude music and examples of the products of their handiwork; a Dahomey village occupied by natives; a section from old Vienna, showing not only the architecture and the street sights of the city, but something of the real life of the Viennese; a Javanese theatre; Chinese tea-houses with native attendants; a Californian ostrich farm; a model of a Moorish palace; a settlement of Dutch; a wonderful exhibition of trained animals from Hamburg; an exhibit of the famous Venetian glass-works of the Muranos, and another of an eminent glass-making company; a Chinese village and theatre; Algerian and Tunisian shops; a panorama of the Hawaiian volcano of Kilauea; exhibits from Persia, the country of the Bedouins, Morocco, Siam, Samoa, and other remote quarters



Drawn by Orson Lowell from a photograph.

of the earth. An exhibit of Irish industries was shown in a group of buildings that ingeniously combined the castle and the cottage of old Ireland. Bohemia sent its deft-handed workers in glass; the squalid sheiks of Upper Egypt and their followers allured visitors to their enclosure with promises of daring horsemanship; and a bewildering array of semi-barbaric wares from Oriental lands enticed the visitor with gorgeous color and rare novelty.

The Ferris wheel.

Among the many ingenious inventions intended to allure and amuse the wondering visitor to the exposition, the famous Ferris wheel and the sliding platform of the lake-front were notable. The first was a gigantic wheel of iron and steel, carrying around on its outer rim a series of closed cars, not unlike those used on street railways for the transit of passengers, each carrying sixty persons. These cars had glass sides, so that the occupants could gaze on the panorama as the gigantic wheel rose slowly in the air on its revolutions. Each car was so slung that it retained its perpendicular without jar or disturbance as it rose. The wheel was constructed with such nicety that its periphery described a circle as accurate as that of the most delicate piece of machinery. The vast machine slowly revolved until its topmost car was 264 feet above the ground; then the segment slowly sank until the voyagers, who had almost imperceptibly descended from the highest to the lowest range, swept the surface of the earth and again mounted to the upper air. The sliding sidewalk, as it was called, was a movable

platform, 4,300 feet long, fitted with seats, and reaching from the land to the extremity of a long pier built out into the lake; it was as if one walking or sitting on a board-walk were gently carried in a direction at first lakeward and then landward, turning an easy curve at either end.

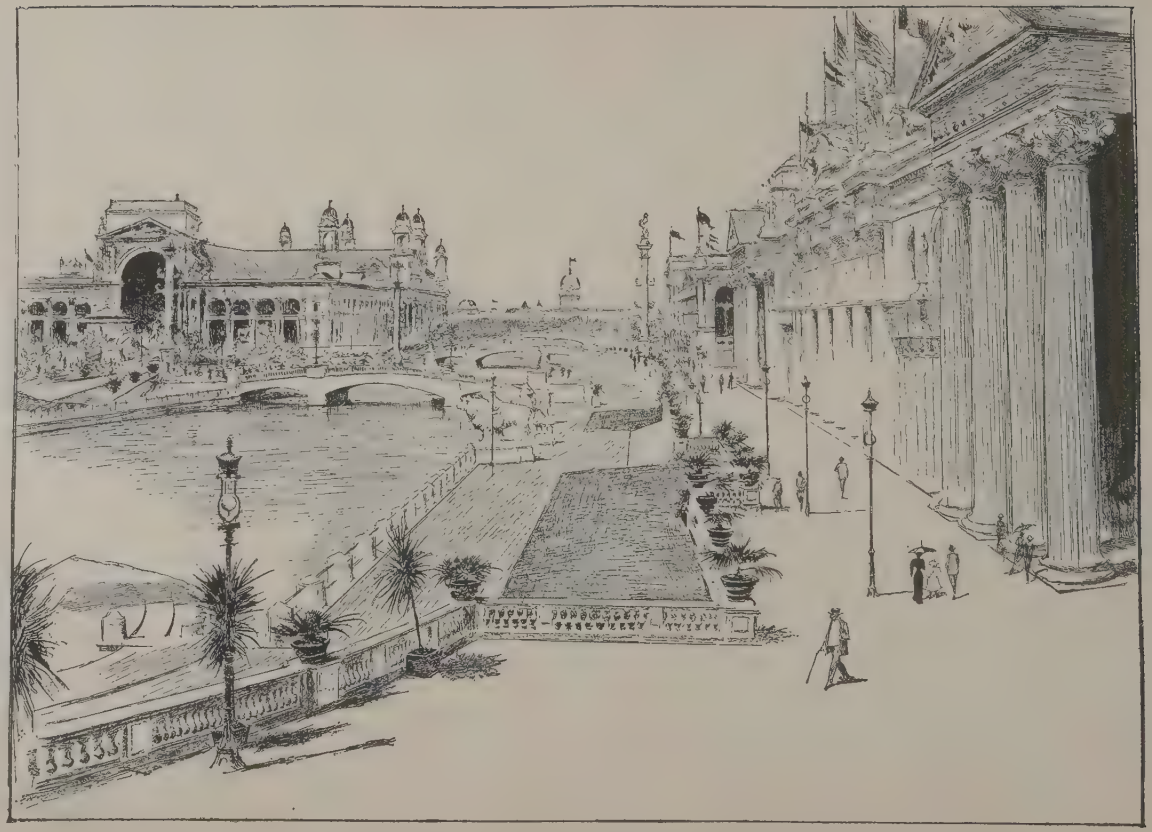
The nations were represented in occasional musical performances, as they were in the galleries of painting and sculpture. Choral Hall, one of the most beautiful and prominent of the buildings of the White City, was designed for these musical congresses, and a series of festivals in that admirably contrived edifice illustrated the musical compositions and the proficiency of many nations in concert, oratorio, vocal, and orchestral performances. International congresses were held in a great auditorium erected nearer the centre of the city of Chicago. There were 160 of these assemblies; and the field covered by their deliberations and discussions embraced nearly every mental activity known to man. Moral, mental, and natural philosophy, religion, literature, art, social reform, education, jurisprudence, agriculture, sanitary science and engineering, medicine, and woman's progress were among the topics that engaged the attention of the two hundred working committees and the hundreds of thousands of persons who thronged the halls of the World's Congress.

Gala days at the Fair.

The States of the Federal Union, and many of the foreign nations represented at the exposition, each had one day set apart for its own special benefit and gala observance. This ingenious device filled the fair grounds on their occurrence with crowds of citizens and visitors emulous of the honor of their city, State, or country. Then, too, there were days for the celebration of trades and callings, beneficent orders, and social organizations. Although New York came reluctantly to a full realization of the magnitude and importance of the Columbian Exposition, Manhattan Day was celebrated by the people of that city with great acclaim and with much festivity. On that day the attendance nearly reached 300,000. Chicago Day, of course, was "the great day of the fair." It came on October 9th, the anniversary of the great fire of 1871, and was celebrated with unexampled pomp and circumstance.

The attendance.

The statistics of the attendance at the exposition are of considerable interest. They show that, making due allowance for duplications of those who paid more than one visit to the fair, not less than 12,000,000 persons passed through the gates during the 179 days when the grounds and buildings were open to the public. The early months of the season, as before suggested, indicated a small and disappointing attendance. Thus, May gave only an aver-



THE CANAL, LOOKING NORTH FROM THE COLONNADE, IN 1893.

Drawn by Alfred Brennan from a photograph.

A VIEW FROM THE SAME SPOT, THE SITE OF THE COLONNADE, IN 1896.

Drawn by Alfred Brennan from a photograph made for this work.

age of 30,980, taking out the unusual attendance of the opening day and Memorial Day. It was not until August that the records showed the enormous attendance that should have been reported earlier. On the 24th of that month was celebrated Illinois Day, and the attendance was 243,951. Here are the totals of the paid admissions for each of the six months of the exposition; May, 2,050,037; June, 2,675,113; July, 2,760,263; August, 3,515,493; September, 4,659,871; October, 6,816,435. The gradual augmentation of these figures as the months passed is very suggestive.

The receipts from admissions to the exposition were $10,578,146; from concessions granted to persons conducting commercial operations within the limits of the exposition grounds, $3,384,016; from miscellaneous sources, $1,734,239. Medals were awarded to 23,757 exhibitors. Unfortunate complications arose over the distribution of awards, the method of the distribution being severely criticised. A few of the exhibitors, chagrined at their failure to secure what they thought to be their just dues, withdrew their exhibits from competition.

There was no immediate demonstration of the effect of this great international exposition upon the people of the United States. Possibly this effect was so diffused that it could not be readily discerned in any single particular. But it would appear that the æsthetic influence of the White City in architecture, in the production of art objects, and in painting and decoration, must have been very great. No visitor could have been inspired to emulate any single building of the vast and brilliant city that sheltered the multitudinous exhibition of all nations. But the subtle influence of beauty flowing from that wondrous spectacle must long endure among the people who gazed upon it. Not only so, but travellers into distant parts of the globe will everywhere hear some faint echoes of the Columbian Exposition of 1893. Its fame added lustre to the American name. Of the more immediate effects of the exposition should be noted the revival of literature relating to Christopher Columbus, his contemporaries and successors, and the voyages and discoveries of the explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The volume of this literature was very large; and American schools, colleges, academies, and the newspaper and magazine press added greatly to its bulk.

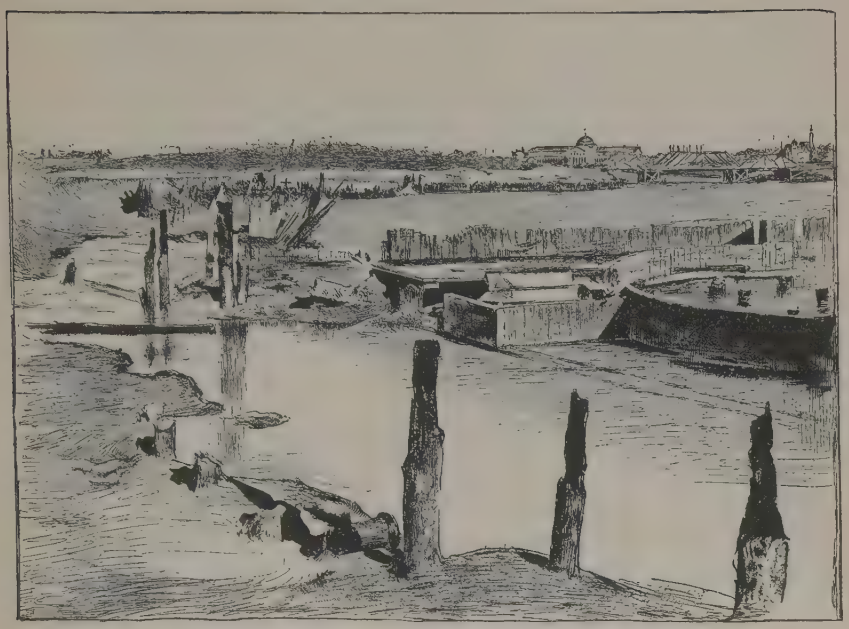
Nor should the narrator of the events of the time overlook the fact that the part taken by women in the planning, management, and illustration of the World's Columbian Exposition was not only notable, but it was largely influential in defining those larger responsibilities of woman which became part of her recognized duties. The relation of womankind to the world was never before so courageously

The Electricity Building, seen from Machinery Hall in 1893..
Drawn by Alfred Brennan from a photograph.

set forth as at the various congresses of the exposition ; and the fuller understanding and acceptance of that relation is due to influences set in motion at that time. What woman can do was clearly set forth in the exhibition in Jackson Park. What woman can say for herself was beyond all cavil exemplified in the congresses that formed an adjunct of that eventful celebration of the discovery of the Western World.

The closing scenes.

It was intended that the closing of the exposition should be attended with a ceremonial as impressive as that which marked its opening. When the exhibition was formally declared open, and President Cleveland, after a brief address, touched the electric button that set in motion the machinery of the fair, there had been many delays in the completion of the buildings, and many of the exhibits were not yet in place. The opening pageant and the exercises were impressive; but the effect was marred by the unfinished appearance of the White City. Now, as the last day came on, and the neatly kept and beautifully adorned grounds were in a con-



Ruins of Electricity Building (from same spot as last view) in 1896.
Drawn by Alfred Brennan from a photograph made for this work.

dition to afford complete enjoyment to the orderly and uniformly well-behaved throngs that filled them, a closing that might have been memorable was expected. This was set aside in consequence of a tragical occurrence just at the end of the exposition.

Carter H. Harrison, the Mayor of Chicago, was killed by an irresponsible murderer at the doorway of his own house. The deed was not unlike that which took away President Garfield, — inexplicable, causeless, and brutal. The crime shocked the country, and it was resolved that, while the flags on the White City were at half-mast and Chicago was plunged into mourning, the World's Columbian Exposition should come to an end without the fanfares of trumpets and the notes of triumph that would have signified to the world that the famous exhibition was over and a notable endeavor notably achieved. The representatives of the States and Nations that had participated in the exposition were assembled with the officers of the corporation and a great multitude of visitors. A brief speech from the president of the exposition, music, prayer, the adoption of suitable resolutions of sorrow for the civic loss sustained, and a benediction from a clergyman, were all that made up the closing exercises. And at sunset, October 30th, 1893, an artillery battery on the lakeside told the world, with the sinking of the sun, that the great ex-

Electricity Building. Mines and Mining Building.

THE BURNING OF THE WHITE CITY.

Drawn by W. N. Smith from a photograph.

position had ended its existence. The flags from innumerable masts fluttered down for the last time, and the most striking spectacle in recent American history was relegated to the past.

Burning of the White City.

The ultimate disposition of the buildings of the exposition, when they should be no longer needed for exhibition purposes, was one of the problems that vexed the minds of the managers of the enterprise. It was not found easy to dispose of them. They were chiefly built of perishable materials, and the iron framework of the greater structures was not adapted for use anywhere else. Offers to buy were made and withdrawn, and people began to wonder what would be done to clear Jackson Park of the buildings. But, early in 1894, the destructive element of fire began to hasten what the action of the weather had begun. On the 14th and 24th of February, fire wrought havoc with the beautiful colonnade, and the agricultural and machinery buildings; and on the 5th of July, while Chicago was wrestling with a riotous mob of discontented people, fire was discovered in the great terminal station of the railways entering the grounds. A high wind was blowing, and, before the flames could be stayed or exhausted, nearly all of the noble pile of buildings around the Court of Honor were a mass of ruin, the

beautiful structure devoted to the administration of the exposition, and the vast hall of liberal arts and manufactures, going down in blackness of ashes. Fire had made summary disposition of the problem. The White City's cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces vanished like the baseless fabric of a vision.

CHAPTER XXXII.

AMERICAN ART AND LITERATURE.

POVERTY OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD. — EARLY THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE. — "THE BAY PSALM BOOK" THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN THE COLONIES. — CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH AND HIS "TRUE RELATION." — THE MATHERS AND JONATHAN EDWARDS. — THE WRITERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. — THE DAWN OF IMAGINATION IN AMERICA. — FAMOUS AMERICAN HISTORIANS. — BIRTH OF AMERICAN POETRY. — THE CAMBRIDGE GROUP OF WRITERS. — WHITTIER AND EMERSON. — WALT WHITMAN, JOAQUIN MILLER, AND BRET HARTE. — THE SOUTHERN NOVELISTS. — A GROUP OF LIVING WRITERS. — SOME OF THE EARLIEST PAINTERS AND SCULPTORS.

ALTHOUGH it can hardly be claimed that the American people have a literature and a school of art distinctively their own, the development of art and literature in the United States during the period which began with the colonial era and closed with the Columbian quadri-centennial affords a gratifying review to an observer who is interested in the higher achievements of the Republic. In a previous chapter reference has been made to the material progress of the country; and the Columbian International Exposition, while it was a display of the wonderful results of human labor and ingenuity of many lands, was, after all, the most forcible expression of American energy, skill, and progress in material things that could possibly be made. The achievements of the young nation in the departments of art, literature, learning, and law were not possible of any such illustration. It may be worth while to survey a part of this interesting and attractive field of human activity.

For obvious reasons, the colonial period was not favorable to the development of the literary and æsthetic qualities of the American people. Shelter, food, and defence against savage foes were the first necessities of the colonists. To obtain these required the enlistment of all the powers of the settlers, who, coming from orderly English homes where they had been surrounded by the refinements of centuries of civilization, now found themselves set down on the verge of an untamed wilderness, threatened by barbarous tribes and under the hard necessity of wresting from the virgin soil and the wild forest their sustenance and the domestic environment which is so dear to

every offshoot of the Anglo-Saxon race. As the pastoral relation was one of leadership, it was natural that the theological element should be dominant in the New England colonies, to which we must look for the first intimations of literary activity. The preacher was the leader in everything that pertained to the arts of peace; albeit, he bore his musket and carried himself like a man whenever "the salvages" were to be resisted or subdued.

Sermons, theological disquisitions, and spiritual songs were among the first written works of the colonists. The first book printed in the American colonies was the "Bay Psalm Book," a metrical version of the Psalms, translated from the original Hebrew by several clergymen of Massachusetts Bay, of whom John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, has longest survived in the records of his time. The book, which appeared in 1640, was a collection of what was probably the worst verse ever produced on the American continent. But it served the purpose of its compilers and translators; and it was not only the first printed book from an American press, — it marks the beginning of American verse-making. It is a long step from the prideful production of the rugged verse of the "Bay Psalm Book" of 1640 to the printing of the 166 new titles in poetry and the drama that marked the close of the Columbian anniversary, two and a half centuries later. The first American poet was Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, daughter of Thomas Dudley, a gentleman of good repute, who came to New England in 1630. Mrs. Bradstreet's verses were chiefly elegiac; they won for her the title of "The Tenth Muse." The serious character of her works may be inferred from their titles, "The Four Elements," "The Four Monarchies," and "Meditations, Divine and Moral," these last being prose. Second in the line of those who wooed the muses was the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth, whose most famed work was "The Day of Doom," a lugubrious versified essay intended to apply the tenets of the most rigid of Calvinists to the final awards of the Day of Judgment. The literary merit of this production was only a little advanced beyond that of the "Bay Psalm Book." Yet it had great vogue in New England and was well received in England.

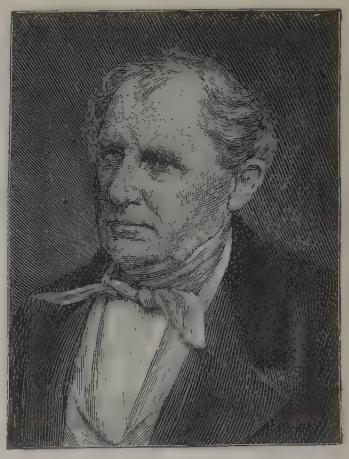
John Eliot, 1604–1690.

Anne Bradstreet, 1612–1672.

Michael Wigglesworth, 1631–1705.

Of much more real value than these rough metrical essays were the first prose writings of the Virginia colonists. These were in the form of personal narratives, a form always more taking than any imaginative writing can possibly be. Captain John Smith's "True Relation," 1608, is an important book, not only because it was the first book written in America, but because it gave the elder world the first true, picturesque, and direct

Captain John Smith, 1579–1632.



James Fenimore Cooper.

account of the condition of things into which the adventurous Englishmen had plunged themselves on their arrival here. It may be said to have set the fashion for a long and goodly list of writers and adventurers who have written books since the worshipful soldier and mariner laid down his pen. A little later than this, Francis Higginson's "New England Plantation," Morton's "The New England Canaan," Wood's "New England Prospect," and Underhill's "News from America," books also printed in England, performed for the northern colonies the same service that Smith's "True Relation" had accomplished for the Virginians. But none of these was a contribution to real literature.

Francis Higginson, 1587–1630.
Thomas Morton, —— 1646.
Wm. Wood, 1580–1639.
John Underhill, about 1672.

The Mather family were among the most industrious and influential of the New England writers of the colonial period. Of these, Richard Mather assisted in the compilation of the "Bay Psalm Book;" his son Increase and his grandson Cotton were active in public affairs and in the production of the sort of literature then current. Cotton Mather was regarded as a prodigy of learning; he was a classicist, a theologue, and yet a dreamer. His "Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft" and his "The Wonders of the Invisible World" are his chiefest monuments, although his "Ecclesiastical History of New England" and his "Magnalia," as his ponderous "Magnalia Christi Americana" is more frequently called, may, by their voluminousness, be better entitled to a monumental character. Increase Mather shared with his fellow-theologians in the delusion of witchcraft, and wrote "Basis of Conscience concerning Witchcraft," as his substantial contribution to the controversial literature of the time.

Richard Mather, 1596–1669.
Cotton Mather, 1663–1728.
Increase Mather, 1639–1723.

The name of Jonathan Edwards appears in the chronicles of a later day to mark a higher development of literary art and a more advanced stage of theological thought. He was learned, erudite, deeply religious, and a profound thinker. His field was that of theological metaphysics. As preacher and college president he exerted a tremendous influence upon his day and generation. Indeed, as it has been said of Princeton that it was there

Jonathan Edwards, 1703–1758.

Washington Irving.

that "mighty Edwards stamped his iron heel;"[1] it may be true of him that his "Treatise on Original Sin" and "An Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will" have shaped religious thought and theological discussion even unto this day. A contemporary with Edwards, but representing the material aspect of things, was Benjamin Franklin, the influence of whose writings was very great and is yet most difficult to estimate. The humor and common sense of the proverbs contained in his "Poor Richard's Almanac" caught the popular fancy and became familiar in thousands of the households of the plain-living and plain-thinking people of the American colonies. His "Autobiography," first published in French, twenty years after the death of its author, was a fresh and entertaining contribution to that ever widening field of personal literature which has since been so profitably worked by American writers. Franklin's pithy sayings and worldly-wise philosophy have been approved by a host of imitators.

Benjamin Franklin, 1706–1790.

With James Otis and his "Rights of the American Colonists Asserted and Proved," Samuel Adams and his "A Statement of the Rights of the American Colonies," and Thomas Paine and his "Common Sense" and "The Crisis," must terminate this cursory review of the writers of the colonial period. All these worthies greatly contributed to the ultimate success of the movement for independence into which they threw themselves with whole-heartedness and a zeal worthy of all praise. Their works, if not distinctively literary, were tremendous influences in the crisis of American colonial affairs. If one were to add another name to this meagre list, that of Philip Freneau, a bitter hater, an ardent patriot, and a prolific writer on an infinite variety of themes, should be mentioned. Freneau lived to make the first administration of Washington very uncomfortable for the Father of his Country; but it were better to remember him as the author of the charming lyric, "The Wild Honeysuckle," or even in his woeful epic, "The House of Night," than as the malignant penny-a-liner that he sometimes appeared to be. Joel Barlow's portentous "Columbiad" and the mock heroics of his "Hasty Pudding," and John Trum-

James Otis, 1725–1783.
Samuel Adams, 1722–1803.
Thomas Paine, 1737–1809.

Philip Freneau, 1752–1832.

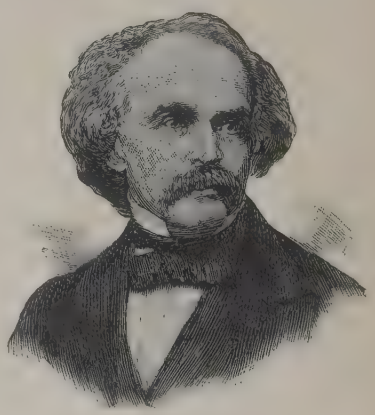
Joel Barlow, 1755–1812.
John Trumbull, 1750–1831.

[1] Oliver Wendell Holmes.

bull's "McFingal," were mightily amusing to the readers of that far-off generation; these heavy attempts at satire survive in all the cheap immortality of print, but they are seldom read.

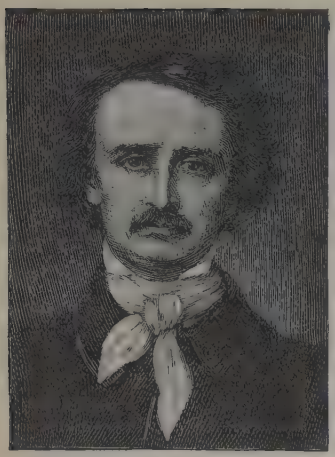
The dawn of imagination did not come to American writers until the tumult and distraction of the War of the Revolution had subsided and social order had been established on a tolerably sure basis. The nineteenth century was well advanced before Joseph Rodman Drake, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and James Fenimore Cooper gave to the world of delighted readers works that were distinctively literary, if not distinctively American. With the two first-mentioned writers American verse emerged from dull didacticism and timidly entered the realm of fancy and imagination. Drake's "Culprit Fay," a delicate and refined work; Halleck's semi-satirical but altogether picturesque "Alnwick Castle," and his stirring lyric, "Marco Bozzaris," were new revelations in the narrow domain of American letters. Cooper's romances of the sea and the Indian-haunted forests were no less fresh and original contributions to the literature of the English-speaking race; these romances may temporarily go out of fashion; their unquestioned genius is perennial. Before Cooper, in point of time, came Charles Brockden Brown, the first American novelist of note; his works were sombre, even disagreeable; but his genius is admitted, and his name has place in the early literature of his country. Strongly in contrast with his somewhat morbid fiction was the gentle humor of Washington Irving, a well-beloved writer whose name comes naturally to the lips of every American who is challenged to satisfy the curiosity of any who would know something of the early literary history of our country. The favor with which Irving's works were received in England was doubtless due to the influence which British essayists of an earlier period apparently exerted on his literary style. An honest admirer of Addison and Goldsmith, Irving was undoubtedly affected by the writings of these two; and the criticism that Irving was more English than American did not lose its edge until "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," and other tales, had vindicated his susceptibility to other than English influences.

Joseph Rodman Drake, 1795–1820.
Fitz-Greene Halleck, 1795–1857.
James Fenimore Cooper, 1789–1851.
Washington Irving, 1783–1859.



Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Touching only here and there a few of the more conspicuous names in



Edgar Allan Poe.

literary history, Nathaniel Hawthorne, poet and romancist, has place in the ranks of the few who deserve mention as marking successive stages of national development in literature. The weirdness of Hawthorne was without morbidness; his power as an analyst was exerted with tenderness and pity. His romances were thoroughly human; they have become classic in other lands than his own. His secure fame marks an epoch in letters, whether American or English. His diction was so faultless that, like Addison's and Irving's, it may be taken as a model of "English undefiled." A melancholy interest, not altogether wholesome, attaches to the name of Edgar Allan Poe, a man of undoubted genius, who, like Hawthorne, was an analyst, but whose gruesome fancies were suggestive of the dissecting-room and the post-mortem spectacle. Avoiding here anything like critical observation, it may be said of Poe that he had, and still has, immense vogue in other lands than ours; and to this extent, as with Cooper, Hawthorne, and Irving, he won respect, if not fame, for the young literature of the Republic. Certain of his works are forever fixed in English letters.

Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1804–1864.

Edgar Allan Poe, 1811–1849.

A group of historians, greatly varying among themselves in merit, have added lustre to the American name. William Hickling Prescott, fortunate in his birth, education, and generous environment, but hampered with a physical infirmity, overcame difficulties, and gave the world the dignified, picturesque, and masterly histories that so closely link the Old World with the New. High civilization in Europe and brilliant conquest in South America furnished his canvas with pictorial effects that have never been excelled for richness and splendor. In the works of George Bancroft there is less unity of style, less of that condensation which is the result of passing through the magical alembic of the mind of genius that distinguishes the really great historian; but his constant and unvarying application of the truth of the saying that history is philosophy teaching by example has clothed his monumental work with a power and dignity that insure its long-enduring life. In John Lothrop Motley's vivid pages we have much of Prescott's color with more than Prescott's accuracy. His "Rise of the Dutch Republic" belongs to the world's

William Hickling Prescott. 1796–1859.

George Bancroft, 1800–1891.

John Lothrop Motley, 1814–1877.

best literature; and his "History of the United Netherlands" is a picture gallery of world-famous men and women of the period treated. As Balzac planned to embrace within his "Comédie Humaine" a vast panorama of realistic fiction, so Francis Parkman, under his felicitous title of "France and England in America," comprised a graphic view of the North American continent when rival races were locked in a death embrace in the pathless woods that are now vocal with the call of human industry and material progress. From the "Oregon Trail" to "Montcalm and Wolfe" is unfolded a fascinating and lifelike story in which the actors move with vital naturalness; these figures are those of real men; they are as real as any in history; they are as dramatic as James Fenimore Cooper's painted warriors. Nor should Sparks, Palfrey, Hildreth, H. H. Bancroft, and Hale be unmentioned by the annalist who would record the names of those who, by their painstaking collation of materials of history and philosophical inquiry into the beginnings of American political and social life, have deserved well of their country. These men are among the framers of that body of literature which, sooner or later, will bear the distinctive stamp of the American Republic.

Francis Parkman, 1823–1893.

William H. Prescott.

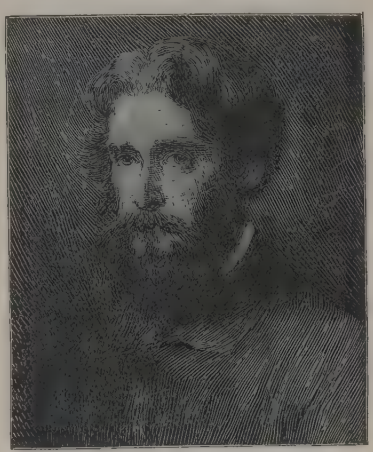
Jared Sparks, 1789–1866. John Gorham Palfrey, 1796–1881. Richard Hildreth, 1807–1865. Hubert Howe Bancroft, 1832. Edward Everett Hale, 1822.

American poetry began with William Cullen Bryant; it began with his "Thanatopsis," written when he was a stripling of sixteen or seventeen years. The poem is the most remarkable ever written by a young man; its leading idea, the immortality of the soul, endued it with a certain universality of human interest which has impressed it on the minds and hearts of multitudes of the human race. Bryant's poetry is distinguished by its meditative spirit, its intimate sympathy with nature, and its elevated dignity. Bryant was imaginative, but not enthusiastic; his descriptive pieces were accurate and pictorial, though never gorgeous or highly colored. The spirit of American literature, instinct with love of freedom and stern respect for the rights of man, pervaded his works; and in no other American verse does one find a stronger local color, a more intimate acquaintance with the woods, streams, flowers, and grasses of the poet's native land. Longfellow was the best beloved poet of his time, the most widely read, and the best known of the nineteenth century. His impress was left not only on the thought

William Cullen Bryant, 1794–1878.

and mind of his own fellow-country-men, but, it may be said, upon the English-speaking race. The full volume of Longfellow's poetry, ranging from his mediæval "The Golden Legend" to the modern pictures of "Evangeline" and the American Indian myths of "Hiawatha," easily entitles him to the leadership of American song. And yet, ample though that volume may be, — and it comprises poems universal in their varying interest, — it is nevertheless true that his fame might rest securely on his first slender collection of verse, "The Voices of the Night," published in 1839. In that modest tome are to be found "A Psalm of Life," "The Beleaguered City," "The Reaper and the Flowers," and a few other poems that are as familiar as household words to the English-speaking race. In "Hiawatha" Longfellow not only crystallized the myths and traditions of aboriginal tribes of America, but he employed a measure almost unknown before in English verse; and he likewise confounded those critics who had complained that he was wholly influenced by European models. The immediate effect of Longfellow upon the literary culture of his country was to broaden and enrich it. Whittier, beloved for his simple sweetness and dignity, was possibly more distinctively American, and no less broad in his human sympathies. His lyrics breathe the spirit of human freedom; they are redolent of the pine forests, the grass fields, and the cedar valleys of his native New England. In his "Telling the Bees," "Maud Muller," and "Songs of Labor" are exemplified that intimate knowledge of New England life and thought which Whittier so picturesquely adorned with his genius. Often compared with Burns as a national poet, his "Snow Bound" is tiresomely cited as a fit companion for "The Cotter's Saturday Night." This is not enough; Whittier, reformer, patriot, lyrist, was the poet of the people; his work had the enduring quality of poetry that gives voice to the experiences of the life and heart of a race.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1807–1882.



John Lothrop Motley.

John Greenleaf Whittier, 1807–1892.

Three writers of prose and verse — Holmes, Lowell, and Emerson — have left lasting impress upon the literature of their time and country. Men may differ as to the relative value of the prose and the poetry of each of these writers; there can be no dispute as to their

individual popularity at home and abroad. If popularity were fame, or its precursor, these three Americans would be already sure of their high niche in the Valhalla of the nations. Perhaps Emerson, the thoughtful seer, the profound observer, the disciple of Plato, and the poet, should be regarded as the most impressive figure in American literature. What he had to say was said in prose or poetry, as it might happen that either better served his present purpose. It were idle, therefore, and needless, to attempt to separate these two forms of expression in any such brief note as this which marks his place in the literature of his country. Emerson belonged to a group of thinkers and writers who were gibed by the ignorant and unthinking as "transcendentalists." Some of his utterances were regarded as Orphic, mystical, and difficult of comprehension. But as a philosopher who traced the clue to the soul of things through the things themselves, who gave the simplest forms to the greatest truths, he towers, a landmark high above all the fields of literature. Hardly any other American writer has touched so many themes with the power, lightness, and melody which Lowell evinced in the wide range of his prose and poetry. A critic of rare acumen, a lively and even rollicking humorist, a passionate patriot, and a bitter hater of all shams and pretences, Lowell contributed to the literature of his country a great body of prose and verse; and much of this apparently contains elements of enduring vitality. He served his age in many ways; and when the amusing satires of the "Biglow Papers" are forgotten, with the political debates that suggested their production, his essays, miscellaneous papers, and lofty lyrics must survive, a permanent part of American literature. Often called "the Montaigne of America," Oliver Wendell Holmes excelled the French essayist and philosopher in the lambent quality of his wit, the gentleness of his humor, and the nimbleness of his fancy. Dr. Holmes had been known as a writer of occasional poems and poems of occasion until he had well-nigh passed the meridian of life. The appearance of his "Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table," a volume of original, witty, and philosophic table-talk, was an event of distinct importance in literature. Followed by two other volumes in a similar strain, these were enough to insure Holmes's fame as a prose writer. But it is as a lyric poet and balladist that the genial Harvard professor will probably be longest loved and remembered. More than any other of the Cambridge group, Dr. Holmes infused his personality into all his work, whether prose or verse. His songs were written in many keys; but through them all there is a breath of pure and high-bred manliness, a certain breezy wholesomeness, so to speak, which refreshes the soul of the reader

Oliver Wendell Holmes, 1809–1894.
James Russell Lowell, 1819–1891.
Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1803–1882.

and inspires noble thoughts. Amusing Holmes often is, tiresome never. His masterpieces are not numerous; but they are masterpieces of which the English language carries not many that surpass them in refinement, grace, and felicity of expression. "The Chambered Nautilus," "The Last Leaf," "Homesick in Heaven," and "Æstivation" are distinguished by that highest form of culture that we call Old World; but they could not have been written by any but an American poet.

Two American poets who have won for themselves much renown in foreign lands are Walt Whitman and Joaquin Miller. Our kin beyond the sea hailed these bards as being so distinctively American that they both might be regarded hopefully as the harbingers of a flock of songsters whose songs should be tuned to no other key than that of their own native land. Here, at last, European readers and critics thought they had found the true American note of sweetness and wildness. In Whitman they felt they had the real taste of poetic Americanism. One of our own early critics of Whitman said of him that his poems were "a mixture of Yankee transcendentalism and New York rowdyism." At all events they were American; and after the subsidence of the angry clamor that has prevailed at home over the actual merits of Whitman's poetry, we may be sure that "The Good Gray Poet" will have permanent place in the literature of his country. Miller's career has been more meteoric. When the flamboyant originality of his "Songs of the Sierras" flashed upon the world of English-reading people, the new singer was hailed with acclaim as fervid as that which marked the rise of Whitman's name and fame. The wild light has departed somewhat from the later writings of Miller; but the unquestionable spark of genius that burned in his earlier poems can never die. His individuality remains a vital force.

Walt Whitman, 1819–1892. Cincinnatus Heine (Joaquin) Miller, 1841.

In a previous chapter mention has been made of the influence exerted by the publication of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" at a time when the political and social condition of the country was in a condition of ferment. The book was a work of genius; its wonderful timeliness, its fortunate mingling of humor and pathos and its vivid word-painting made it welcome in innumerable countries and communities where the rights and wrongs of American slavery were matters of comparative indifference. It was an American book which found its way into more languages of the world than any other, excepting, perhaps, the Sacred Scriptures. If the critics were puzzled to assign "Uncle Tom's Cabin" its just place in American literature, they were not at a loss how to class some of Mrs. Stowe's other writings. Leaving the great anti-slavery novel

Harriet Beecher Stowe, 1812–1896.

out of account, such fiction as "The Minister's Wooing," "The Pearl of Orr's Island," and "Oldtown Folks"—stories redolent of New England sea and shore, flower-garden and fir-clad hill—might well suffice to give their author ample entrance into the ranks of the creative writers of America. Her great novel was at least true to human nature.

It would appear that readers in the Southern States of the Union have been content to hug the old English standard writers and the classics. This refined and scholarly devotion to the literature of the ancients, perhaps, has had the effect of discouraging the development of Southern literary genius. Of the early prose writers in the South, William Gilmore Simms was easily leader. From his prolific and facile pen flowed a vast variety of poems, tales, sketches, essays, dramas, critical and historical writings, lectures, and biographies. Southern fiction, marked by the characteristics of the ante-bellum period, was chiefly ornamented by him. John Esten Cooke, whose novel "The Virginia Comedians," is a strong and distinctively local work, was saturated with the romance and pictorial grandeur of that Old Worldliness engrafted on the New World, which has fascinated so many American and English authors. John P. Kennedy, another Southern writer of the old school, will long hold place in the favor of those who esteem American literature; his "Swallow Barn" has much of the charm of Irving's best work; and his individuality is sufficiently marked to insure him honorable mention in any list of American authors. Sidney Lanier, Henry Timrod, and Paul H. Hayne, poets of the Southland whose too early departure, "with all their music in them," was an irremediable loss to American art and letters, nevertheless left their mark upon the day and time, fragmentary though their literary remains may be.

William Gilmore Simms, 1806–1870.

John Esten Cooke, 1830–1886.

John Pendleton Kennedy, 1795–1870.

Sidney Lanier, 1842–1881.

Henry Timrod, 1829–1867.

Paul Hamilton Hayne, 1831–1886.

"Fragmentary" is perhaps the word which best describes much of the work of the later school of American poets and story writers. Bret Harte, who may almost be said to have founded a new school of American fiction, gave a delighted world of readers a few new types of character. His far-western men and women, with their strange dialect and bizarre manners, bore the stamp of individual genius; and they appealed to that community of human interest which is as wide as the world; but he has never indicated anything like a grand design underlying his work. His pictures, notwithstanding the roughness of their dramatic figures, are highly finished; he works with the painful laboriousness of the true artist, with whom the highest art is to disguise all

Francis Bret Harte, 1839.

William Dean Howells, 1837.

Thomas Bailey Aldrich, 1836.

art. Howells, too, whose influence upon the modern development of American literature has been marked and will probably be lasting, lacks uniformity of design; his single pieces, such as "A Modern Instance," "The Lady of the Aroostook," and "The Undiscovered Country," are masterpieces in their way and could have been written nowhere but in America. But they are delineations of single and detached types; they are realistic Americans; they have no related parts in the American drama of life. In Aldrich's delicate verse, bright humor, and perfect prose tales and sketches; in Cable's fine portraiture of the Creole life of the South; in Thomas Nelson Page's richly humorous dialect stories; and in the desultory fiction of Miss Murfree, the English-born, Americanized Mrs. Burnett, and Joel Chandler Harris there abides that individual American flavor which must characterize the literature which, sooner or later, we may call our own. American writers like Story, James, and Crawford, self-expatriated though they may be, are yet citizens of the great republic of letters. They have little part in the literature of their own country; but their widest audience is American. In the department of literary criticism, Stedman and Stoddard are the leaders; both are born poets, and both are singers of verse of which considerable fragments will adorn the literature of the age and country to which they belong.

George Washington Cable, 1844. Thomas Nelson Page, 1853. Mary Noailles Murfree — Charles Egbert Craddock, 1850. Joel Chandler Harris, 1848. Frances Hodgson Burnett, 1849. William Wetmore Story, 1819–1895. Henry James, 1843. Francis Marion Crawford, 1854. Edmund Clarence Stedman, 1833. Richard Henry Stoddard, 1825.

Harvard College undoubtedly should be reckoned one of the potent influences upon the intellectual and literary development of New England. Indeed, all the early educational establishments of the colonial period were factors in the refinement of the people, and in the stimulation of those forces which were then set in motion and ever after remained to elevate the standard of intellectual achievement. Harvard College received its first endowment in 1636, and its formal title in 1639. The college of William and Mary was chartered by royal authority in 1696. The charter of Yale was granted in 1701, and that of Princeton in 1746. The growth of these institutions, and the increase in the number of colleges throughout the United States, must be taken into consideration when the development of the literature and art of the Republic is under review. To these centres of intellectual activity the student of American history must look for the primary movements that have led up to the higher forms of civilization in America.

This rapid and desultory review of the development of American literature during the past two centuries and a half may very properly end with a statistical statement of the book-publishing trade for the

Columbian year, 1893. It is a long journey from "The Bay Psalm Book" to the last American novel; from Michael Wigglesworth to Joaquin Miller; but the contrast of the old and the new is not more vivid in the works themselves than in the figures which relate to their production of books. In the olden days, as now, the American reader drew largely from the literature of the mother country; but then, as not now, books written in America were printed in England for American readers. One American book was printed in 1640. In 1893 there were printed 5,134 books in the United States; of these 4,281 were new books, or new titles; the rest were reissues. Of the new titles, 772 were fiction, 597 were theological or religious; and juvenile literature, law, education, and language came next, in the order named, in point of numbers. Whatever may be the future of American literature, using that term as applied to a truly national and individualized body of literary production, it must be admitted that ours is a nation of readers; the great army of authors and writers has increased in numbers, worth, and influence, keeping pace with the later material development of the Republic.

Little else than a catalogue of the more eminent painters and sculptors can be brought here from a survey of the narrower field of American art. More readily than our literature, the art of America has been influenced by Europe. As the first American books were sent to England to be put into type, so the earliest American painters not only went abroad to study, but most of them stayed abroad to find patrons of their art. The young and raw Republic had neither time nor money to spare for the encouragement of painters and sculptors.

Benjamin West, 1738–1820. John Singleton Copley, 1737–1815.

West and Copley, the first Americans to achieve eminence in art, are reckoned among the British painters. West, a contemporary of Sir Joshua Reynolds, became president of the Royal Academy and declined a knighthood. Copley and West were rigid adherents of the old academic school of art, although the latter was the first to depart from that ancient tradition which ordered the painter and the sculptor to clothe his figures in the habit of Greeks or Romans. But although neither West nor Copley may be claimed as American painters, their immediate successors in their native land, Charles Wilson Peale and his son not only were worthy artists, but they are still regarded affectionately as pioneers in the field of art in America. The younger of these two men was ambitious of renown as an allegorical and historical painter. Several of his compositions evince the comparative success of that ambition.

Charles Wilson Peale, 1741–1827. Rembrandt Peale, 1778–1860.

The same era gave birth to John Trumbull and Gilbert Stuart, two early American painters who won fame and recognition at home

and abroad. It is becoming to speak tenderly of Trumbull's great canvases, on which are depicted some of the stirring scenes of the Revolutionary War; but of Stuart it may be justly said that he was master in the limited field of portraiture, although his management of accessories left something to be desired. John Vanderlyn was as academic as West or Copley; his pictures, in the grandiose manner of his time, were regarded as masterpieces. Allston, a delicate and refined genius who dallied with the muses and essayed prose fiction, was wholly dominated by the influence of old European models and schools; and William Dunlap, author, student of the drama, and biographer of Charles Brockden Brown, was too versatile in his artistic activities to win high place in any branch of art.

John Trumbull, 1756-1843. Gilbert Stuart, 1755-1828. John Vanderlyn, 1776-1852. William Dunlap, 1766-1839. Washington Allston, 1779-1842.

With Catlin and Audubon came a new inspiration; if this was not wholly American, it was at least American in flavor. Catlin was the first painter to discover the picturesque possibilities of the North American Indian. Audubon, the painstaking and enthusiastic naturalist, was also the faithful portrait-painter of the American feathered tribes of the air; and as such he left a beautiful monument of his genius and his labors of love.

George Catlin, 1796-1842. John James Audubon, 1780-1851.

We may venture to claim Leutze, an Americanized Teuton, as our own; for before his time no one, excepting possibly Trumbull, had so successfully treated American historical subjects as he did. But with Thomas Cole came the beginning of the new school of American landscape painting. It was complained of him that he lost much of his native spirit and local atmosphere and color when he had studied in Europe for a few years. But there were no American landscapes painted before his. His tendency to allegory and romance diverted his unquestioned talent into various channels; his works remain interesting monuments in the history of American art. Page, colorist and dreamer, excelled in portraiture, but failed in his tentative efforts toward the grand manner. He mastered some of the secrets of Titian's color, perhaps, but he left no large composition that will perpetuate his fame.

Emmanuel Leutze, 1816-1868. Thomas Cole, 1801-1848. William Page, 1811-1885.

Living American painters, for the most part, excel in landscape; and although the natural scenery of this continent is not yet well understood in other lands, it is reasonable to suppose that out of this department of art may yet arise what may be worthy to be called the American school. Figure painters and painters of *genre* nobly mark the progress made in art by Americans; in some of the less ambitious fields of illustrative art Americans are preëminent; but great attainments should not be expected of Americans until their art

has been enriched by the centuries of culture that have been required to produce the perfect fruitage of other and older peoples.

Horatio Greenough, 1805–1852. Thomas Crawford, 1814–1857. Hiram Powers, 1805–1873. Randolph Rogers, 1825–1892. William Wetmore Story, 1819–1895.

The names of the famous American sculptors, leaving out the few great names of living men, may be counted on the fingers of a man's hand. Horatio Greenough, Hiram Powers, Thomas Crawford, William W. Story, and Randolph Rogers are the five men who have led the tardy advance of the plastic art of their native land. All of these have deserved well of their country and have honored the American name in foreign lands by their devotion and their achievement. But sculpture and architecture in America must long be affected so thoroughly by exterior influences that both of these kindred arts will lag behind painting in any progress that may be made towards the establishment of a national school.

The patriotic son of the American Republic may well be thrilled with pride as he reviews the history of the past four hundred years in which is traced the story of the physical, political, social, and intellectual development of his beloved country. Phenomenal in the story of the peoples of the world, that history teaches an impressive lesson. In the mutations of political organizations, in the wonderful growth of wealth, industries, and commerce, in the subduing of a continent from savagery, and in the creation of a nation gifted with the noble endowments of literature, art, and philosophy, the student cannot fail to perceive the working of an underlying principle. Here has been wrought out the experiment of human self-government. On the mighty stage of the American continent, after the lapse of four centuries, is marshalled the spectacle of a powerful, fortunate, and united people — a people many times tried by suffering, emerging from disaster and finally triumphant, enduring to exemplify to the world the nobility and the permanence of popular government.

TABLE OF DATES.

1862. *February* 15, Surrender of Fort Donelson.
April 6, 7, Battle of Pittsburg Landing.
April 8, Surrender of Island Number Ten.
April 25, Capture of New Orleans by Farragut.
December 31 *and January* 2, Battle of Stone River.
1863. *January* 1, Emancipation proclaimed by the President.
May 2, Battle of Chancellorsville.
July 1–3, Battle of Gettysburg.
July 4, Surrender of Vicksburg.
July 8, Surrender of Port Hudson.
September 19, 20, Battle of Chickamauga.
November 24, 25, Battle of Chattanooga.
1864. *March*, Banks's Red River Expedition.
May 5, 6, Grant's advance on Lee; Battle of the Wilderness.
May 5, Sherman's Atlanta Campaign begun.
May 15, Sigel defeated by the Confederates at Newmarket.
June 14, Grant crossed the James; Siege of Petersburg begun.
June 19, Privateer *Alabama* sunk by the *Kearsarge*.
July 30, Explosion of the mine under the rebel works at Petersburg.
July 30, Chambersburg, Pa., burned by the rebels.
August 5, Battle of Mobile Bay.
September 1, Fall of Atlanta.
August and September, Sheridan's Campaign in the Shenandoah Valley.
October 19, Battle of Cedar Creek.
October 27, Rebel ram *Albemarle* destroyed.
November 8, President Lincoln reëlected.
November 15, Sherman's march to the coast begun.
November 30, Battle of Franklin, Tenn.
December 15, 16, Battle of Nashville.
December 21, Sherman entered Savannah.
1865. *January* 15, Fort Fisher captured by General Terry.
February 17, Columbia, S. C., surrendered to General Sherman.
February 18, Charleston evacuated by the Confederates.
March 4, Abraham Lincoln inaugurated President.
April 1, Battle of Five Forks.
April 2, Richmond evacuated.
April 9, Surrender of Lee's army.
April 14, The President assassinated.
April 26, Surrender of Johnston's army.

1865. *May* 10, Capture of Jefferson Davis.
May 23, 24, Review of the Army at Washington.
May 29, Johnson's Amnesty Proclamation issued.
1866. *June*, Reconstruction Committee of Fifteen appointed.
1867. *March* 2, The South divided into five military districts.
1868. *February* 5, City of Mexico evacuated by the French.
March 5–*May* 26, Impeachment trial of President Johnson.
July 16, Burlingame Treaty with China ratified.
July 28, Fourteenth Amendment adopted.
1869. *March* 4, Ulysses S. Grant inaugurated President.
May 10, First Transcontinental Railroad completed.
September 24, Black Friday in New York City.
1870. *March* 30, Fifteenth Amendment ratified.
1871. *January* 30, All States again represented in Congress.
February 27, High Commissioners met at Washington.
October 8, The Chicago Fire began.
Tweed Ring broken up in New York City.
1872. The Greeley-Grant Campaign.
1873. *February* 12, Law passed demonetizing silver.
March 4, Ulysses S. Grant inaugurated President.
General Canby murdered by Modoc Indians.
Financial panic.
1874. Anarchy in Louisiana and Arkansas.
1875. Secretary Bristow exposed the Whiskey Ring.
1876. *May* 10–*November* 10, Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia.
June, Custer's party massacred by Sioux Indians.
First telephone patented.
1877. *January* 31, Electoral Commission met.
March 4, Rutherford B. Hayes inaugurated President.
April, Federal troops withdrawn from South Carolina and Louisiana.
July, Great Railroad Strike in Pittsburg.
1878. *February* 28, Bland-Allison silver bill passed.
September 28, First permanent Chinese Embassy received by President Hayes.
Kearneyism in California.
Brooklyn Bridge completed.
First elevated railway opened.
First government life-saving station established.
Electric light invented.
Phonograph invented.
1878–1879. Yellow-fever plagues in the South.
1879. *January* 1, Specie payments resumed.
July 8, *Jeannette* Expedition set out.
1881. *March* 4, James A. Garfield inaugurated President.
May 16, Conkling and Platt resigned from the Senate.
July 2, President Garfield shot by Guiteau.
August, The Greely party reached Lady Franklin Bay.
September 19, President Garfield died.
September 22, Chester A. Arthur formally inaugurated President.
October 5, Exposition opened at Atlanta.
October 19, Centennial of Cornwallis's surrender celebrated at Yorktown.
December 29, First tidings received of the *Jeannette* Expedition.

1881. Complications with Peru and Chili.
1881–1882. Star Route Frauds exposed.
1882. *May* 6, Bill passed penalizing the bringing in of Chinese laborers.
June 30, Guiteau hung.
Edmunds Anti-Polygamy law passed.
Strikes among iron-workers and freight-handlers.
1883. Letter postage reduced to two cents.
Heavy floods along the Ohio River.
1884. *February*, Unprecedented floods along the Ohio River.
March, Riot in Cincinnati over Berner's acquittal.
April, Strike of the Hocking Valley miners.
June 22, Greely survivors rescued.
December 1, New Orleans Exposition opened.
Washington Monument completed.
1885. *March* 4, Grover Cleveland inaugurated President.
July 23, General Grant died.
Fisheries quarrel with England renewed.
1886. *January*, Presidential Succession Bill passed.
May 4, Anarchist riot in Haymarket Square, Chicago.
August 31, Earthquake in Charleston.
October 28, Statue of Liberty unveiled.
Great Southwestern Railway strike.
1887. *January* 18, Electoral Count Bill signed.
February 4, Interstate Commerce Law signed.
Threats of War with Canada over Fisheries dispute.
1888. *March* 11–13, The New York Blizzard.
1889. *February* 10, Sioux Reservation opened to settlers.
March 4, Benjamin Harrison inaugurated President.
March 15, The Samoan Hurricane.
April, Washington Inauguration Centennial in New York.
April 22, Oklahoma opened to settlers.
May 31, Flood at Johnstown, Pa.
Pan-American Congress met in Washington.
1890. *June* 26, Anti-Trust law signed.
June 27, Dependent Pensions Act became a law.
July 14, McKinley Tariff Bill became law.
August 8, Original Package law approved.
September, The Barrundia affair.
September, Congress denies use of mails to Lottery Company.
September 29, Bill passed reclaiming forfeited land grants to railroads.
October, Italians lynched in New Orleans.
Sherman Silver Purchase law passed.
Eleventh Census taken.
1891. *October* 16, American sailors assaulted in Valparaiso.
1892. *May* 5, Geary Chinese Exclusion Bill became a law.
June, Flood and fire at Titusville, Pa.
July–November, Strike at Homestead.
October, Quadri-Centennial of Columbus's landing celebrated.
Paris Tribunal decides against U. S. claims in Bering Sea.
Strike among Cour d'Alêne miners.
1893. *January* 14, Revolution in Hawaii.

1893. *March* 4, Grover Cleveland inaugurated President.
March 9, Cleveland recalls Hawaiian Annexation Treaty.
May 1, World's Fair opened at Chicago.
August 27, Hurricane in Sea Islands.
October, Mayor Carter H. Harrison murdered.
October 30, Silver Purchase law repealed.
October 30, World's Fair closed.
1894. *July* 5, The "White City" burned.

ADMISSION OF STATES.

ORIGINAL THIRTEEN.	ADMITTED UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.	
New Hampshire.	Vermont, 1791.	Wisconsin, 1848.
Massachusetts.	Kentucky, 1792.	California, 1850.
Rhode Island.	Tennessee, 1796.	Minnesota, 1858.
Connecticut.	Ohio, 1802.	Oregon, 1859.
New York.	Louisiana, 1812.	Kansas, 1861.
New Jersey.	Indiana, 1816.	West Virginia, 1863.
Pennsylvania.	Mississippi, 1817.	Nevada, 1864.
Delaware.	Illinois, 1818.	Nebraska, 1867.
Maryland.	Alabama, 1819.	Colorado, 1876.
Virginia.	Maine, 1820.	North Dakota, 1889.
North Carolina.	Missouri, 1821.	South Dakota, 1889.
South Carolina.	Arkansas, 1836.	Montana, 1889.
Georgia.	Michigan, 1837.	Washington, 1889.
	Florida, 1845.	Idaho, 1890.
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